

Participation in a shifting global context?
A case study of labor and faith in the American South

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ABSTRACT

Farmworker ministries provide essential goods and services as well as spiritual support to migrant agricultural laborers living and working outside the confines of their native nations. While faith-based organizations and/or ministries are key to supporting immigrants and/or refugee populations in the U.S., scholars have conducted little research addressing these institutions, especially those that endeavor to encourage the agency of those they serve. To address this gap, this dissertation explored a political capacity-building project conducted by Valley View Ministry in the summers of 2015 and 2016. The project's goals were to open participatory space for the Ministry's constituents, to deepen the Board of Directors' (BOD) understanding of migrant farmworkers' lives, and to increase constituent influence in BOD activities and deliberation. This dissertation employed ethnographic research methods and applied Fraser's (2009) conception of "participatory parity" as justice to analyze the organization's initiative. Data included collection and analysis of key documents, participant observation, and semi-structured interviews with farmworkers, members of the Board of Directors, and employees. The author coded interview transcriptions, field notes, and documents with NVivo and analyzed each with direct content analysis. The results contribute to empirical studies on community-based research with migrant farmworkers, theoretical treatments of participatory development, and analyses of the enduring power of the agrarian imaginary; the image of the small-scale, white, male grower, to thwart such initiatives. The study concludes by highlighting the tensions associated with initiatives aimed at increasing the possibilities for increasing participatory leadership in farmworker ministries and some recommendations for confronting the enduring power of the existing agrarian imaginary.

ABSTRACT

Farmworker ministries provide essential goods and services as well as spiritual support to migrant farmworkers living abroad. While faith-based organizations and/or ministries are key to supporting migrant and/or refugee populations in the U.S., scholars have conducted little research on these institutions, especially those that seek to encourage the agency of those they serve. To address this gap, this study investigated a political capacity-building project conducted by the Valley View Farmworker Ministry in the summers of 2015 and 2016. That initiative sought to increase engagement and leadership of the workers that Valley View serves, to increase the Board of Directors' (BOD) understanding of the farmworkers' lives, and to enhance farmworker influence on that Board's activities and decisions. The author undertook five months of fieldwork with Valley View in 2016 that included review of key documents, and completion of twenty-three interviews with a sample of farmworkers, Board of Directors' members, and employees. The study utilized an intersectional, participatory (Fraser, 2009) theoretical framework to analyze the justice implications of the Ministry's efforts to address the political, cultural, and economic disparities among the project's participants. The results contribute to studies on community-based research with migrant farmworkers, theoretical discussions of participatory development, and analyses of the enduring power of the agrarian imaginary, the image of the small-scale, white, male grower, to thwart such initiatives. It also builds on arguments regarding how to increase participation of farmworkers in the alternative agrifood and sustainable agriculture movements. This analysis concludes by exploring the social tensions often associated with participatory development and offering recommendations for increasing worker engagement and leadership in farmworker ministries and for confronting the agrarian imaginary.

Dedication

TO

My late father, David Erwin and my aunt, Martha Erwin Fox.

Two brave, adventurous souls who supported and loved me unconditionally.

And, to the people who work long hours in the fields, every day around the world.

Thank you for inspiring this study and for sacrificing so much.

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Glossary of Terms

Term	Acronym or shortened name
Alternative Agrifood Movement	AAM
Alternative Food Initiative	AFI
Board of Directors	BOD
Coalition of Immokalee Workers	CIW
Critical Agrarian Studies	CAS
Critical Realism	CR
Direct Content Analysis	DCA
Faith-based Organization	FBO
The Hispanics for Justice Foundation	HJF
North Carolina Growers Association	NCGA
Valley View Farmworker Ministry	Valley View

Pseudonyms

Pseudonym	Nationality	Age	Home Region	Ethnicity	Role	Gender
Will	American	26-35	Rural	White	Board Member	Male
Jenny	American	66-75	Urban	Asian	Board Member	Female
Charlie	American	56-65	Urban	White	Board Member	Male
Harold	American	66-75	Urban	White	Board Member	Male
Cecilia	Mexican	46-55	Rural	Hispanic	Employee/Volunteer	Female
Paolo	Mexican	18-25	Camp/Mexico	Hispanic	Farmworker	Male
Martha	American	56-65	Rural	White	Board Member	Female
Catia	American	36-45	Rural	Hispanic	Employee/Volunteer	Female
Jessica	American	66-75	Rural	Black	Board Member	Female
Roberto	Mexican	66-75	Rural	Hispanic	Farmworker	Male
Caroline	American	66-75	Urban	White	Board Member	Female
Allison	American	56-65	Urban	White	Board Member	Female
Sara	American	18-25	Rural	Hispanic	Employee/Volunteer	Female
Suzanne	American	56-65	Urban	White	Board Member	Female
Mateo	Mexican	36-45	Camp/Mexico	Hispanic	Employee/Volunteer	Male

José	Mexican	46-55	Rural	Hispanic	Board Member	Male
Samuel	Spanish	46-55	Urban	Hispanic	Employee/Volunteer	Male
Alejandro	Mexican	46-55	Camp/Mexico	Hispanic	Farmworker	Male
Jaime	Mexican	65-75	Rural	Hispanic	Former Farmworker	Male
Beverly	American	46-55	Urban	White	Employee/Volunteer	Female
Tyler	Canadian	56-65	Rural	White	Bishop	Male
David	Mexican	56-65	Camp/Mexico	Hispanic	Farmworker	Male
Barbara	American	56-65	Rural	White	Board Member	Female
Francisco	Unsure	35-45	Not Sure	Hispanic	Community Organizer	Male
Father Edwin	Columbian	75-85	Not Sure	Hispanic	Minister	Male

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Chapter 1- Introduction

Many faith-based organizations (FBOs) and/or churches provide a space for community on arrival to the U.S. in the middle Atlantic region of the United States where thousands of immigrant farmworkers (largely from Central America and Mexico) either work or live. One such space is the Valley View Farmworker Ministry (Valley View). Valley View, a FBO, provides free services, protective gear for picking tobacco, English classes, and immigration counsel, for example, to forty-seven worker camps, and approximately 3,500 farmworkers, with an overall reach of approximately 10,000 individuals, including the families of the workers. In addition to providing basic needs, Valley View also assists undocumented and farmworker populations during natural disasters and, as such, was a key first-line responder to these vulnerable groups located in its service region following Hurricane Matthew in 2016.

In addition to offering services, Valley View educates citizens about farmworker rights by hosting summer camps, participating in philanthropic campaigns, and partnering with local and state politicians, business leaders, and other nonprofit organizations to raise awareness of their roles and needs. Valley View has developed the following mission:

[Valley View] responds to the physical, emotional, and spiritual needs of migrant and seasonal farmworkers and their families, and actively supports opportunities for them to become self-directive. We seek to minister to farmworkers in three principal ways: through direct services; through development and support of programs that work towards the empowerment of farmworkers; by encouraging leadership development, advocacy, and education aimed toward a systematic change of agricultural policy at local and state levels (Valley View Mission Statement).

The principal Valley View location comprises the FBO's offices, a classroom, an air-conditioned building to store donations, an immigration office, a basketball and volleyball court, a soccer pitch, an open-air chapel, a kitchen, and several meeting rooms. Valley View sponsors a yearly farmworker festival. A local parish, "Iglesia Cristiana," rents the chapel space on Sundays for services, and Father Edwin serves as that congregation's pastor. The service is in Spanish, and almost all of the parish's members are Latino and Spanish-speaking. During the summer, members of other churches, whose memberships are largely white and/or English speaking, also visit and attend the congregation's services.

Valley View' is led by two co-directors, one of whom focuses on administration and another who focuses on outreach and programs. The nonprofit organization is governed by a twelve-member Board of Directors. Two regional dioceses fund and also oversee the entity. Additional sources of funding include donations from churches and individuals and grants.

Valley View has three full-time employees, all of whom are Hispanic, with two being fully-bilingual employees from Mexico who are children of farmworkers. It also employs a temporary part-time employee, responsible for development, who is a white American woman, and one college intern each summer. Although the employees are mostly Hispanic, only three of the twelve members of the Board of Directors (BOD) are people of color, with one member being both Hispanic and a former farmworker. That is, the majority of the BOD lacks embodied awareness of the farmworker's lived experience.

Moreover, the area where Valley View is located is predominantly white, and given that agriculture is one of the primary sources of income in the region, growers and farmers located there enjoy considerable political and social power. The southern U.S. has also seen marked growth in its Latino immigrant populations in the last twenty years, causing a significant

demographic shift in the region in a short period. The racial, social, and political realities of this area and the precarious immigration status of many immigrant farmworkers can create an environment in which these laborers are vulnerable to becoming isolated, rendered socially invisible and mistreated.

Valley View recognizes these issues, and in 2014, its leaders began reflecting on the relative lack of demographic diversity of its BOD. In response to that self-study, the organization's co-directors and governing board decided to create strategies to involve farmworkers in establishing the future direction of the organization and to work to deepen the BOD's awareness of the farmworker's lived experience. In 2015, Valley View received a capacity building grant from the Hispanics for Justice Foundation (HJF) to address these issues.

During the summer of 2015, Valley View's leaders worked with a community organizer to conduct listening sessions with employees, the BOD, and farmworkers. The aim of these meetings was to create a safe space in which farmworkers could gather to discuss potential requests of the Board and to organize trips for Board members to visit farmworker camps. The grant allowed the FBO to conduct two listening sessions in 2015 with Board members, farmworkers, and staff, and the Board and staff participated in multiple trainings concerning how to engage with the farmworker population more effectively. Valley View also conducted one Farmworker Advisory Committee meeting in 2016 with farmworkers and volunteers. I also participated in that gathering as a volunteer/participant observer. Valley View's leaders plan to continue the farmworker advisory sessions into the indefinite future and utilize those opportunities as a mechanism to encourage greater farmworker exercise of agency within the organization and beyond.

Shortly before this study, Valley View changed its leadership and its financial situation shifted simultaneously. The former director of the organization, also the church's minister, had retired, and Valley View moved to its current co-director structure with Samuel (outreach) and Catia (administration) filling these roles. During the previous decade, Valley View had experienced financial hardship and administrative difficulties. An additional shift, which arose in part from those difficulties, is that Valley View now receives financial and administrative assistance from two nearby church dioceses. The FBO also received a grant, which its leaders used to hire a development specialist and to implement a fundraising campaign, during which the specialist visited many of the churches in the dioceses to educate their parishioners about farmworker livelihoods and to request donations. During this time, the Board Chair changed, and the membership of the Board also changed significantly. At the time of this study, Valley View was also changing its website and investigating new ways to communicate with farmworkers through mobile technologies.

Due to these changes, many of the Board members and the bishops with whom I spoke seemed engaged and excited about the future of the organization. One challenge, however, was that the farmworker population and the other Latino members of and volunteers with the church were very fond of the minister and former director, Father Edwin. Not only had Father Edwin been the minister for nineteen years, his simultaneous position as a director during that period meant he was responsible for outreach with the workers. He was also a Latino man and a former professional soccer player, so one could surmise that many of the farmworkers felt they could relate to him. Most of the workers did not call the organization "Valle Vista" but "Father Edwin." Therefore, although Samuel is Spanish, he faced challenges in assuming Valley View's outreach responsibilities. The farmworkers were confused after the shift, and it took time for

Samuel to gain their trust. Even though some farmworkers and parishioners were wary of this change, during the study it seemed that they were becoming more and more comfortable with Samuel being the outreach director.

Valley View is also involved in multiple networks. It is currently active in a state-based farmworker advocacy network, which organizes a yearly farmworker institute. Individual FBO members are also active in a state-wide, non-denominational, Christian justice organization. Valley View employees and the Board director also participate in conferences involving the intersection of faith and agriculture.

Study Location

Valley View is located in rural North Carolina, in a region that scholars call the Nuevo South, which refers to states with growing population of Latino residents in the middle Atlantic and southern United States. Scholars have attributed the shift of migration from traditional gateway areas, such as Texas and California, to these new locations to a number of factors, including market fluctuations resulting from the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); lax labor laws in the southern United States; implementation of the Immigration Reform and Control act of 1986; and social and economic shifts in traditional gateway cities that made them less appealing to new immigrant populations (Ansley & Shefner, 2009; Gill, 2010; Perreira, 2011). These population changes are notable. Between 1990 and 2000, for example, North Carolina (NC) saw an increase in its Latino population of 337%. Indeed, some of NC's counties, including two that Valley View serves, saw more than 500% growth in their Latino populations during that decade (Kochar, Suro, & Tafoya, 2005).

Within these groups, Valley View serves local undocumented people, undocumented farmworkers, farmworkers with H-2A visas, and residents and citizens in the three counties surrounding the Ministry. During the time of this inquiry, Valley View largely served Latinos,

but also served a few Haitian farmworkers. For this study, I interviewed five Mexican farmworkers holding H-2A visas, one Mexican woman who did not disclose her citizenship status, and one Mexican man who is a former farmworker who now serves on Valley View's Board and works with a farmworker service organization. I conducted participant observations with representatives of all population groups involved in the Ministry, including white American citizens. The majority of the people hired in the H-2A farmworkers program are men without their families, so all of the H-2A workers I met were men, but I also interacted with female farmworkers, who were also mothers and grandmothers.

Farmworkers with H-2A visas are part of a seasonal worker program that is organized between the United States and Mexico. The Bracero program, which was a binational agreement between the U.S. and Mexico, operated from 1917 to 1921 and Congress enacted another similar initiative in 1942, which allowed Mexicans to fill the labor gap in the U.S. during World War II (Philip, 2006). Both programs antedated the H-2A program. Laborers in the Bracero program largely worked in the western and southwestern United States, although some were employed in the South. The Bracero program ended in 1964. Enacted in 1952, the H-2A visa program allows a U.S. employer, a U.S. agent, or an association of U.S. agricultural producers that meets specific regulatory requirements to bring foreign nationals to the United States to fill temporary agricultural jobs (UCIS, 2017).

According to NC's 2016 estimate, there were 4,189 H-2A workers in the three counties that Valley View serves while these county's total combined 2015 total was 250,988. In FY 2015, the North Carolina Grower's Association was the largest *requester* of H-2A workers in the country. The average wage for those farmworkers in 2016 was \$10.32 per hour.

The H-2A workers that Valley View serves usually remain in the United States for three to six months of the year, between the months of March and November. They mostly harvest sweet potatoes, tobacco, and cucumbers. Because of this schedule, Valley View's work was more time-consuming during Spring, Summer, and early Fall. I decided to conduct my field research in the summer for that reason.

North Carolina officials consider agriculture and agribusiness their state's number one industry. According to Walden (2016), in 2014 the agricultural industry contributed 84 billion dollars and accounted for more than 17 percent of the state's gross state product. In addition, of the 4 million employees in the state, the agricultural industry employed 686,200.

The labor movement is a significant stakeholder in efforts to secure farm labor justice throughout the U.S., and during my period of participant observation, a few workers mentioned being part of a union and/or shared their perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of union activity. One worker even wore his union t-shirt to our interview. In 2016, the states with the lowest union membership in the United States were all in the South, with South Carolina (1.6%) and North Carolina (3.0%) being the lowest (USDA, 2017). North Carolina is also a Right to Work state, which declares that "No person shall be required by an employer to become or remain a member of any labor union or labor organization as a condition of employment or continuation of employment by such employer" (NC General Statutes, 1947).

Although union membership is low, there have been significant union successes in the state and its region. For example, in 2004, the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC) signed a contract with the state's growers and a pickle company that included sick pay, a grievance procedure, and hiring security. This contract was the first of its kind for many reasons, including the fact that it was the first union contract for H-2A guest workers. In addition, it was

one of the first labor contracts that included transnational organizing, as FLOC representatives traveled to Mexico before the farmworkers went to the United States and trained them in collective bargaining and other negotiating techniques (Smith-Nonini, 2009). FLOC continues to work in NC, specifically in tobacco campaigns.

Another organization which has made significant progress in increasing farmworker wages is The Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), which has described itself as:

a worker-based human rights organization internationally recognized for its achievements in the fields of social responsibility, human trafficking, and gender-based violence at work. Built on a foundation of farmworker community organizing starting in 1993, and reinforced with the creation of a national consumer network since 2000, CIW's work has steadily grown over more than twenty years to encompass three broad and overlapping spheres: The Fair Food Program, Anti-slavery Campaign, and the Campaign for Fair Food (CIW, 2012).

Even though CIW does most of its work in Florida, its representatives have visited NC for a grocery chain-related campaign.

In addition to being strict with unions, North Carolina has also been tightening its immigration laws. At the time of this study, the North Carolina General Assembly had recently passed a bill to prohibit sanctuary cities and require state and local government agencies to utilize the E-Verify system to authenticate legal working status. The bill also made it more difficult to hire and protect undocumented people. It also limited food assistance for unemployed able-bodied, childless adults (Santiago & Burns, 2015). In February 2017, the State's House Judiciary Committee held a hearing on a Republican sponsored measure that, if passed, would

permit judges to refuse bail to undocumented immigrants, among other provisions (Campbell, 2017).

These proposals are all rooted in the assumption that foreign workers take jobs from American citizens. But this is simply not true. By law, grower organizations must advertise their positions in local newspapers in order to provide evidence that there is a need for foreign labor. Furthermore, research has shown that most citizens do not want the positions. For example, a bipartisan study by the Partnership for the New American Economy demonstrated that in 2011, NC had approximately 489,000 unemployed people and about 6,500 farm labor open positions. The NCGA advertised these positions in the region's local counties, some of which had unemployment rates of 10%, and only 268 people applied for them, and 245 of those who sought posts were offered them. Of those 245 new hires, half quit in the first month, and only seven native-citizen workers finished the season, which usually lasts from March to November (Clemens, 2013, p. 2).

Statement of the Problem

The questions that this project addressed exist on three cross-cutting planes at the macro, meta, and micro scales. The first concern involves a theoretical discussion of participation, globalization, and justice. Although some scholars argue that concentrating on local governance detracts from achieving needed changes that can only occur at the national and international levels, such as immigration reform, I contend that those experiencing injustices in the globalized economic system, including farmworkers, must be able to point up those wrongs if they are ever to improve their lives. Many scholars and development professionals have suggested that in order to shift existing power relations and thus stimulate change, existing norms and social structures must be challenged at the individual, organizational, and state levels. Having roots in a Habermasian tradition of deliberation, Fraser (1990, 2009b) and other democratic theorists,

including Young (1990) and Benhabib (2004), have offered this argument. As Fraser has pointed out, when a person or group of people are considered stateless, they are at risk of being politically silenced. Borrowing from Hannah Arendt (1951/1976) she has contended that the loss of the right to have rights is equivalent to political death. This possibility represents an omnipresent risk for immigrant farmworkers (Fraser, 2009b).

For example, although at the individual level, farmworkers range from people possessing H-2A visas, to American citizens and undocumented adults, to youth who are now attending American schools and universities, many still live and work in dangerous conditions and are subject to discrimination on the basis of their race, class, and/or national origin. In addition, in many states, so-called undocumented individuals cannot obtain a driver's license, secure health coverage under the Affordable Care Act, or apply for other public services, such as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program. Difficult living and working situations have been exacerbated in Arizona and Alabama in recent years by strict residency laws that have sought to limit laborers' mobility and freedom. Although many workers have mobilized to protest these conditions, many have not done so, due to fear of deportation or loss of employment (Holmes, 2013). As a general proposition, it is fair to say that farmworkers are systematically rendered invisible to the broader society by both industrial and alternative agriculture (Gray, 2013; Holmes, 2013). Given that many immigrant farmworkers cannot vote to elect those who will make the laws that govern them, this population is ever at risk of "political death." By examining a project's capacity to open space for the exercise of political agency by farmworkers, this study contributes to philosophical and theoretical discussions concerning what constitutes justice, citizenship, and agency for this group in a globalized world.

The analysis also addressed meta-level concerns by contributing to scholarship that considers strategies for examining agency and participation for immigrant farmworkers, and the potential effectiveness of programs aimed at opening participatory possibilities in FBOs and in Agrifood Initiatives (AFI). Social change advocates, activists, and scholars strive to use governance processes and develop programs to change power relations between those with privilege and those without and thus increase participation and encourage the use of political agency among the traditionally voiceless. Although as a group, most social change agents likely do not have the same livelihood challenges as many immigrant farmworkers, they are nevertheless enmeshed in relationships of power and confront other obstacles that can hinder their attempts to open participatory possibilities. These include competitive funding, contextual constraints related to regional, state, and local politics, and a lack of time to reflect on appropriate governance arrangements. It is innately difficult to create the sorts of change processes that move society toward these goals.

Many development professionals and scholars have questioned the efficacy of local development projects (Cooke & Kothari, 2001; Cornwall, 2004; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008). There have been many well-intentioned domestic and international development grassroots level initiatives that have failed to result in long-term changes. In fact, many have not sustainably improved the livelihoods of those most in need. This reality has diminished the legitimacy of the nonprofit and NGO sector, frequently damaging supporting community ecosystems in the process. Lack of project accountability and engagement with beneficiaries among all involved parties, instability and inadequacy of state institutions, and the incapacity of claimants to obtain systemic change through policy, are all reasons that development projects have not met expectations.

Significance of the Study

This study is timely for several reasons. First, immigration is currently a highly salient topic in national and international politics, and the people investigated for this project were largely immigrants. Second, FBOs are often a primary provider of services to immigrant and farmworker populations. Although this is the case, there is comparatively little research available on the roles of these NGOs. Exploring strategies pursued by FBOs seeking to offer participatory space for those they serve is key to ensuring that the groups they support receive the assistance they need. In addition, there has recently been a surge of collaborations between farmworker justice movement members and Alternative Agrifood Movement supporters (AAM), and this analysis contributes to those partnerships by investigating ways in which Alternative Food Initiatives and FBOs can engage with farmworkers.

Moreover, as Valley View is currently seeking to adopt changes aimed at opening participatory opportunities for the farmworkers it serves, this analysis offered a special chance to examine agency, participation, and efficacy for such immigrant laborers. This study thus has the potential to illuminate larger issues of environmental justice while providing empirical data for FBOs and other nonprofits working to provide space for the effective exercise of farmworker agency and solidarity.

Research Concepts

Arcury and Quandt have described farmworkers in this way:

Farmworkers include individuals who are involved in agricultural production, including planting, cultivating, harvesting, and processing crops for sale, and caring for animals. They include seasonal farmworkers, individuals whose principal employment is in agriculture on a seasonal basis, and migrant farmworkers, seasonal farmworkers who, for purposes of employment, establish a temporary home (2009, p. 16).

This term is useful for conceptual purposes and to create an understanding of the different actors at play in the case. In addition, I have found in my interactions with these temporary migrant employees that even though they are aware of the risks innate to their occupation and the relatively low wages associated with their positions, many nonetheless take pride in their work in agriculture, both in America and in their home countries. While aware of this, I am also aware that the term “farmworker” can reify power imbalances between study participants and me.

I also use the descriptive phrase “irregular migrants,” to describe people who, “are noncitizens who have crossed state borders or remain in state territory without the host state’s explicit and ongoing sanction” (McNevin, 2013, pp. 18–19). In addition, citizenship as defined by the state, proved to be a barrier to participation for certain groups, specifically those who do not have documents. For that reason, when I employ the term “citizenship” in this study, it refers to how it is defined by the national government. This is not a normative designation, as I contend with Young (2006) and Massey (1994) that citizenship and moral standing should be defined by social connection and not geography or the state.

Nor, does the use of the term “citizenship” imply that irregular migrants do not have agency. It is merely used for analytical clarity. In this dissertation, I am most interested in understanding the relationship between agency and structure, and political citizenship can be a constraint on agential and participatory possibilities. However, I contend that irregular migrants do have agency. I specifically define agency, following Young, as when “you can take the constraints and possibilities that condition your life and make something of them in your own way” (Young, 2002, p. 101). I also contend with Connolly that how that agency is transformed into change is often a mystery (2013). Finally, although I argue that agency is not defined by the

state, it is also clear to me that the state must nevertheless institute changes for the terms of Participatory Parity, as defined by Fraser, to be realized (see Chapter 2).

I also utilize the term “solidarity” throughout the text. For this work, I employ Young’s definitions of “differentiated solidarity,” which “assumes respect and mutual obligation,” but “allows for a certain degree of separation among people who seek out each other because of social or cultural affinities they have with one another that they do not share with others” (Young, 2002, p. 221). This analysis supports FBO provision of spaces for solidarity among the H-2A worker and undocumented populations. I also argue for the importance of shared spaces and collaboration among these different, overlapping groups and with the Valley View BOD and employees.

I also employ the term Alternative Agrifood Movements (Allen, 2004; Allen, FitzSimmons, Goodman, & Warner, 2003; Harrison, 2008, 2011) to refer to the social movement to which the topic of this dissertation broadly belongs, and Alternative Food Initiatives (Allen et al., 2003) to point to the different organizations and collaborations that support the empirical and theoretical components of this inquiry. Allen (2004) has described AAMs and AFIs as including both sustainable agriculture, with a “focus on production and the viability of the family farm” and community food security, with a focus on “distribution and consumption” (2004, p. 2). She has suggested that the alternative agriculture movement operates at “two levels: at the level of developing alternative practices... and at the level of changing institutions” (2004, p. 3). I use AAM and AFIs interchangeably throughout the text.

Scholars describe FBOs as a spectrum with “variation in organizational control, expression of religion, and program implementation” (Bielefeld & Cleveland, 2013, p. 459).

Valley View is a FBO, and this study uses the term to describe organizations that have the following characteristics:

affiliation with a religious body; a mission statement with explicit reference to religious values; financial support from religious sources; and/or a governance structure where selection of Board members or staff is based on religious beliefs or affiliation and/or decision-making processes based on religious values (Ferris, 2005, p. 311).

I am not certain whether Valley View staff and board members also use these terms to describe their organization. However, in keeping with definitions widely accepted among relevant scholars, I identify Valley View as both an AFI and a FBO, which operates within multiple movements, including the AAM.

Finally, this study also utilizes critical agrarian studies (CAS), a body of theoretical and empirical scholarship that has built on and critiqued the environmental sustainability and sustainable agriculture movement (s). Critical agrarian studies specifically inspired my work because its authors have criticized both industrial and sustainable agriculture for farmer-centric policies, imaginaries, and ideologies that have systematically rendered migrant farm laborers invisible in their own governance and broader political or policy decision processes (Allen, 2004; Gray, 2013; Guthman, 2004; Holmes, 2013).

Research Framework

The ontological and epistemological commitments informing this study arose from Critical Realism (CR), which holds that there is a *real* beyond individual experience and senses, but also recognizes subjective knowledge as true. Critical Realists have adopted a stratified depth ontology that includes three domains of truth: the empirical (senses, experience), the actual (entities independent of our senses and experiences, but that touch our senses and experience), and the real (causal powers, mechanisms, and structures that are not seen—observers only see

their effects) (Collier, 1994, p. 42). Critical Realists posit that the world is extremely complex and knowledge is fallible; therefore, many people do not understand or know the causal mechanisms operating at the level of the real (Lovell, 2007; Roberts, 2014).

The belief in the fallibility of situated social knowledge and the possibility of ideological error is what makes Critical Realism *critical*. It is the responsibility of the researcher to uncover the causal mechanisms associated with outcomes in different contexts and thus to understand why knowledge and ideologies are fallible. By identifying causal mechanisms, scholars “can diagnose errors in reality itself. But we can go farther than this. We can locate the source of errors in reality itself” (López & Potter, 2005, p. 14). This practice of reflexivity allows analysts to navigate the complexity and nuances associated with the relationship between agents and structures and thus map, “a theory of causality which is compatible with qualitative research methods” (Roberts, 2014, p. 2). Ascertaining the structural mechanisms associated with a case “identifies unnecessary social suffering, injustice and misconceptions, uncovers and explains their causes and implies an injunction to eliminate them” (Lovell, 2007, p. 2).

Theoretical Framework

Although one could use stakeholder and board governance theories to analyze the organizational dynamics presented in this case. I instead investigated whether and how my study results reflected Fraser’s (2009b) conceptualization of global justice as “participatory parity.” While the normative scenario that Fraser articulates can be “transformational” when realized, it is extremely difficult to achieve, especially as there often many factors impeding its realization. I used this study to understand better the complexities and potential possibilities of farmworker participation. Through Fraser’s three-level analytical frame, I gained a better understanding of how participatory dynamics worked in the Valley View organization, and thereby contributed to existing scholarship addressing these questions in agriculture, development, and beyond.

Research Questions

The following questions point up the crosscutting research concerns in which I was interested, utilize Critical Realism's depth ontology, and were grounded in critical agrarian studies as well as Fraser's framework:

1. What is the efficacy of farmworker claims at the level of the organization, the state, and transnational sphere? How is this achieved? What are the forces that mediate the translation of communicative power at each level of power Fraser has identified?
2. How do this study's findings reflect the key themes in critical agrarian studies? Why and how are those results different from other studies? How do this inquiry's findings reflect key themes in other FBO/Ministry studies with farmworkers? Why and how are these analytic results different from other studies?
3. How has Valley View integrated struggles concerning maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation into its participatory project? How did the farmworker participants understand the participatory intent of the project? How did the Valley View effort to open participatory space for the workers it serves reflect the concept of participatory parity as articulated by Nancy Fraser?
4. Does Valley View apply equal moral standing, or the all-affected principle, to the farmworkers it serves? How and why or why not? Do the FBO's decision rules accord equal voice in public deliberations and fair representation in decision-making to all members, including the migrant farmworkers the Ministry serves? How and why or why not?
5. Was a structure/agency dialectic evident in Valley View's participatory project? If so, how was it manifest, and why?

Table 1 illustrates the logic that guided the creation of the research questions and design outlined here.

Literature	Research Questions	Theory Paradigm	Research Methods	Analysis Codes
<i>Global Justice, CAS, Power</i> (Benhabib, 2004; Cornwall & Coelho, 2007; Gaventa & Cornwall, 2008)	What is the efficacy of farmworker claims at the level of the organization, the state, and transnational sphere? How is this achieved? What are the forces that block the translation of communicative power at each level of power Fraser has identified?	<i>Efficacy - Transnational Public Sphere</i> (Fraser, 2007, 2007)	Participant Observations (PO): board meeting; Doc Review (DOC): Grant proposal, Mission; Interviews (INT): Board and Employees	<i>Efficacy:</i> Advocacy, Blocks (org, state, and trans) Networks, FBO Political, FBO Advocacy; <i>PP:</i> (Process Transnational)
CAS (Allen, 2004; Guthman, 2014; Minkoff-Zern, 2014; Nilsen, 2014)	How do the study's findings reflect the key themes in critical agrarian studies? Why and how are those results different from other studies? How do the study's findings reflect key themes in other FBO/Ministry studies with farmworkers? Why and how are these analytic results different from other studies?	<i>Agrarian Imaginary, Exceptionalism</i> (Gray, 2013; Guthman, 2014; Minkoff-Zern, 2014b)	PO: board meeting and the Farmworker Adv Comm; INT: Board, Employees, and Farmworkers	CAS: Farmer/FW Relations, Farmer Power, Neoliberalism
<i>CAS, Power, Global Justice</i> (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011; Guthman, 2008; Guthman, 2008; Slocum, 2006)	How has Valley View integrated struggles concerning maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation into its participatory project? How did the farmworker participants understand the participatory intent of the project? How did the Valley View effort to open participatory space for the workers it serves reflect the concept of participatory parity as articulated by Nancy Fraser?	<i>PP</i> (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Fraser, 1997, 2007, 2017; Harvey, 2005)	INT: Board members, Employees, farmworkers; DOC: Grant Proposal, Listening Session Notes	<i>PP:</i> REP (Process Transnational); REC (Center, Church – FW Relations, Race, Language) RED (Class, Charity, livelihoods)
<i>CAS, Power</i> (Agyeman, 2013; Allen, 2010; Cornwall, 2004; DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; Gaventa, 1982)	Does Valley View apply equal moral standing, or the all-affected principle, to the farmworkers it serves? How and why or why not? Do the FBO's decision rules accord equal voice in public deliberations and fair representation in decision-making to all members, including the migrant farmworkers the Ministry serves? How and why or why not?	<i>Legitimacy/All-Subjected Principle</i> (Fraser, 2007, 1990, 2014)	PO: board meeting and the Farmworker Adv Comm; DOC: Grant Proposal, Listening Session Notes; INT: Board, Employees, and Farmworkers	<i>Legitimacy:</i> All-subjected Process Rule, Representation Rule
<i>Critical Realism, CAS</i> (Lovell, 2007; Minkoff-Zern, 2014; Minkoff-Zern, 2014a)	Was a structure/agency dialectic evident in Valley View's participatory project? If so, how was it manifest, and why?	<i>Agency</i> (Connolly, 2013; Freire, 1984)	PO: board meeting and the Farmworker Adv Comm; DOC: Listening Session Notes; INT: Farmworkers, Board Members, Employees	<i>Agency:</i> Collective, Individual, Process

Table 1: Logic Table

Limitations

As the research questions and Table 1 demonstrate, this study focused on issues of labor and democratic possibility for migrant immigrant farmworkers. I designed the research questions to investigate these two integrated themes. CAS, critical theory, and development studies constitute rich bodies of literature that offer critiques of alternative and industrial agriculture as well as different mechanisms for increasing the participation of a variety of stakeholders in the food system.

One limitation of this study is that its research questions did not address the relationship between faith-based organizations, development, and politics. As noted above, Valley View identifies itself as a faith-based organization, but the literature addressing FBOs and agricultural labor is very small. Although this effort's literature review includes studies about a farmworker ministry and the relationship between the CIW and faith-based organizations, it does not consider the integration of faith in development. The primary reason this constitutes a potential limitation of this work is that it therefore cannot develop analytical generalizations concerning the forces behind mission drift in FBOs, an issue that emerged in this analysis.

An additional limitation is that I could not interview undocumented farmworkers and their families. During participant observations, I spoke with many undocumented women, especially at food banks, but I was not able to interview them. Most of the information I received about this population came from other individuals, including interviews with Valley View Board members and employees or by means of participant observation of Board meetings.

In order to interview undocumented individuals, I suggest that researchers spend additional time in the field—perhaps as long as a year. Not only are undocumented populations more nervous about outsiders, they move in different social networks than H-2A workers do. Undocumented workers and their families typically possess their own transportation and are

likely not interested in spending time to provide interviews. Spending considerable time in communities to build the relationships necessary to gain the trust and support of this population likely will spell the difference in whether they will be willing to share their insights and experiences.

Dissertation Outline

This study is comprised of seven chapters and eleven appendices. This initial chapter has provided background and contextual information on the Valley View Farmworker Ministry. It has also outlined the study's research questions, logic model, and limitations. Chapter two describes this inquiry's conceptual framework, including the ontology, epistemology, and theoretical framework that underpin it. Chapter three presents the study's research design. This includes a description of the study's use of ethnographic research methods, its ethical measures, and its data analysis method. The fourth chapter reviews relevant literature in critical agrarian studies and participatory and global justice. Chapter five provides the results for the questions I investigated concerning participatory parity, and chapter six presents my results concerning the legitimacy and efficacy of Valley View's efforts. Chapter seven sketches the study's conclusions and offers recommendations for further research. The appendices include Virginia Tech IRB-approved consent forms, interview protocols in English and Spanish, the participatory description statement I employed, the data analysis code protocol I followed, and the Memorandum of Understanding between myself and Valley View concerning the project.

Chapter 2 - Conceptual Framework

This chapter details this dissertation's conceptual framework. It specifically reviews how theories of Critical Realism relate to Fraser's (2009b) global theory of justice as participatory parity and the different components of each. It also discusses how I employed these conceptions to examine the Valley View Farmworker Ministry's participatory project.

Critical Realism

This study utilized a Critical Realism (CR) framework, as it was dedicated to finding ways to, "identify unnecessary social suffering, injustice and misconceptions, uncover and explain their causes and imply an injunction to eliminate them"

(Lovell, 2007, p. 2). Bhaskar has been the most influential thinker in critical realism (2014). Archer, another key figure in this field, expanded Bhaskar's ideas by focusing more deeply on the question of agency (2003).

Figure 1 displays critical realism's ontological assumptions; that there is both a real beyond individual experience, an actual, and an empirical, which recognizes subjective knowledge as true

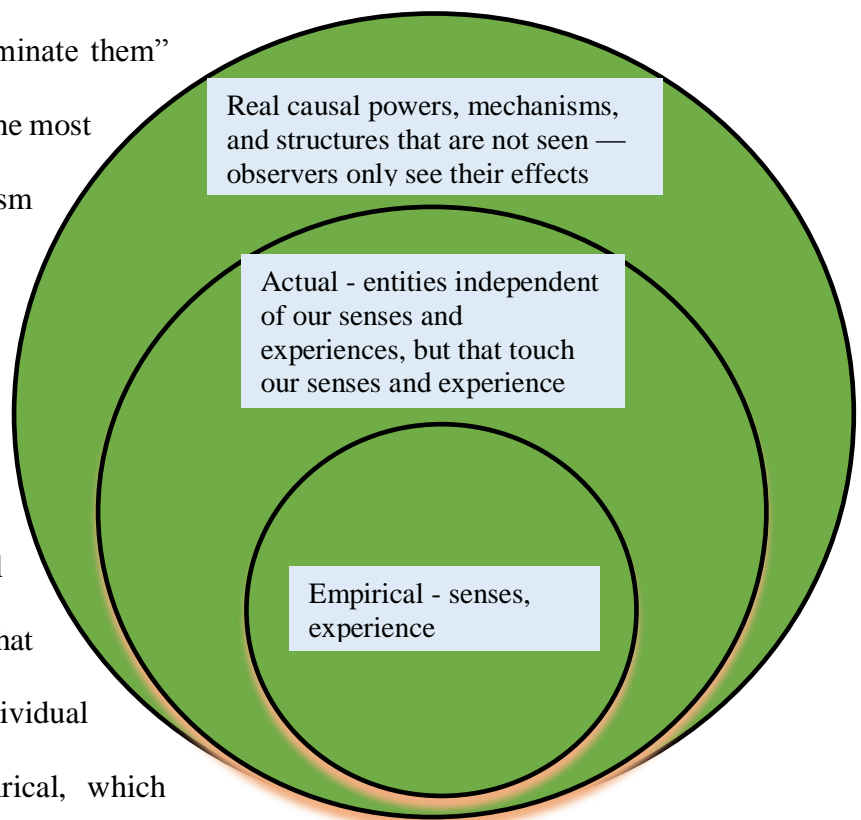


Figure 1: Critical Realism Depth Ontology, adapted from Collier (1994)

(Collier, 1994, p. 42). Critical realists also hold that knowledge is fallible and that it is the researcher's responsibility to uncover the relative reliability of specific knowledge claims. It is also the investigator's responsibility to understand how assertions pressed at the empirical and

actual level(s), through interview or participant observation, result from causal forces operating at the level of the real.

In addition, the dialectical relationship between the objective (structure) and the subjective (agent) is key to the CR frame. Although Bhaskar initially understood the levels of understanding to be distinct and separate, he later suggested the different planes of ontological reasoning are best understood in relation to each other, “In other words, rather than structure and history existing as two entities in their own right that come together through ‘process,’ Bhaskar now claims that structures and history are dialectically entwined” (Roberts, 2014, pp. 8–9).

Fraser’s work aligns with critical realism in two principal ways; through her dedication to emancipation and via her focus on participatory parity. Although Fraser has not personally stated that she is a critical realist, Lovell (2007) has outlined the ways in which the thinker’s work supports and mirrors that framework. First, like critical realism theorists, Fraser does not concentrate her efforts specifically on structure or agency. Instead, she has focused on identifying the causes of injustice and proposing emancipatory possibilities to increase justice in contexts. Fraser’s perspective can be gleaned from the following contention concerning the transnational sphere:

On the one hand, one should avoid an empiricist approach that simply adapts the theory to the existing realities, as that approach risks sacrificing its normative force. On the other hand, one should avoid an externalist approach that invokes ideal theory to condemn social reality, as that approach risks forfeiting critical tradition. The alternative rather, is critical-theoretical approach that seeks to locate normative standards and emancipatory political possibilities precisely within the historically unfolding constellation (Fraser, 2009d, p. 77).

Fraser has focused on “participatory parity, dialogics, and agency in normative social transformation” (Lovell, 2007, p. 7). Like critical realists, she is dedicated to determining the good life and finding ways in which agents can achieve it. She takes that process farther, however, by seeking to identify emancipatory possibilities with people, through dialogue and deliberation (Lovell, 2007).

I employ the critical realist framework in a multi-scalar way in the case analysis that follows. For example, I adopt critical realism’s dialectical view of the relationship between structure and agency throughout. In addition, although I employed semi-open coding to identify the central themes of the interviews I conducted, I also allowed the rural context in which I was working to help me identify additional codes. Finally, I concentrated on understanding the structures that both encouraged and discouraged potentials for justice while examining the effects of a self-consciously designed participatory process.

Transnational Public Spheres

Fraser (2009b) has described how in the prevailing Westphalian international order, distributive justice has guided justice procedures, by situating those disproportionately within nation-state territorial boundaries. Although much of Fraser’s work is founded on Habermas’s articulation of the public sphere, she has regularly sought to develop the idea critically, including critiquing the construct for not accounting adequately for issues such as class, race, gender, and culture (Fraser, 1990). In addition to those criticisms, Fraser, along with Benhabib (2004), and Young (2006), has argued that the territorial boundaries of nation states do not provide spaces for non-citizens, refugees, and undocumented peoples to make claims for justice.

The response by many analysts to this issue has been to identify and make claims for a transnational public sphere. However, given that the idea of a public sphere today often correlates to a sovereign state, Fraser has contended that “it is by no means clear what it means

today to speak of ‘transnational public spheres.’ From the perspective of democratic theory, at least, the phrase sounds a bit like an oxymoron” (Fraser, 2009d, p. 77). In other words, although Fraser has used the idea of the transnational sphere in many of her works (2007: 2010), she also has recognized significant challenges to the idea and capacity of such spaces.

In late 2014, Fraser argued that there are currently multiple transnational public spheres, such as the Occupy Movement, that function alongside more powerful nation states. However, these spaces “do not meet standards of normative legitimacy; and absent the requisite addressees, the opinion they generate lacks practical efficacy” (2014, p. 130). She specifically offered the following argument concerning how to increase the efficacy and legitimacy of transnational public spheres:

Transnational public spheres could fare better ... if two conditions were met: first they would need to be sufficiently inclusive and solidaristic to ensure parity of participation among far-flung interlocutors who are disparately situated, ideologically diverse, and unequally empowered; and, second, they would need appropriate addressees—robust, accountable, transnational public institutions, able to transmute public opinion into enforceable political will (2014, p. 130).

Even though Fraser is highly critical of transnational public spheres, she has argued that “Nevertheless, we should not rush to jettison the notion of a ‘transnational public sphere.’ Such a notion is indispensable, I think, to those who aim to reconstruct democratic theory in the current ‘postnational constellation’” (Fraser, 2009d, p. 77). For example:

Nothing precludes our working simultaneously to transnationalize existing national public spheres, to develop (or even create) transnational publics, and to forge linkages among them. On the contrary, its only through this sort of both/and strategy that we can have any

hope of enhancing both the legitimacy and the efficacy of public opinion in a globalizing world (Fraser, 2007, p. 8).

From these articulations, I understand transnational public spheres to be spaces where immigrant and refugee claims might prove to be efficacious and legitimate. This idea is supported by Fraser's all-subjected principle which, "holds that what turns a collection of people into fellow members of a public is not shared citizenship, or co-imbrication in a causal matrix, but rather their joint subjection to a structure of governance that sets the ground rules for their interaction" (Fraser, 2007, p. 96). I understand these to include both sovereign states as well as organizations that are led by and/or supported by specific population(s). Fraser has similarly argued that "participation is also subject to non-state structures both at small and large scales" (Fraser, 2014, p. 149), and "minimally, the transnational community of those subjected comprises a transnational public, charged with bringing decision-makers to account informally, in civil society" (Fraser, 2014, p. 150)

Transnational public spheres are important to the Valley View Farmworker Ministry for many reasons. Foremost among these perhaps is the fact that the people that Valley View serves are largely irregular migrants and the transnational public sphere frame is appropriate for understanding how and if their claims can become efficacious and legitimate. Moreover, the Valley View Ministry conducted a participatory project whose goal was to include those it served in the leadership of the organization. Fraser's frame allowed me to understand how and if farmworker claims were efficacious and legitimate within the organization and beyond.

Participatory Parity

This dissertation utilizes Fraser's concept of participatory parity as its working definition of justice, "justice requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social

life. Overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on a par with others, as full partners in social interaction” (Fraser, 2009b, p. 16). The theory rests on three components: redistribution, representation, and recognition. I employed these overlapping attributes as indicators for understanding whether Valley View was working toward creating a space in which worker claims could be both efficacious and legitimate.

I investigated the relationship among the social, economic, and cultural in the Ministry I studied. I illustrate that method here with the example of farmworker poverty. As a general proposition and practical matter, migrant workers who do not possess economic wealth are not recognized or accorded voice, nor do they enjoy robust representation of their interests in relevant communities. Moreover, this population is unlikely to belong to the groups that make decisions governing their lives and is therefore typically unable to change structures and rules that determine distribution and redistribution of societal resources. Not only are Fraser’s three posited categories pertinent when addressing justice, they work together to strengthen or weaken the characteristics associated with each. Historically, farmworkers have experienced injustice on different scales and in multiple fields, including immigration, labor, race, nationality, and language (Fraser, 2009b).

Redistribution. The idea of redistribution is central to Fraser’s theory. As she has observed, “... people can be impeded from full participation by economic structures that deny them the resources they need in order to interact with others as peers; in that case they suffer from distributive injustice or maldistribution” (Fraser, 2009b, p. 16). Much of her harshest criticism has been directed to elements of neoliberalism, as concisely defined by Harvey (2005) (see chapter 1). The hegemonic character of neoliberalism’s discourse disposes corporations to

divide both resource extraction and farming communities. Harvey has contended that given the power of neoliberalism to separate communities in the guise of market freedom, “it is the profoundly antidemocratic nature of neoliberalism that should surely be the main focus of political struggle” (Harvey, 2011).

Another element of neoliberalism that is less visible, but of which Fraser has been critical is what she has labeled progressive neoliberalism, or the idea that social movements have often unintentionally supported neoliberalism. Fraser has described this phenomenon as:

an alliance of mainstream currents of new social movements (feminism, anti-racism, multiculturalism, and LGBTQ rights), on the one side, and high-end “symbolic” and service-based business sectors (Wall Street, Silicon Valley, and Hollywood), on the other. In this alliance, progressive forces are effectively joined with the forces of cognitive capitalism, especially financialization (2017).

She has argued that a true left has not been present in the United States for more than thirty years, and the hegemonic character of neoliberalism as a dominant frame and public philosophy has thwarted efforts to develop a more comprehensive political movement that would support class as well as recognition issues. This argument echoes past critiques of participatory development, as well (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007; Fraser, 2017). Neoliberalism and progressive neoliberalism represent important lenses through which to analyze and understand how maldistribution impeded workers from full participation in Valley View’s participatory project. I was keen throughout this project to record and seek to understand how issues of class were treated by all relevant stakeholders with whom I interacted.

Recognition. Another key element of Fraser’s theoretical framework is recognition. Fraser has explained this concern as follows: “people can be impeded from interacting on terms

of parity by institutionalized hierarchies of cultural values that deny them the requisite standing; in that case they suffer from status inequality or misrecognition” (Fraser, 2009b, p. 16). Fraser has identified the following three types of cultural or symbolic injustice: “cultural domination (subjection to alien standards of judgment), non-recognition (subjection to cultural invisibility), and disrespect (routine subjection to malign stereotypes and disparagements)” (1997, p. 14) In addition, Fraser has contended that in many transnational dialogic processes, “there is not only conflicting claims but also conflicting ontologies” (Fraser, 2009, p. 3). She has argued that participatory processes must account for redistribution, recognition, and representation, but the values articulated in those spaces are open to interpretation. Lovell has summarized Fraser’s argument as follows:

social conditions for participatory parity. ... Justice does not require the affirmation of any particular set of (ethical) values. ... What is absolute, for Fraser, is the right to participate in this process of defining, discovering, advancing, criticizing, and judging the way that we live, the circumstances in which we do so, and the consequences that our practices have for ourselves and others (2007, pp. 81–82).

The concepts of cultural domination, non-recognition, disrespect (Fraser, 1997), and participatory parity with an openness to value articulation (Fraser, 2007; Lovell, 2007), fundamental to understanding how “people can be impeded from interacting on terms of parity by institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value” (Fraser, 2007, pp. 73–74). I employ each in this dissertation’s analysis.

Representation. For Fraser, “Misrepresentation occurs when political boundaries and/or decision rules function to deny some people, wrongly, the possibility of participating on par with others in social interaction—including, but not only, in political arenas” (2009b, p. 18).

According to Fraser, the frame is challenged in two different ways, the administrative and the transformative. The administrative challenges the frame within the current Westphalian state system, while the transformative, consists of scenarios in which “the state-territoriality principle no longer affords an adequate basis for determining the “who” of justice in every case” (2009b, p. 23).

Fraser argues that the transformative is only possible if injustice is addressed on three scales. At the first level, issues of maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation must be addressed. On the second level, the frame is changed by “reconstituting the ‘who’ of justice”. At the third and most important dimension, those engaged are involved in the process of [re]setting the frame (2009b, pp. 25–26).

Fraser has outlined two forms of misframing. First, “when questions of justice are framed in a way that wrongly excludes some from consideration, the consequence is a special kind of meta-injustice, in which one is denied the chance to press first-order justice claims in a given political community” (2009b, p. 19). More dangerous, she has argued,

Is the case in which one is excluded from membership in any political community. Akin to the loss of what Hannah Arendt called ‘the right to have rights,’ that sort of misframing is a kind of ‘political death.’ Those who suffer it may become objects of charity or benevolence. But deprived of the possibility of authoring first-order claims, they become non-persons with respect to justice (2009b, p. 19).

Misrepresentation complements misrecognition and maldistribution because questions of representation or “the who” cannot be met, and therefore, additional claims for redistribution or recognition are not addressed (Fraser, 2009b). The farmworkers that are the subject of this analysis traditionally have had very little political power or voice, but the FBO seeking to serve

them launched a process of participatory engagement to help to address that challenge. That effort was the subject of this inquiry.

Efficacy

In “Rethinking the Public Sphere,” Fraser (1990) proposed an efficacy and legitimacy critique of the public sphere (see Chapter 3). On the basis of that critique, she asked the following when determining efficacy: “does that opinion attain sufficient political force to rein in private powers and to subject the actions of state officials to citizen control?” (Fraser, 2009d, p. 81). Fraser identified and outlined many forces that block the translation of opinion to political force and, as outlined above, made the case for multiple publics, contrary to Habermas’s posited singular public sphere (1985).

Fraser has also argued that for claims to be efficacious they must meet two conditions, translation and capacity. Fraser has defined translation as, “the communicative power generated in civil society [that] must be translated first into binding laws and then into administrative power,” and capacity as “the public power [that] must be able to implement the discursively formed will to which it is responsible” (Fraser, p. 22, 2007). Further, Fraser has argued that transnational claims are efficacious if they, “on the one hand, create new, transnational public powers; [while] on the other, make them accountable to a new, transnational public sphere” (Fraser, 2009d). This articulation of efficacy creates a critical challenge, especially given that the condition is connected to a sovereign state, and the majority of the people that Valley View serves are not citizens of that state.

Legitimacy

Along with efficacy, Fraser has also addressed legitimacy claims in the transnational sphere. She has defined legitimacy as present, “if and only if it results from a communicative process in which all who are jointly subjected to the relevant governance structure(s) can

participate as peers, regardless of political citizenship" (Fraser, p. 96). In addition, Fraser has used the term "all-subjected" to refer to those sharing the same governance structure. More, she has divided legitimacy into inclusiveness and parity conditions and defined inclusiveness as requiring that "discussion must be open to all with a stake in the outcome." Parity, meanwhile, demands that "all interlocutors must enjoy roughly equal chances to state their views, place issues on the agenda, question the tacit and explicit assumptions of others, switch levels as needed, and generally receive a fair hearing" (Fraser, 2009d, pp. 93–94).

Agency

As noted above, this study is less concerned about structure versus agency, and more focused on understanding the relationships between the two. That is, I agree with Lovell that "It is less a question of 'structure versus agency,' than how to understand existing structures, to identify and critique the injustices they carry, and of how to transform them" (Lovell, 2007, p. 7). Although this study is concerned with the dialectical, I understand agency as when "you can take the constraints and possibilities that condition your life and make something of them in your own way" (Young, 2002, p. 101). However, as demonstrated in Figure 2, this study also assumes that there are multiple ways that agency and structure may work together, and the outcome of possessing/exercising agency is unknown. This perspective is consonant with Connolly's understanding of this relationship:

The creative element is located somewhere between active and passive agency. ... An agent, or individual or collective, can help to open the portals of creativity, but it cannot will that which is creative into being by intending the result before it arrives. Real creativity is thus tinged with uncertainty and mystery (2013, p. 75).

This study investigated the ways in which agency presents itself in a specific sociocultural, political and economic context and how it is shaped by and has shaped structure. I

analyzed Board members, farmworkers, and employees' perceptions of participation and my field notes and documents from the FBO's listening and farmworker advisory committee sessions. I specifically questioned how the Board members understood the relationship between individual empowerment and participatory processes, and whether the workers exhibited signs of solidarity when they were together.

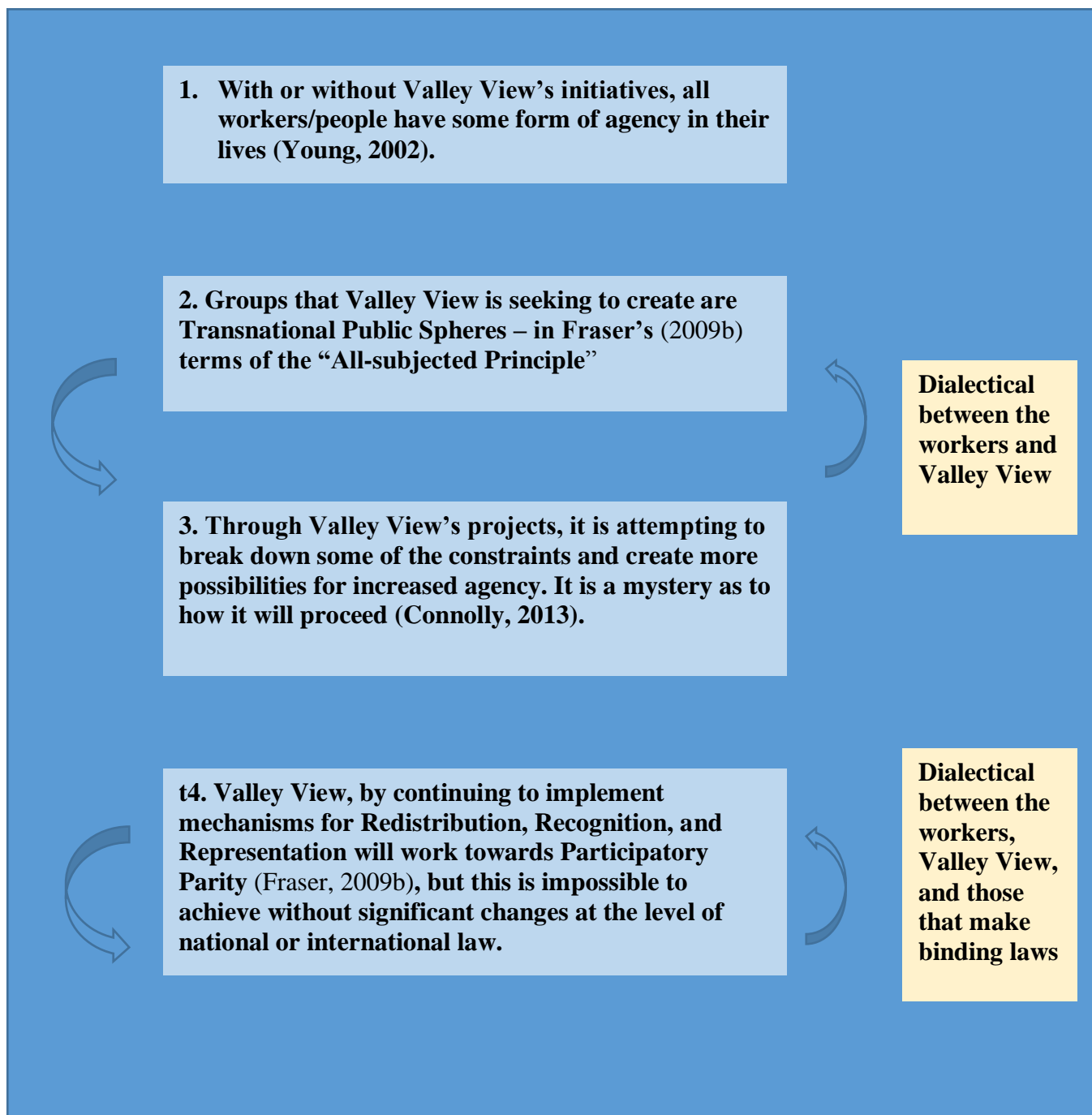


Figure 2: Conceptual Framework

Summary

Overall, Fraser's theoretical works are utilized here as a normative frame as well as analytical tools for determining how Valley View is faring in its efforts to work toward participatory parity for farmworkers in its projects. This study's ontological and epistemological framework, critical realism, is connected to Fraser's work in significant ways. First, both approaches are critical and therefore oriented to identifying injustices and offering emancipatory possibilities in different contexts. In addition, Fraser and the critical realism framework are concerned with understanding the relationship between structure and agency, in context. Finally, both incorporate objective as well as subjective articulations of knowing. That orientation neatly complemented this study's ethnographic orientation and data analysis methods.

Chapter 3 - Literature Review

Topically, this chapter reviews critical agrarian studies (CAS), analyses of faith-based organizations that work with farmworkers, and public health-based, community-based research with farmworker communities. Theoretically, it addresses arguments associated with participatory democracy and global justice. Many critical agrarian studies scholars have examined the implications of what social justice should mean in a globalizing society. Other analysts have offered case studies of faith-based organization efforts and Alternative Agrifood Initiatives aimed at opening space for farmworker participatory leadership and democratic social change. These two bodies of literature, in particular, inspired this study.

Participatory Justice

In what follows, I survey several salient foundational arguments regarding participatory justice. Development scholars and theorists contend that in order to open participatory possibilities for marginalized populations power dynamics among the groups involved in such efforts should be understood and addressed whenever possible. Therefore, this section reviews several ways of thinking about justice and participatory democracy and offers a framework for understanding power at the micro-political level.

When examining justice, political space, power, and participation as these broad constructs relate to farmworkers, it is first necessary to describe theories of justice relevant to this work. Utilitarianism focuses on the maximization of happiness, civic republicanism focuses on duties, and liberal justice is based on egalitarianism (Sandel, 2010). Tied to theories of justice are ideas of processes by which to make claims concerning injustice or on behalf of justice for specific groups. Modern participatory democratic theories of justice are largely founded on the ideas of the public sphere, as articulated by Jürgen Habermas (1985). Habermas's theory of communicative rationality and the public sphere represented a bold move theoretically. He

contended that the power of the public sphere and intersubjectivity constitute the means for creating truth, and may also serve as a mechanism for asserting justice claims (Habermas, 1985).

Power and the Public Sphere. Many critical scholars have generated theoretical and empirical analyses of the potential of efforts designed to achieve Habermas's ideal of communicative rationality. These analysts have developed an extensive literature concerning the complexities involved in realizing initiatives aimed at opening participatory possibilities. In order to understand what constitutes participatory potential it is necessary first to understand the assumptions and practices that often thwart such possibilities and the mechanisms that encourage them in the first place. Development scholars Cornwall and Gaventa (2008) have long been concerned with the fact that power is never neutral in community spaces. Cornwall has specifically contended, for example, that, "understanding their production, the actors, policies, and interests giving to them, and the configuration of other spaces surrounding them is critical to making sense of their democratic potential" (2004, p. 78).

To work towards such an understanding, it is important to investigate the work of Michel Foucault (1977; 1991) and Pierre Bourdieu (1984), as they were two of the most influential social theorists to consider the question of power during the 20th century. Foucault's contributions to social and political theory were immense, and here I will only address his understanding of power in the public sphere. Foucault used historical events, or the enrolling of, or as he called it, genealogy, to explain society. For example, in *Discipline and Punish* and "Governmentality" he explored how governmental administrative processes affect the minds and bodies of the individuals they target (1977; 1991).

Although Foucault's work focused on "Fordist" times, his arguments have also been used to understand neoliberal governmentality and what many scholars have labeled a transition from

government to governance. For example, Fraser used Foucault's (1991) analysis to demonstrate how, "globalization is generating a new landscape of social regulation, more privatized and dispersed than any envisioned by Foucault," and the "result [has been] a form of governmentality that far transcended the bounds of the state, even as it remained nationally bounded" (2009a, p. 122). In addition to Fraser, many other scholars have argued that the shift from government to governance has diffused power and accountability for its exercise, making the latter more difficult to ensure.

Bourdieu's theory of habitus and field (1984) provides a framework for understanding how power functions in micro-political spaces. For Bourdieu, capitals (i.e., social, economic) equate to power; therefore, the more power a person possesses provides heightened capacity to make change in different environments, or fields. Each individual, because of life experience (education and career) and family of origin, develops a different composition of capitals, which play out as symbolic gestures and language, or what he called "Habitus." An individual's economic, cultural, and social capitals aggregate into what Bourdieu labeled "Symbolic Capital," and when a person does not possess enough such capital to match a given field, there is potential for what the French sociologist dubbed "Symbolic Violence" (1977).

Although many analysts view Bourdieu's theory as deterministic, in fact, he acknowledged the possibility for change. At the level of the field or structure, he observed that with time, sometimes generations, change almost always occurs. In addition, individual habitus has the capacity to change when it comes into contact with a different field. There is also the capacity for change when someone moves up in status within a field; in other words, he or she gains more of a certain type of capital and therefore becomes potentially more powerful in that field. For Bourdieu, a field could include a long-lived experience, such as an education or career.

However, others have understood fields as actual physical spaces, such as a farm (Holmes, 2013). Finally, Bourdieu contended that social scientists, given that they possessed the symbolic capital to make empirical and theoretical claims concerning the dominant field, could encourage change by uncovering injustices. In such cases, analysts would use research to speak for others, and in so doing, become engaged in public scholarship, a foundational component of his Theory of Practice (Bourdieu, 1977; Holmes, 2013).

Fraser (1990) and Young (1990, 2002) are both democratic theorists who have disagreed with Habermas concerning the character and possibility of the public sphere. They have perhaps been most critical of the way power privileges certain voices and ideologies in these spaces. Fraser, for example, has detailed the “informal impediments to participatory parity that can persist even after everyone is formally and legally licensed to participate” (1990, p. 63). More specifically, Fraser has critiqued the following four assumptions about the public sphere: first, that it is possible to “bracket” status differentials as if they were not there; second, that a single public is more desirable for democracy than multiple competing publics; third, that deliberations concerning the common good are the desirable discourse of the public sphere; and finally, that a separation between the state and civil society is a necessary condition of a “functioning democratic republic” (1990, pp. 63–64). Fraser concluded her criticism of these tenets of Habermas’s conceptualization of the idea of the public sphere by contending that moving towards the ideal of participatory parity requires the elimination of systemic inequalities, the accommodation of a plurality of competing publics, the incorporation of multi-cultural literacy, acknowledgment of membership in multiple publics, and, finally, all involved must be critical of posited ideas of a common good.

For her part, Young criticized Habermas's ideal public sphere on the basis of its assumptions concerning cultural and economic power. Young drew on Bourdieu (1977, 1984) and utilized a structure/agency dialectical analysis to demonstrate that actors (individuals) can achieve agency in systems of inequality and domination (1990). However, unlike Fraser (1990, 2009b), Young was less concerned with reaching an ideal of participatory parity, and more concerned instead with shifting general understanding to a conception of democracy as a place of struggle. Young contended that,

Because disadvantaged and excluded sectors cannot wait for the process to become fair, because there are often so many contending interests and issues, oppressed and disadvantaged groups have no alternative but to struggle for greater justice under conditions of inequality (2002, p. 50).

In *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Young argued that "instead of focusing on distribution, a conception of justice should begin with the concepts of domination and oppression" (1990, p. 1). She specifically contended that the "concept of distribution should be limited to material goods, and other important aspects of justice, including decision-making procedures, the social division of labor, and culture" (1990, p. 9). Young critiqued the distributive paradigm of justice for not taking into account the power of culture in democratic decision-making and argued that the myth of impartiality in decision-making ignores difference, and that fact allows for certain voices to be privileged and maintain power, even if multiple representatives are at the proverbial table.

Young distinguished among five forms of oppression: exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence (1990, p. 40). She suggested that these could be identified by "thorough assessment of observable behavior, status relationships, distributions,

texts and other cultural artifacts" (1990, p. 64). In order to reduce injustice, she called for "... establishing procedures for ensuring that each group's voice is heard in the public, through institutions of group representation" (1990, p. 12). Although she suggested that voice and representation constitute a principal avenue for decreasing injustice, Young's ideas nonetheless contrast with communitarian and libertarian theorists that favor local decision-making. She instead offered an outline of a regional governance model that provides space for those living in an area or locale to be involved in decision-making with their peers and for those decisions to be connected to national policies.

Young contended that both local and federal (national) politics are important because often "local autonomy reproduces the problems of exclusion that the ideal of community proposes" (1990, p. 227) and, "the most serious political consequence of the desire for community, or for co-presence and mutual identification with others, is that it often operates to exclude or oppress those experienced as different" (1990, p. 234). In other words, although there are benefits to local, face-to-face political communities, these entities often fail to accommodate difference equitably. Therefore, local political outcomes often lead to discrimination against those perceived as different than the prevailing local idea of community. For this reason, in Young's view, it is necessary to cultivate community politics, but also to include a federal or national politics that ensures justice for those who hold different values than those dominant at the local level and handles disputes among decentralized political communities (that may arise from such differences).

In *Inclusion and Democracy*, Young presented a model of deliberative democracy that, "offers a useful beginning for criticizing exclusion and a vision of the meaning of inclusion" (2002, p. 36). She specifically rejected the circular ideal of democratic exchange and preferred

"... to call the normal condition of democratic debate a process of struggle. ... Far from a face-off in enemy opposition, struggle is a process of communicative engagement of citizens with one another" (2002, p. 50). Young presented her critique of and suggestions for democratic inclusion through among other things, language, representation, and the application of her framework to global society.

First, Young demonstrated that argument is privileged. She suggested that fact in turn shows that narrative, rhetoric, and greeting are *also* other ways to dialogue and make decisions in democratic settings. Through her critique of argument, she demonstrated how "norms of speaking that I bring under the label 'articulateness' privilege the modes of expression more typical of highly educated people" (2002, p. 38). Young highlighted not only the importance of how individuals speak and present their arguments, needs, and concerns, but also the necessity of "acknowledging the specificity of context and audience, and exhibiting a desire to accommodate to it" (2002, p. 70). She also addressed the methods in which representation can occur through a lens of authorization and accountability. For example, Young rejected, "the normative meaning of representation as properly standing for the constituents" and that instead, "we should evaluate the process of representation according to the character of the relationship between the representative and the constituents" (2002, p. 127).

Young extended her argument to discussions of the possibilities and limits of civil society and contended that, "strong, autonomous, and plural activities of civic associations offer individuals and social groups maximum opportunity in their own diversity to be represented in public life" (2002, p. 153). Young outlined her conception of how civil society functions. First, she distinguished among three different types of associations, private, civic, and political. She then contended that these operate on two different levels, the self-organizing and the public

sphere. On the self-organizing level, civil society makes space for the development, "of communicative interaction that support[s] identities, expand[s] participatory possibilities, and create[s] networks of solidarity. ... At the level of the public sphere, the aims are to influence or reform state or corporate policies and practices" (2002, p. 164).

Although the three different types of civic organizations work at both levels, she attributed most self-organizing activities to private and civic associations, while contending that some civic associations and most political organizations belong to the public sphere. Young argued that the activities of civil society promote justice by encouraging social solidarity, developing the political and social capacities of marginalized communities, creating campaigns to shame publicly those who abuse political or economic power, and/or by providing space for different publics to communicate across difference(s) to make claims. Although Young is supportive of civil society as it, "limits the ability of both state and economy to colonize the lifeworld, and fosters individual and collective self-determination," (2002, p. 189) she does recognize that, "there are limits to what citizens can accomplish through institutions of civil society alone" (2002, p. 180). In particular, she has observed that, "democratic citizens should consider state institutions and their actions major sites of democratic struggle, not merely for the sake of resisting corruption and the abuse of power, but also for taking action to foster social changes to promote greater justice" (2002, p. 187).

Young concluded her observations concerning the possible roles and limitations of civil society by applying her argument to the global scale. She agreed with cosmopolitan theorists by arguing, "against the widespread belief that obligations of justice extend only to co-nationals or only members of the same nation-state" (2002, p. 236). However, she was critical of cosmopolitanism for its tendency to assume or create homogenized cultures and elitism.

Philosophically, she argued that, "instead, peoples should be understood as relationally constituted, and the political recognition of the distinctness of peoples should be able to accommodate the millions of people who think of their identities as hybrids of national membership, or who construct a cosmopolitan identity" (2002, p. 237). Although she contended that social and cultural structures or systems are the primary facilitators of justice, she nonetheless argued that the, "obligation of individuals regarding global justice, as well as local and regional justice, is to do what they can to promote institutions and policies that aim for fair relations among people across the globe" (2002, p. 250).

The scholars highlighted in this discussion have outlined how culture, neoliberal hegemony and economic power are significant factors in influencing the capacity of participatory spaces to result in meaningful, let alone transformative, structural change. Bourdieu and Young's frameworks are helpful in understanding how power works in democratic spaces, especially as it affects individuals, through symbols, and in speech. Young's analysis of the frailties of local governance and Fraser's application of Foucault help observers develop an understanding of the ways in which participatory governance may, paradoxically, detract from the development and institutionalization of policies and laws that could encourage structural and systemic change. These scholars have also illuminated the barriers to the potential efficacy of participatory spaces. For example, through the application of Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) theory of habitus and field and Young's (1990) categories of oppression, one can understand how some individuals are more vulnerable than others to injustices in specific societies and how each person exhibits a particular structural vulnerability in any given society.

A key commonality among Young (1990, 2002) and Fraser's (1990) work is their critique of Habermas's (1985) singular, public sphere. Both Young and Fraser offered strong arguments

addressing why the single public sphere Habermas posited is likely in practice to be neither just, nor singular. In *Inclusion and Democracy*, Young outlined the role of civil society in providing participatory space for multiple, sometimes competing publics. Examining Young and Fraser's arguments reveals a central question underlying participatory processes: that of how much long-term change can occur through such governance initiatives when those are offered in an otherwise unequal system. For her part, Fraser suggested that as long as there is drastic economic inequality, such as is the situation in the United States, the possibilities for democratic change through participatory processes are bleak. On the other hand, Young argued instead that democracy should be conceived as a site of struggle and that oppressed groups must participate in the struggle to attain change, however formidable the obstacles confronting them.

Empirical complexities. Gaventa (1982) has explored the way power functions in participatory decision-making, the complexities and conflicts often associated with resource extraction, and the mechanisms for upholding class power through landownership and manipulation in Appalachia. Instead of examining how to mobilize people, Gaventa instead sought to understand why some individuals do not possess power in the first instance. To grasp those dynamics, Gaventa applied Luke's (1974) three level analytical framework to analyze power.

The first dimension, power over, Gaventa (1982) contended, is *portrayed* as the primary form of power in pluralistic societies. This form of power assumes that people do not vote because they do not want to participate. If there is no action, relevant social actors assume that there is no opinion. Gaventa calls the second dimension of power, "the mobilization of bias," which includes institutional processes and "rules of the game" that benefit certain persons and groups at the expense of others. Finally, the third dimension is defined as the, "means through

which power influences, shapes, or determines conceptions of the necessities, possibilities, and strategies of challenge in situations of latent conflict ... including, social myths, language, and symbols, and how they are shaped or manipulated in power processes" (1982, p. 15). The third dimension also involves, "the psychological adaptations to the state of being without power" (1982, p. 16).

Gaventa (1982) also used Freire's (2006) concept of conscientization to explain the process of participation and mobilization when working in an area of significant social and economic inequality. His main conclusions included, "that the quietness of this segment of America's lower and working class perceived at a distance cannot be taken to reflect consensus to their condition or seen to be innate within their socio-economic or cultural circumstances" (1982, p. 252). His empirical and theoretical analysis provided evidence for the necessity of conducting a deeper investigation of power inequalities in pluralistic, democratic societies.

Cornwall (2008) has also examined the empirical complexities of participatory endeavors. She has described multiple approaches to participatory processes including Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation and Pretty's participatory model (Pretty, 1995), explaining how these two typologies, "describe a spectrum defined by a shift from control by authorities to control by the people or citizens" (2008, p. 271). In addition, Cornwall has explored the different challenges that participatory practitioners face when pursuing such a project. These include representation, self-exclusion by participants, and the capacity for such initiatives to create fissures in communities due to certain people being "chosen" as representatives for projects, rather than others. She recommended addressing these challenges via, "clarity through specificity" through "spelling out what exactly people are being enjoined to participate in, for what purpose, who is involved and who is absent" (2008, p. 281).

Cornwall concluded her analysis by suggesting that, while vital, invited spaces are unlikely by themselves to be sufficient to encourage individual agency. To highlight this point, she specifically warned that, "the popularity of invited participation may have created many more seats at many more tables, but along with all the other costs that these who fill those seats have to pay, this may have further costs to democratic vitality" (2008, p. 281). She observed, too, that those who mount such efforts should be prepared also, "to both enable those who take up these seats to exercise voice and influence, and help provide whatever support is needed—material, moral, and political—to popular mobilizations that seek to influence policy through advocacy rather than negotiation" (2008, p. 282).

Cornwall and Coehlo (2007) have also assessed the complexities associated with participatory development. First, calls for participation can be associated with a shrinking of the state. For example, a concentration on local governance can reflect a libertarian frame of justice that is disillusioned with the state and focuses on individual responsibility (Allen, 2004; Gray, 2013). Decisions made at the local level may also run the risk of actors at that scale discriminating against or imposing their frames and norms on unpopular "other" groups in their midst.

In addition, citizenship in these spaces does not always translate to the exercise of rights in the eyes of state officials. Moreover, the underlying normative assumption associated with participatory development is a conviction that individual participation creates more open and effective channels of communication, enhances democracy, increases effectiveness and equity of public policy, and enables citizens to make direct claims, thereby creating more opportunities for their needs to be met. This assumption is grounded in the belief that citizens are "ready to participate and share their political agendas and that bureaucrats are willing to listen and

respond” (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007, p. 5). However, multiple case studies have found that citizens are not always willing and/or able to participate in participatory development programs or projects, and bureaucrats are not always ready to listen to them when they do so.

Cornwall and Coelho (2007) offered five key recommendations aimed at increasing the potential for success for initiatives seeking to open spaces for effective participation, agency, and efficacy. First, the individuals targeted must recognize themselves as citizens rather than beneficiaries or clients. People should not just be invited to participate; they must actually engage equally. Second, approaches to representation must be clarified and match the context in which the project is being employed. The institution seeking to open space must be intentional concerning how its representatives choose to represent marginalized people and in certain cases broaden internal policies concerning what it means to represent others within its purview. Third, the “enabling” organization’s leaders must clarify how they view participation and why their organization is interested in pursuing a project designed to encourage it. Fourth, the institution’s representatives must demonstrate how they view participation to be effective or inclusive. The final criterion highlights the importance of involvement by a wide spectrum of popular movements and civil associations, committed bureaucrats, and inclusive institutional designs that address (and work to eliminate) exclusionary practices and embedded bias (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007, pp. 8–10).

Summary. Bourdieu (1977, 1984), Foucault (1977; 1991), Gaventa (1982), Fraser (1990, 2009b), Young (1990, 2002), Cornwall (2008), and Cornwall and Coelho (2007) have critiqued Habermas’s (1985) ideal of the single public sphere and, in so doing, have shed light on how issues of representation can influence project efficacy and community solidarity. Each of these analysts have warned against seeking to shrink the state in the name of more participatory

governance projects. Each has also demonstrated how popular voice and solidarity can be nurtured by opening participatory space. Further, each of these scholars has emphasized the importance of networks, advocacy, and policy change. Many of their conclusions are guided by the perceptions of different participants in different contexts concerning the efficacy of such processes and on longitudinal studies of participatory projects.

The Valley View case I examined presented an opportunity to empirically examine Young (1990, 2002) and Fraser's (1990, 2009d) critiques of Habermas's articulation of the public sphere. In addition, there is little research investigating these types of dynamics with farmworker populations, especially in the southern United States. Therefore, investigating the Valley View case also allowed me to build on Gaventa (1982), Cornwall (2008), and Cornwall and Coehlo's (2007) work by permitting me to explore an initiative explicitly designed to mediate and neutralize distinct differences in power among relevant stakeholder groups to open space for solidarity with members of a previously marginalized population.

Global justice. Although much national political rhetoric still revolves around liberal, civic republican, utilitarian, and participatory theories of justice, many analysts have argued that these ideals and goals are in crisis due to the fact that these conceptions and the character of citizenship they imply restrict justice claims in a globalized world. That is, within these perspectives, there is often not a frame for people to make claims in countries where they do not hold formal, documented citizenship (Benhabib, 2004; Fraser, 2009b). In response to this problem, democratic theorists and many others are developing different ways to define citizenship in the context of ongoing globalization.

For example, Benhabib (2004) has applied Kantian articulations of morality to suggest a cosmopolitan understanding of citizenship that calls for mechanisms that allow all people living

within the boundaries of a state to have the same voting rights, regardless of their formal citizenship status. Young (2006) has argued for a social connection model of justice. Drawing on Arendt (1963/2006), she has argued that those working to address injustice at the international level should accept collective responsibility to press for change through, “vocal criticism, organized contestation, a measure of indignation, and concerted public pressure,” and “make demands on state and international institutions to develop policies that limit the ability of the powerful and privileged ... [in order] to promote the well-being of less powerful and privileged actors” (2006, p.15, 2013, p.151). In addition, although Young has argued that structures or systems are primary facilitators of justice, in her view, individuals too are obliged “to do what they can to promote institutions and policies that aim for fair relations among people across the globe” (Young, 2002, p. 250).

Fraser (2009b) has proposed a three-dimensional, scalar theoretical approach to addressing questions of justice in a transnational world. She has stressed the importance of the redistributive and recognitive components of justice, but also added a level of representation, that conceptualized mechanisms to work toward an understanding of justice as participatory parity which, “requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life” in a globalizing world (2009b, p. 16). Fraser has argued that the territorial boundaries of the nation-state routinely do not provide participatory spaces for non-citizens, refugees, and undocumented peoples. In other words, within the domestic frame, or what Fraser calls the “Administrative,” questions of representation or, “the who,” cannot be adequately met and therefore, claims on behalf of affected groups for redistribution or recognition are not addressed. The administrative field provides the space for citizens and those who possess the social and economic capital necessary do so to make claims for justice. However, the administrative space also has the

capacity to cause more harm than good in that it develops the frame both for how claims are made and who can decide that question. If you do not fit into that understanding, and many immigrant farmworkers do not, you are not able to assert claims for justice or to reset the frame, the architecture of assumptions and meanings within which judgments are rendered.

To account for administrative injustice, Fraser has developed a Theory of Post-Westphalian Democratic Justice in which the components of redistribution, recognition, and representation work together to create spaces for all people to share their grievances beyond the frame of administrative justice. She theorized a “Transformative Political Space” consisting of three scales. On the first level is a space to allow individuals and groups to make claims for redistribution and recognition; on the second level, a space to share claims concerning the injustices resulting from actions in the administrative frame and thus opportunities to recreate the “who” of justice; and finally, the third level, through acts of vocalization, allows those participating a say to challenge and reset the existing epistemic frame (Fraser, 2009b).

Like Young (2006), Fraser (2009b) has argued that in order to achieve justice, institutional obstacles that prevent all from participating on par with others should be eliminated. However, unlike Young, Fraser has been specifically concerned with misframing, which occurs, “when the community’s boundaries are drawn in such a way as to wrongly exclude some people from the chance to participate at all in the authorized contests over justice” (2009b, p. 19). This can be applied to the question of farmworkers as many, when in the United States, are not part of a political community. They are also often the recipients of charity, such as that provided by food banks, but they have very little political power or voice.

The scholars treated in this section have provided analytical tools to consider the central questions of representation and morality in a global society. Benhabib (2004), Fraser (2009b),

and Young (2006) have each offered moral arguments concerning the necessity of providing civil rights to individuals even in states in which they cannot claim citizenship. Benhabib's work has focused on the different ways in which governments can justly acknowledge different types of citizenship. Fraser postulated a space, modeled by meetings such as the World Social Forum, in which world leaders and policy makers could be present to hear the claims of migrant peoples and others displaced by a state or political or economic shifts. Finally, Young has presented a way to think about responsibility in a globalized system.

Summary. It was not possible to apply all of the standards for participatory processes presented by Benhabib (2004), Young (2006), and Fraser (2009b) in this study for several reasons. First, I did not investigate different types of citizenship. In addition, this project examined only the first step of participatory processes, gathering people together, while many of Fraser and Young's proposals included demonstrations and ideal spaces in which individuals could be heard by policy makers and those with power. However, I do adopt these authors' normative cosmopolitan frame and assume that deplorable living conditions, fear, and discrimination *should not* be experienced by anyone, including those who are from other countries.

Even though the Valley View case does not directly address how to characterize people under the state and the policies associated with that classification, this study does speak to the difficulties of applying traditional forms of justice in situations in which people hold multiple types of citizenship status and/or are in the country without documentation. Valley View is not a labor union, and is not attempting (yet) to organize growers to improve working conditions, like the Coalition of Immokalee Workers has done (Coalition of Immokalee Workers, 2012). However, Valley View is an integral part of the farmworkers' material and spiritual livelihoods,

and it is seeking to open space for the exercise of agency among the farmworkers within the organization and beyond.

There are many organizations like Valley View in the United States, and in other countries, that provide direct services to people who do not have citizenship in the country where they are residing. However, there is a gap in the literature that addresses how to increase space for the exercise of agency by that population, especially when the people are quite vulnerable. This study addresses that omission by presenting an example of the opportunities and challenges of conducting a project aimed at addressing that goal. These types of examples may be of more assistance, as well, if immigration laws continue to tighten and the refugee crisis worsens. Further, Valley View's experience may only become even more relevant as organizations, community leaders, and activists seek to undertake transformational work in an era of increased nationalism.

Critical Agrarian Studies

This section's historical and topical review of CAS, presents the ways in which scholars working in that literature have investigated the role(s) of labor in the agriculture system, the forms by which agrifood initiatives (AFIs) are addressing issues of labor and participation, and the tensions, specifically arising from race, social status, and class, that have surfaced in such efforts. Investigating this literature allowed me to understand better the obstacles that Valley View faced when conducting its participatory project.

Minkoff-Zern and Weissman (2015) organized a session at the 2015 meeting of the Association of American Geographers entitled "Food Politics and the Agrarian Question" to discuss how the classic agrarian question, "What are the political consequences of capitalist transition in the countryside," was relevant to questions and problems in the "current period of Agrifood activism and an expanding global agro-food economy" (McMichael, 1997, p. 631).

McMichael (1997) has argued that addressing this concern in the age of globalization is more complex than in previous decades, and I agree. More, it is not only more complex, but as Minkoff-Zern and Weissman as well as Goodman and Watts have observed, it "... is not something that can be resolved, per se, but is continually renewed through capitalism" (Goodman & Watts, 1997, p. 6; Minkoff-Zern & Weissman, 2015).

I situate this dissertation within the context of authors discussing the political consequences of capitalism and who collectively both critique and seek to protect agrarianism and rural life. It is an appropriate frame because this research investigates the obstacles and opportunities for participation of immigrant farmworkers, many of whom were peasants whose livelihoods were changed by international agricultural development policies, including NAFTA (Fernández-Kelly & Massey, 2007). Moreover, many of the growers who hire the farmworkers I studied are descended from families that have farmed in rural North Carolina for more than a century.

CAS is also relevant to this analysis because it critiques both industrial and sustainable agriculture for their farmer-centric policies, imaginaries, and ideologies that have long rendered migrant laborers invisible. In addition, the CAS lens investigates the historical lack of inclusive decision-making present in agriculture and highlights the Alternative Agrifood Movement's (AAM) emphasis on neoliberal mechanisms to address agriculture's socio-environmental problems, concentration on local and organic agriculture, relative dearth of racially and ethnically inclusive governance processes, and neglect of labor concerns.

The CAS literature is also important as it investigates and analyzes cultural whiteness, color-blindness, and class privilege within the AAM (Alkon & Agyeman, 2011; Allen, 2004; Guthman, 2008a; Slocum, 2006, 2007). Guthman has explained this concern in more detail:

The alternative movement has been animated by a set of discourses that derive from whitened cultural histories, which, in turn, have inflected the spaces of alternative food provision. Many in the movement seem oblivious to the racial character of these discourses – if anything they presume them to be universal – and so are ignorant of the way in which employment of these discourses might constitute another kind of exclusionary practice. Among them I would include the idea of bringing this good food to others (2008, p. 434).

The AAM and AFIs lack of reflexivity concerning their relative cultural-whiteness, color-blindness, and social status (DuPuis & Goodman, 2005; Sbicca, 2015b; Slocum, 2006) has, as MacAuley and Niewolny have explained, “inadvertently reified white privileged spaces within AAMs. Diverse cultural interpretations of the food system are not often visible within AAMs” (2016, p. 206).

Finally, a key component of this literature is its articulation of the consequences of America’s agrarian imaginary: the image of the small-scale, white, male farmer (2004), which is strengthened by Jeffersonian notions of the yeoman who “developed the United States’ agricultural economy and landscape by working the land with his own hands” (Minkoff-Zern, 2014, p. 90). This imaginary is only strengthened by locavore or foodie culture, which emphasizes the power of the individual consumer and depoliticizes labor (Brown and Getz, 2008; Guthman, 2014; Minkoff-Zern, 2014).

Agrarian exceptionalism also has a similar meaning, but those employing the term have explored how it has been manifest in U.S. agricultural policy (Gray, 2013). Although CAS analysts have critiqued the AAM for manifesting this imaginary, those authors have also highlighted the capacity of alternative food organizations and initiatives to open participatory,

democratic space (Hassanein, 2003; Levkoe, 2006). Therefore, this chapter reviews both the possibilities and drawbacks of the AAM, how authors offering these disparate perspectives are speaking to each other, the gaps in this literature, and ultimately, how those arguments helped me to frame this study.

Labor investigations. One of the key concerns of scholars has been identification of the ways in which farm laborers are rendered invisible in both the alternative agrifood and industrial agricultural industries. Much of this critique has centered on issues of agrarian exceptionalism and nationalism in the United States, specifically that a concentration on farmer-centric policies distracts policy-makers and the public from developing an awareness of immigrant farmworker challenges. However, contrary to the current situation, the farmworker movement and sustainable agriculture have been historically connected. Allen et al. (2003) showed in their research concerning agrifood organizations in California, and Harrison (2008, 2011) in her studies of pesticide drift activism that the original AFIs, in the 1960s and 1970s, emphasized fair treatment and compensation of farmworkers.

That emphasis has shifted, however, as AFI analysts now largely focus on urban issues, such as community gardens, and stress the “local,” and encourage support of small-holder farmers. This shift has followed the turn in the larger political economy in which AFIs originally focused on worker rights and decreased pesticide use. However, with the move in the political economy from an emphasis on civil rights and social equity to neoliberalism, most AFIs have changed their foci to concentrate disproportionately on farmer issues, such as supporting beginning and small growers, urban agriculture, and entrepreneurial, market-based ventures. The perceived economic conflict between farmers and farmworkers seems to have made AFIs wary of pursuing justice for both groups (Allen et al., 2003; Harrison, 2011).

Allen and Sachs have outlined the assumptions of AAM, most importantly, its, “major emphasis [on] the preservation of the family farm, and the implication that farmworkers will benefit equally from the vital rural communities expected to result” (1992, p. 32) and noted pointedly that, “there is an absence of discussion of the welfare of farmworkers under conditions of alternative agriculture” (1992, p. 36). Allen and Sachs were especially critical of the patterns of land-ownership, resource control, and power within the different, but sometimes overlapping sustainable and industrial agriculture industries. Their objective was to critique the larger environmental sustainability movement and offer a framework for change, one that suggested that a, “transformation of attitudes, practices, and power-relations that underlie the structure of the food and agricultural system, not just technical or marginal reforms, is necessary to achieve sustainability” (Allen & Sachs, 1992, p. 33).

Guthman (2004) has also strongly criticized what she has labeled “neo-agrarianism,” the back-to-the-land farm movements that are often based in libertarian and/or religious ideologies. She built on Allen and Sachs’ (1992) critique of small family farms, particularly the gender relationships they often evidenced, and she noted that empirically, complete realization of the small-scale farm ideal could not produce enough food to meet demand in the United States. Guthman’s (2004) work drew much needed attention to the relationship between the AAM, labor, and neoliberalism. Her study not only revealed the long-lived employment-related injustices of the industrial agricultural system, but also exposed how those have been replicated, and in times exacerbated, by the organic agriculture industry in California.

Brown and Getz’s (2011) study demonstrated that while farmworkers are largely responsible for the production of food, many of those same individuals are considered food insecure. This is true whether one measures that status on the basis of the traditional measures

USDA employs or by highlighting structural conditions, such as wages, geographic location, and citizenship status as indicators of food (in)security. In another piece, Brown and Getz (2008) investigated the ways in which AFIs are supporting fair-trade certification. They used Guthman (2004) to demonstrate how organic agriculture has moved beyond its anti-corporate roots and now often engages in the same labor practices as those practicing industrial agriculture. Overall, these scholars have suggested that domestic fair-trade certification assumes a neoliberal framework to support farmworker livelihoods, and have argued that AFIs should instead support a rights-based, collective action approach when advocating for farmworker justice.

Gray (2013) shifted analysts' focus away from organic farming by conducting an ethnographic study that investigated labor relations on small, sometimes called "local," farms in the Hudson Valley of New York. Like Sachs and Allen (1992) and Guthman (2004), she was critical of the romanticized agrarian ideal present in alternative agrifood and its capacity to divert attention from current labor and agricultural policies. She specifically argued that agrarianism is one of the principal reasons that farmworkers and labor are not a primary component of the locavore ethic.

Her work built on critiques and analyses of agrarianism by employing those arguments to examine the relationship between small farmers and their farmworkers. Gray described the paternalism she found on small farms in the Hudson Valley of New York as "The Price of Proximity," which allowed for the "reinforcement of paternalistic power disparities between workers and farmers and a labor regime that serves to deter collective action" (2013, p. 56). Nonetheless, she found that it was extremely difficult to determine whether the paternalism on the farmers' part was intentional. For this reason, like Guthman (2004) and Allen (2004), she called for changes in state and national policy to regulate more closely farmers' treatment of

farmworkers. In addition, Gray recommended extending the popular “locavore” ethic through consumer education and awareness about farmworker roles, instead of concentrating on organic food and geographic location of farms (2013, pp. 146–148).

Holmes also "explore[d] ethnographically the interrelated hierarchies of ethnicity, labor, and suffering in U.S. agriculture as well as the processes by which these become normalized and invisible" (2013, p. 31). For a year and a half, Holmes traveled with undocumented farmworkers from Oaxaca, Mexico into the United States, living with them in their native country and working with them in California and Washington state. He analyzed both farm relations and migrant health clinics and applied Bourdieu's (1977, 1984) theory of habitus and field to describe the structural vulnerability of the workers and owners of a blueberry farm in Washington. He employed Foucault's (1963/1994) clinical gaze to understand the ways in which migrant farmworkers were treated in migrant health clinics in Washington and in Mexico.

Holmes' (2013) piece was a thoughtful exemplar, both topically and theoretically, but also methodologically. For example, his analyses triangulated input from individual interviews with farmworkers, border control officers, growers, medical professionals, and community members. In addition, he undertook participant observation in California, Mexico, Washington state, and accompanied farmworkers on their journey across the U.S.-Mexico border. His conclusions illustrated the ways in which neoliberalism and cultural imperialism can drive migration and violence. He also debunked the myth of individual choice, as it had often been applied to farmworkers and farmers.

Holmes' conclusions were multifaceted. For example, on the issue of structural vulnerability, he argued that, "the perspectives of farm management are generally overlooked and inadvertently encourage the assumption that growers may be wealthy, selfish, or

unconcerned. The stark reality and precarious future of the farm serve as reminders that the situation is more complex" (2013, p. 52). For those advocating for fairer labor and compensation laws for farmworkers, Holmes recommended embracing the concept of "pragmatic solidarity," which, "could mean such things as explicitly including pickers in English classes, improving pesticide safety education and decreasing pesticide usage, and developing fairer means of employee hiring and advancement" (2013, p. 191). At the level of policy, he suggested that farmworkers be made eligible for health insurance under the Affordable Care Act, that the U.S. government allow more H-2A visas so that fewer farmworkers in the future would have to live with the uncertainty and fear of deportation and could legally return home to their families for half of the year.

Minkoff-Zern used ethnographic methods to investigate Latino farmworker food (in)security through the lens of grower supported food banks, healthy food classes, and home and community gardens. She analyzed how programs working to address food (in)security in marginalized populations often reinforce "race and class-based notions of food consumption" (2014b, p. 2). Minkoff-Zern used Slocum (2007) and Guthman's (2008a) works, which had highlighted how whiteness is dominant in the AAM and the ways that perspective focuses attention on providing food and health care, instead of asking *why* people are food (in)secure, and explored how that orientation related to race and neoliberalism. Minkoff-Zern built on and extended Slocum and Guthman's arguments by demonstrating how immigrants' garden spaces "counter notions that people of color do not know what to eat or are simply making bad choices about their food" (2014b, p. 3). She also contended that, "when given the space and opportunity to do so, most farmworkers are very competent to make 'good' food choices. It is not a lack of

education, but financial and spatial, geographic constraints that keep them from doing so” (2014b, p. 12).

Instead of approaching food insecurity through the lens of education and behavioral change, she argued that structural changes, especially higher wages and employment benefits, would be more appropriate measures than widely offered corporate (grower) supported food aid programs. In addition to implementing structural changes, she also argued that:

while we approach solutions structurally, we must also see those who suffer from food (in)security as holders of knowledge that have been dispossessed from the ability to feed themselves in a healthy manner. Solutions must revolve around them as leaders and actors in the system, rather than simply those that are acted upon (2014b, p. 12).

Finally, Minkoff-Zern argued that different types of knowledge must be appreciated in research and decision-making processes. Moreover, she contended that food bank workers and farmers must incorporate different cultural conceptualizations of healthy food and deeper understandings of the structural determinants of poverty, when attempting to assist vulnerable populations.

Research investigating the equity and justice of small farm apprenticeship programs is also growing. For example, MacAuley and Niewolny (2016) employed mixed-methods to investigate the demographic composition, roles and responsibilities of apprentices active on small farms in Virginia. They defined apprentices as follows: “someone who is an apprentice, intern, on-farm student, etc.; is over 18 years of age; can be paid or unpaid; and importantly, for whom there is an express agreement that the farmer will teach them how to farm” (MacAuley & Niewolny, 2016, p. 199). Using Dewey (1938/1997), Freire (1970/2006), and Foley (1999), they argued that, “because apprentice learners co-construct meaning and identities through social

negotiation with actors and structures, there is potential for unreflective social reproduction of existing power relations" (2016, p. 199).

MacAuley and Niewolny (2016) found some key similarities between apprentices and immigrant farmworkers. For instance, both populations are regularly rendered invisible by the food system, and their study supports other scholars recommendations for actors in the food system to change how they view labor (Allen, 2010; Gray, 2013; Holmes, 2013). In addition, their analysis built on Gray's (2013) argument that those involved in the local food movement should critique small, local farms for their lack of effective regulations, an issue that affects both apprentices and immigrant laborers.

They also found that in their sample, 93% of the apprentices were white, 64% had obtained a college degree, and 84% had attended an institution of higher education. More, the majority were not from farming backgrounds, and were offered little or no pay (MacAuley & Niewolny, 2016, pp. 201–202). In addition, these authors found "that the on-farm apprenticeship, in its connection to AAM discourse and practice, is also subject to the same critique of cultural whiteness" (2016, p. 206). These analysts also argued, "our findings suggest that apprentices, and the farmers who host them, consider themselves to be part of a broader social movement, expressing knowledge of and familiarity with alternative agrifood discourses" (2016, p. 16).

These findings on the one hand highlight the lack of financial and technical support that small farms receive from the government, especially in the form of subsidies and access to H-2A workers. On the other hand, this research supports arguments for additional government regulation of small farms to protect laborers and immigrant farmworkers alike. Given these realities, MacAuley and Niewolny recommend finding ways and means within the AAM to address cultural whiteness, creating mechanisms to pay apprentices a fair wage and to offer them

educational opportunities through land-grant universities, and conducting additional analyses into appropriate policies to support small farmers (2016, p. 208).

Summary. All of these authors highlight key tensions associated with labor and the AAM in their studies. First, although agrarian exceptionalism is addressed by each of these analysts, Allen and Sachs (1992), Gray (2013), and Guthman (2004) emphasized the capacity of the agrarian imaginary to obscure all laborers, except the white male farmer, from the American imagination. Holmes (2013) also addressed agrarian exceptionalism, but he demonstrated the ways in which farmers and growers alike are structurally vulnerable in the food system. Holmes' analysis suggested that it was insufficient simply to blame farmers alone for the wage and labor conditions that farmworkers today confront. Macauley and Nielwolny's study (2016) provided additional examples of how labor is made invisible on small farms, as well as in industrial settings. In addition, Minkoff-Zern's (2012) ethnographic study provided empirical evidence of the tendency of farmers and the general public to provide charity to farmworkers, but not to address the economic injustice that underpins their situation.

These analyses informed the research design for my examination of Valley View in many ways. First, as a group, they sensitized me to the fact that agrarianism and grower-centricity is often a barrier to enacting more stringent regulations that support farmworker health and economic security. Many who support farmworkers often blame growers for farmworker injustice, but as Holmes (2013) demonstrated, this criticism is at times incorrect, even as it distracts from systemic concerns, such as neoliberal policies, that do not support farmworker safety.

These studies do not, however, address organizational Board member perceptions of charitable giving, the difficulty of shifting from a service-based organization to one that has

more political goals, and the role of agrarian exceptionalism in faith-based organizations that serve laborers. This study begins to address these gaps by addressing these issues. In addition, by bringing to light the additional class, culture, and economic differences among the study's different participants, it also provides an opportunity for comparative analyses by those studying small-farm apprenticeships, such as MacAuley and Niewolny (2016).

Food justice. One part of the CAS literature that motivated this study is its contributors' interest in efforts to open space for participation, agency, and engagement. Scholars in this field have investigated barriers and strategies to create space for more democratic and inclusive possibilities within the food system. Analysts studying and working within the AAM often incorporate traditional theories of justice into their examinations of what food justice means in practice. For example, DuPuis, Harrison, and Goodman (2011) have employed existing theories of justice to propose a theory of food justice grounded in reflexivity. Cadieux and Slocum (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015) have built on Dupuis and Goodman's theoretical ideas and embraced the necessity for development of a theory of food justice based on reflexivity. However, they extended that basic argument to define human belonging normatively and politically as social connectedness, rather than as geography or location, as in a region or state. These analyses have suggested that alternative food initiatives are fruitful places to conduct studies of participation and development. Together, they also highlight the relative lack of research conducted on farmworker-focused FBOs to date.

Hassanein (2003) used Lang's concept of "food democracy," to "highlight the great struggle over the centuries, in all cultures, to achieve the right of all citizens to access a decent, affordable, health-enhancing diet, grown in conditions in which they can have confidence" (1998, p. 18). Hassanein further described the concept as follows:

the idea that people can and should be actively participating in shaping the food system, rather than remaining passive spectators on the sidelines. ... It is about citizens having power to determine agro-food policies and practices locally, regionally, nationally, and globally (2003, p. 79).

She employed the concept of food democracy to frame a case study of the Toronto Food Policy Council and coalition and movement building within the sustainable agriculture movement in the city's region.

Hassanein extended Allen and Sach's (1992) critique of alternative agrifood by recognizing the diversity of values and lack of independent authority in the sustainability movement. Departing from Allen and Sachs, however, Hassanein proposed democracy as the means through which participants could contest values within the alternative food movement. She employed Lang's concept of food democracy as a "pragmatic device for moving toward sustainability of agriculture and food systems" (2003, p. 83). Hassanein contended that securing a democratic process should be the primary aim of food systems planning as, "food democracy is necessary because achieving sustainability involves conflicts over values, and there is no independent authority, such as science or religion, to which we can appeal for resolution of these conflicts" (2003, p. 85).

Levkoe's (2006) work also revealed the transformative possibilities of the food movement, both for democracy and social learning. For example, Levkoe (2006) used Hassanein (2003) to support his case study on the capacity of the food justice movement (FJM) to foster civic learning at both the individual and collective levels. He contended that, "participation in the food justice movement encourages the development of strong civic virtues and critical perspectives along with the necessary experiences for shaping policy makers' decisions" (2006,

p. 588). Using Freire's (2006) concept of conscientization in his study of the FJM at the Stop Community Centre Urban Agriculture program in Toronto, Canada, Levkoe argued that the FJM can foster transformative adult learning.

Feenstra (2002) published another piece analyzing AFIs, which resulted in the following list of imperatives for development and maintenance of food systems initiatives: the opening of social, political, economic and intellectual space; public participation; new partnerships; and, a commitment to values focused on social, environmental, and economic justice. Similarly, Slocum (2006) demonstrated that many AFIs, larger coalitions, and individual organizations do not address issues of power and privilege.

Allen (2004) offered another foundational text for scholars, farmers, and activists working toward a more just alternative agriculture movement. She built on her earlier work, (Allen & Sachs, 1992) which critiqued the AAM while calling for social justice within it and called for a realignment of frames and a horizontal consciousness through which environmental and social groups could come to understand that their challenges have the same roots (2004, p. 212). Allen was critical of the AAM's environmental fetishization, bioregionalism philosophy, neoliberal practices, and farmer-centric policies. Like Guthman (2004), she critiqued the "new agrarian" and concluded by suggesting that, "more participatory democracy at local levels is absolutely necessary to the success of the sustainability and community food security movements, but local politics has to work in conjunction with, not instead of, national and international politics" (2004, p. 175).

DuPuis and Goodman (2005) were primarily concerned with the narrow set of values that have permeated much of the local food movement, "such as ethics of care, stewardship, and agrarian vision" (2005, p. 359). They critiqued that movement as unreflexive; and were "cautious

about an emancipatory food agenda that relies primarily on the naming and following of a particular set of norms or imaginaries about place” (2005, p. 360). They specifically used Young’s (2002) conception of participatory democracy and contended, making “localism an open, process-based vision rather than a fixed set of standards, is one of the major challenges the alternative food systems movement faces today” (2005, p. 369).

DuPuis and Goodman (2005) have specifically critiqued the local agriculture movement, a key part of the AAM, for embracing a narrow set of values that in some ways reflect protectionist immigration policies that are predicated on the assumption that the tradition, culture, and values of white Americans can and should be protected. These authors instead introduced the notion of reflexive localism, which was based on the “local” not as resistance to global capitalism, but instead as a, “mutually constitutive, imperfect, political process in which the local and the global make each other on an everyday basis” (2005, p. 369). A reflexive localism forces one to consider the implications of one’s values and additionally, how those beliefs affect new and/or immigrant populations, such as Latino farmworkers. In addition, reflexive localism opens pathways for new ways to imagine the “local” that include cultural food ways as well as the norms and beliefs of new and marginalized populations.

Allen’s (2010) more recent work has sought to bring the conversation within the alternative food movement back to broader questions of participation and power. She has supported Hassanein’s (2003) use of the concept of food democracy and suggested that because local processes can offer participatory opportunities, it is necessary to structure support for social change processes at that level. However, she critiqued Hassanein (2003) for not adequately taking race, discursive power, and gender into account when advocating for local, participatory democracy.

To support her argument, Allen used examples outlined by Young (Young, 2001) that showed how power can disrupt efforts to obtain participatory democracy. Allen argued that, “Historical legacies of entitlements, resources, and privileges tend to amplify some voices and mute or completely drown out others” (2010, p. 304). She then critiqued local decision-making, using Gaventa (2002), Fung and Wright (2001) and contended that participation is needed at the local level, but it must be joined to effective representation at extra-local levels. She specifically highlighted the needs of immigrant farmworkers by suggesting that, “labor issues are of greatest concern to some of the most voiceless people in the food system, those who often do not possess English language skills” (2010, p. 303). Participation at the local and representation at the extra-local scales can therefore support social change that includes the voiceless.

I employed Agyeman’s ‘just sustainabilities’ framework (2003) to understand the relationship between race, class, and the AAM. Building on Bullard’s work on environmental justice, Agyeman has sought to develop an empirical and theoretical argument for ‘just sustainabilities,’ defined as, “the need to ensure a better quality of life for all, now and into the future, in a just and equitable manner, whilst living within the limits of supporting ecosystems (Agyeman, 2013, p. 5). He applied this framework in a study of Food Policy Councils (FPCs) in the United States and Canada, which are:

... collaborative committees that help to coordinate regional food-related activities that strengthen the local economy, the environment, and the community. FPCs bring together diverse players in the food system to promote the concept that nutritious food is a basic right of all citizens and to bring ‘democratic principles’ to the food system by increasing the voice of the community in food system policies (2013, p.73).

FPCs can be venues in which new populations (immigrants, migrants, refugees), people of color, refugees, and low-income individuals can gain a voice in the food system. Agyeman concluded this work by sketching the many challenges implicit in efforts to attain inclusive participation and offered suggestions to increase the participation of several groups: involving the greatest number of stakeholders in participatory planning processes possible, using the local as a means and not an end, recognizing food as culturally situated, and adopting a reflexive, translocal approach to local food (2013, pp. 71–72). These steps may increase the possibility of project success, enhance support for FPC policies, and encourage local communities to become more involved in food system issues. Agyeman warned, however, against utilizing FPCs solely to work to address environmental issues. He also argued that some local communities resist working with outsiders because of anti-government sentiments, lack of community knowledge on the part of the food policy council members, inadequate policy experience within communities, and many FPC participants are white people who may have the best of intentions, but are unaware of such issues as white supremacy and class privilege.

Sbicca's (2015b) comparative ethnographic study of a labor union, a farmer training nonprofit in San Diego, and an urban agriculture organization in Oakland investigated each entity's organizational capacity and dedication to eliminating inequality in their local context, while acknowledging the significance of the relative openness of local political economic institutions to tackling working class struggles. Sbicca was interested in investigating the variation in AAM labor practices and perspectives across a variety of contexts and determining what factors accounted for those differences. He specifically built on Dupuis and Goodman's (2005) framework of reflexive localism to describe struggles as well as opportunities to press for fair labor standards within the movement. His analysis explicitly described how political and

economic concerns separate members of the AAM from workers. In addition, Sbicca specifically advised participants in the movement to continue to evaluate its tendency to be comprised of white, upper class individuals, its lack of partnerships with organized labor, and its general inclination to be removed from and distrusting of federal politics, a venue in which the labor movement has attained its most important policy and legal changes.

Sbicca has recently focused more directly on the ways in which members of the AAM often create or are subject to boundaries between themselves and immigrant and migrant farmworkers (2015a). He contended that AFIs often work toward environmental goals with little acknowledgement of the racial or economic privilege that movement members often possess. Moreover, these efforts also frequently exhibit unreflexive speech and action and operate within significant neoliberal constraints, such as fiscal pressures and the varied accountability claims of funders, which can impinge on how they are able to articulate and pursue their missions.

As a consequence, according to Sbicca, these initiatives unintentionally reproduce boundaries between themselves and the labor movement. He employed the concept of reflexive localism to argue that, "More critical positions exist, but they tend to come from those whose sensitivity to the context emerged with constant exposure. ... These more liberatory impulses require organizational mechanisms that increase reflexivity" (2015a, p. 12). In order for AFIs to build their capacity to include labor issues in their efforts, those involved in them must become more reflexive in both thought and action.

Minkoff-Zern (Minkoff-Zern, 2014a) refined and reflected on her ethnographic work in a study of a farmworker food bank in Northern California by comparing the findings of that inquiry to an investigation of farmworker issues in Florida, specifically with the Coalition for the Immokalee Workers (CIW). Like Gray (2013), Minkoff-Zern has argued that many foodie ideals

do not include concern for labor issues. However, she also has chronicled, "a growing interest in labor rights among some food activists, and a developing awareness [of such concerns] among university students in particular" (Minkoff-Zern, 2014a). Although this is a step in the right direction for the AAM, she has argued that if the movement endeavors to include just labor practices as part of its ethical framework, it will be important that

solidarity activists [must] demand that farm employers, large-scale food purchasers, politicians, and regulators improve field labor conditions and wages by encouraging state and national policies that support unionizing, strengthen existing labor laws, and amend laws that reinforce structural injustice (Minkoff-Zern, 2014a).

Minkoff-Zern (Minkoff-Zern, 2014a) concluded that the AAM should study the Coalition for Immokalee Worker's consumer-based campaigns, which were organized through collective decision-making, with farmers, and were thereby able to fracture the dominant agrarian imaginary. She stressed the importance of farmworkers having not only a place at the proverbial table, but also that they occupy leadership positions in the AAM as, "they know the pressing issues in the fields and only by listening to their voices as a guide for solidarity work, will such inequalities be rectified" (Minkoff-Zern, 2014a). Like Sbicca (2015b), Guthman (2004), Gray (2013), and Allen (2004), Minkoff-Zern (Minkoff-Zern, 2014a) has highlighted the need for representatives of the AAM to engage in policy advocacy while simultaneously incorporating farmworkers' voice into participatory decision-making. However, she has gone further than these authors to contend that farmworkers must also enjoy leadership roles in the AAM to ensure that their needs and interests receive attention.

In a recent work Weiler, Levkoe, and Young (2016) reviewed a community-based participatory research (CBPR) project between the University of Ontario and the nonprofit

organization Sustain Ontario, that sought to address the question: "How might Ontario's food movements advance existing efforts to promote health equity, dignified livelihoods, and justice with migrant farmworkers?" (2016, p. 6). This initiative identified the following four areas in which the AAM and representatives from universities could address common ground and perhaps collaborate with farmworker focused organizations: "health and safety, farmworker recruitment and mobility, community building and social integration, and immigration policy" (2016, p. 2).

The project's principals interviewed eleven key participants within Ontario's AAM community, including leaders of a migrant justice organization and a representative of the provincial government. The study's results suggested there are opportunities for integrating migrant farmworkers into existing AAM networks within the province. They also highlighted the tensions that can arise when incorporating farmworker issues into organizations that traditionally focus on small farmers. The study's authors concluded that their study's primary limitation was its dearth of farmworker voices. They plan to include farmworkers in their future research to help address a central challenge: "in order to meaningfully reverse the conditions that make farmworkers disproportionately vulnerable to social and economic inequalities and poor health, farmworkers must have the opportunity to participate in authoring such change" (2016, p. 12). Overall, these analysts hope to use their participatory work to "help to create political spaces for farmworkers to participate in decisions affecting their lives" (2016, p. 12).

Summary. Hassanein (2003) and Levkoe (2006) highlighted the opportunities that the AAM presents for opening participatory space. However, like Gray (2013, 2014) and Allen (2004, 2010), Slocum (2006), and Agyeman (2013), each was critical of the movement's traditional emphasis on local food systems as the solution and the lack of critical conversations

within it concerning race and national origin. Allen (2004, 2010) has argued for the necessity of both participatory democratic processes at the local level and representative democratic change at the state and national policy scales. She has also contended for bringing farmworker voices into these decision-making arenas. Dupuis and Goodman (2005) and Cadieux and Slocum (Cadieux & Slocum, 2015) have each called for more reflexivity on the part of individuals involved in the AAM, and Agyeman (2013) has offered suggestions for the design of participatory processes that are inclusive and that encourage community involvement in food systems change.

Like Minkoff-Zern (2012), Sbicca (2015a, 2015b) has suggested that many AFIs routinely refrain from participation in politics. However, he has refined Minkoff-Zern's argument to contend that this disposition can create tensions and barriers between AFI actors and migrant farmworkers. To offset this challenge Minkoff-Zern has suggested that AAM activists partner and collaborate with groups participating in the farmworker movement. As noted above, she has specifically called for AAM leaders and organizations to make space for farmworker leaders within their ranks. Meanwhile, Weiler, Levkoe, and Young (2016) have outlined ways that universities can collaborate with farmworker communities, while emphasizing the necessity for ensuring farmworker participation and voice in all such efforts.

These studies all speak to structural challenges when attempting to bring groups from different backgrounds "to the table" to make decisions, with a specific focus on the food system. They also all highlight the necessity of including farmworkers in decision-making in the food system. However, even though each work calls for such participation and leadership, few of these examples actually included farmworker participants. I sought to tackle this concern in this

study by investigating the process by which one AFI/FBO sought to include farmworkers in its organizational decision-making process.

Faith-based organizations. There are vast differences among the types of FBOs that serve farmworkers. For example, some ministries are service organizations fueled by charity and donations, while other faith-based entities seek to organize farmworkers. Still others partner with farmworker communities in organized political advocacy campaigns. There are also faith-based international NGOs that conduct development work, but that do so without imposing their faith's beliefs. Others, however, see their roles strictly as evangelical missionaries. This portion of this literature review focuses only on domestic FBO organizations that interact with farmworkers by providing services to them or seeking to cooperate with them in organizing efforts.

Nilsen (2014) has examined farmworker participation and the influence of faith-based organizations via ten oral history interviews with staff, Board members, and volunteer supporters with the National Farmworker Ministry (NFWM) in Raleigh, NC. He described how the NFWM has, "evolved over almost a century from a network of charity-based state migrant ministries ... [to a] national organization explicitly committed to supporting farmworker organizing" (2014, p. 2). He used the Freirian analytical framework of "the apprenticeship" to explore volunteers' experiences when organizing farmworkers (Freire, 1984). Nilsen has described "apprenticeship" as a process in which

naive people of faith who begin to discover the ways in which they benefit from the systemic oppression of other human beings ... they can either benefit from the systemic oppression of other human beings or enter into what Freire describes as a difficult period of apprenticeship through new forms of relationship and active solidarity with their oppressed neighbors (2014, p. 1).

The apprenticeship framework “implies both human relationship and participatory education and a Freirian apprenticeship in this context must involve both actual relationships with farmworkers and active participation in their struggles” (Nilsen, 2014, p. 4). The Freirian framework (Freire, 1984) “also suggests that oppressed peoples must lead the powerful in this process by inviting them to join their struggle for a larger social transformation” (2014, p. 3). The volunteers’ recounting of their experiences with the NFWM revealed a shared narrative in which each began to understand that they did not need to make plans for the farmworkers. Instead, workers should be the leaders of any change process; a common perception or understanding that mirrored “Freirian apprenticeships.” Nilsen concluded “that this realization occurs by seeing through personal relationships, that the oppressed are actually better situated to lead the change than those who benefit from the oppression” (2014, p. 4).

Nilsen related his findings to the Christian church. He argued Christ’s teachings are often shared in an abstract manner, as in many Sunday schools, for example. However, according to Nilsen, “many who become committed to the farmworker movement through NFWM discover more concrete costs to the practice of their faiths and thus come to know and rely on God differently through those experiences” (2014, p. 7) Nilsen offered three final observations, including arguing that working with the NFWM has the potential to assist Christians in moving beyond the abstraction of viewing farmworkers as “oppressed people.” In addition, he suggested that the NFWM creates space for apprentices, “to build personal relationships with members of that group who are already actively engaged in some struggle to change the oppressive system” (2014, p. 7). Finally, according to Nilsen, the NFWM allows volunteers to participate with “varying levels of risk”, so that they can engage in the movement at a level with which they are comfortable (2014, p. 7).

Husebo (2011) has applied a labor geography theoretical framework to analyze how the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) organizes workers. He specifically concentrated on the process by which the CIW embeds itself in faith-based communities. He interviewed representatives from multiple locations, including members of churches, religious-community organizations, and interfaith non-profits working with the CIW. He examined documents associated with that campaign and also observed and participated in the July and August 2010 CIW's Modern Day Slavery Museum tour, which was part of that organization's Truth-Tours:

Immokalee farmworkers have been piling into vans and buses to traverse the country on annual Truth Tours, starting with a cross-country journey in 2002 to spread the word about the nascent Taco Bell Boycott. Each tour—whether mapped through Monterrey or Montgomery, Atlanta or Austin—has shared the same essential goal: For farmworkers to use the power of their voices, in concert with those of consumers, to expose the truth about farm labor poverty and exploitation behind the food we all eat, and to demand that this country's major retailers take responsibility for the working conditions within their supply chains (CIW, 2015).

He found that, "the typical person affiliated with a faith-based group is not necessarily worried about the same demands the CIW put forth on behalf of the workers" (2011, p. 62). Therefore, the use of alternative campaign tactics was pivotal in gaining their political support.

Husebo (2011) argued that faith-based groups are not as likely to rally behind class issues, such as wage increases, because there is sometimes a fear of upsetting farmers in their congregations. Nonetheless, these entities have been key to the success of its campaigns because the CIW appealed to a sense of justice that aligned with the faith of those they sought to reach. For example, when the CIW moved away from class politics and concentrated on a hunger strike

and truth-tours, faith-based communities became actively involved with its campaigns, and when the movement ended the hunger strike, they became wary, as CIW was then perceived as actively contesting capitalist actors. Husebo concluded by arguing, "though the CIW is constituted by workers organizing to improve working conditions in the place of production, they are framing the contestation in a way which allows for the faith-based community to organize and mobilize its wider membership" (Husebo, 2011, p. 64). Faith-based community involvement did not resolve issues with the growers, but it did raise the visibility of the CIW's campaigns and thereby increased its relative political power.

Summary. Husebo (2011) and Nilsen (2014) have provided analyses that shed some light on the ways that FBOs approach farmworker justice that differ from those of the AAM. Like Minkoff-Zern (2012) and Sbicca (2015a, 2015b), Husebo's (2011) study demonstrated that organizations can utilize the issue of hunger as a way to motivate church goers to take action to increase the well-being of farmworker populations. That otherwise latent capacity highlights the potential political power that inheres in these communities.

Nilsen's (2014) study detailed the personal transformations that several volunteers experienced when working with FBOs that advocated for worker's rights. Empirically, his analysis also highlighted the reality that farmworker FBOs exist on a spectrum, from those that focus specifically on worker rights to those that address charity provision. Nilsen was most interested, however, in those FBOs that advocate for farm worker's rights, and through their political stance, provide space for the encouragement of farmworker leadership and participation.

Although historically, faith-based organizations have been a significant component of the farm labor movement, there is little peer-reviewed work on these institutions that work directly with and/or serve farmworkers in the United States, especially in the last ten years. This analysis

speaks to this lack of research. Furthermore, the efforts that have been undertaken and highlighted here illuminate several key challenges, specifically those associated with FBOs' stance toward political advocacy. The lack of relevant research and the challenges highlighted by Husebo (2011) support the continued utility of analyses of faith-based organizations that serve farmworker populations. This dissertation engages that conversation.

Community-based research for farmworker health. Another important area of farmworker community inquiry is Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) and Participatory Action Research (PAR) for health. This body of scholarship is less theoretical than it is actively involved with soliciting and harnessing farmworker participation. These methodologies seek to include community (in this case farmworker) participation in the design, implementation, and evaluation of research in their communities. The lessons learned from this work are important for understanding the obstacles as well as the opportunities for increasing farmworker involvement in decision-making, especially in institutional settings beyond the farm.

Public health and anthropology scholars associated with the Wake Forest University (WFU) School of Medicine Farmworker Health Research program have developed an important body of work that is very helpful in understanding farmworker livelihoods and participation in the middle Atlantic states. These scholars have been working in the farmworker camps of Eastern and Western North Carolina for more than twenty years, have published many articles concerning their efforts, and are partially responsible for increased safety regulations for farm laborers in NC specifically. Although the bulk of their research has been health related, on topics such as pesticide exposure, risk, and food security, they have also called for increased labor and pesticide regulation.

Arcury, Austin, Quandt, and Saavedra (1999) authored one of this Project's most germane works, both topically and theoretically. In that study, researchers from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Wake Forest University, and North Carolina State University received a four-year grant from the National Institutes for Health, "to reduce agricultural chemical exposure among farmworkers by using community participation research to develop (through formative research), implement, evaluate, and disseminate culturally appropriate interventions" (Arcury et al., 1999, p. 569). The project was called Preventing Agricultural Chemical Exposure Among North Carolina Farmworkers (PACE). The university researchers worked with a Community-Based Organization (CBO) that focuses on farmworker health to gather data and engage multiple farmworker communities. The goal of the particular article treating that work was to present a multimodal model for increasing participation of farmworker communities while also demonstrating the challenges implicit in seeking to engage a marginalized community. Arcury et al. described the following forms of engagement with farmworker communities:

at the first level, work plans were developed with a community-based organization partner at the university. An advisory committee was then created and representative farmworkers provided input in a more neutral setting. Participation was later extended through community forums, and public presentations were held in places where farmworkers regularly gather. Finally, members of the farmworker community participated as informants in the formative data collection (1999, p. 574).

They utilized Plaut, Landis, and Trevor's (1992) definition of community participation, which included the following four elements: "the participation of the people being studied, use of personal experiences and the perceptions of community members as data, a focus on

empowerment, and a final product being action by the community and community members to change the conditions causing the problem (Arcury et al., 1999, p. 564). Arcury et al. recognized, as with many ideal definitions,

there is a broad range of what is considered community participation. That range is characterized as active to passive, contractual to collegiate, and tokenism to degrees of citizen power. Despite the effectiveness of the most active participation, reviews show that this level is rarely achieved (1999, p. 564).

Arcury et al. also identified key challenges to farmworker participation and described how they adjusted to those obstacles in their research. For example, they found that farmworkers can lack political and social organization, have little political power and may face compromising employment conditions, and "many fear the loss of a job for simply attending a meeting" (1999, p. 568). Farmworkers are also dependent on the farmers that hire them, have difficulty with communication and transportation, and many do not have mailing addresses or telephones or driver's licenses, and if they do have licenses, for example, they are reluctant to drive long distances. These analysts also identified how,

the fluid occupational status of group membership also poses problems for their participation in public health projects. Individual migrant farmworkers who work one season may not come back the next season. Seasonal farmworkers, who may stay in an area for many years, may change jobs and so stop being farmworkers (1999, p. 568).

To account for these challenges, they held meetings in the evenings in neutral locations, such as Spanish-speaking churches or the CBO's office, and in many instances, the PACE group provided transportation for the farmworkers to the meetings. The analysts provided Spanish interpretation and translation at all meetings.

Arcury and his colleagues conducted twenty-six in-depth interviews and seven focus groups with farmworkers, and in order to find participants, they worked closely with the CBO and used its existing contacts. To gather additional data, the authors held advisory meetings with farmworkers and growers. In order to insure the job security of the workers, employees and their employers were never in the same group. In addition, to provide a space where farmworkers could speak without interruption from those who regularly represent them, no government officials or advocacy group representatives were present for these conversations (Arcury et al., 1999).

One of this study's key findings was that the most important implication for a multimodal delivery model is the "need for flexibility and diversification in the implementation of community participation projects," and they found that the partnership between the university and the CBO was critical to meeting, "the level of participation needed to make the intervention appropriate or sustainable in that community" (Arcury et al., 1999, p. 575). This was so because, "while CBOs do have an ongoing contact with a portion of the community, they do not represent everyone" (1999, p. 576). Finally, the PACE group also concluded that in the future it should seek to include more, "involvement of other stakeholders, in our case, health care workers and Cooperative Extension agents," in that doing so could, "help ensure the long-term influence of the project" (1999, p. 577).

Arcury and Quandt (2009) have compiled their community-based public health research with farmworkers into a single volume that provides documentation and key findings concerning housing, pesticide exposure, food security and a number of additional areas critical to good health. They provided recommendations for labor, immigration, environmental, health, and

housing policy based on their twenty-years of research. They argued the following issues continue to perpetuate the injustices they found in farmworker lives:

- (1) information to document farmworker health and safety is incomplete;
- (2) the limited information that is available provokes grave concerns about farmworker health and justice; and
- (3) deficits in farmworker health and farm labor justice result from current agricultural policy (2009, p. 221).

In addition, like Gray (2013), Guthman (2004), and Allen (2004), they identified agricultural exceptionalism as a key barrier to obtaining shifts in existing public policy, "While the family farm has nostalgic connotations, perpetuating the notion has serious consequences for farmworkers and their families" (2009, p. 224).

Arcury, Wiggins, and Quandt's agenda for social justice included the three domains noted above. Like Gray (2013), the authors contended that U.S. consumers do not know where their food comes from and this obscures issues of farmworker equity and justice. They argued that Americans should gain a better understanding of how their food is grown, harvested, and processed. Second, these scholars recommended that additional research documenting the conditions of farm work be undertaken. Finally, they argued for changes in policy and regulation to improve farmworker livelihoods (2009, p. 226). In addition, they highlighted the importance of supporting farmworker advocacy organizations with education, financial resources, partnerships, and other forms of support for ensuring their effective governance and leadership. They concluded their work by emphasizing the necessity of building collaborations, "Farmworkers and their allies must build equitable and long-term relationships with advocacy

groups, academic scientists, and other organizations focused on improving the lives of farmworkers nationally and internationally" (2009, p. 232).

Summary. The WFU researchers and their collaborators' work yielded several lessons for conducting participatory work with immigrant farmworkers. First, as noted above, like Allen (2004), Guthman (2004), and Gray (2013), the authors pinpointed agricultural exceptionalism as a key impediment to increasing social justice for farm laborers. In addition, with Gray (2013), the authors highlighted the need to increase consumer consciousness of farm laborers. The WFU authors added to existing work by critical scholars by offering empirically-grounded suggestions, especially concerning the need for additional documentation of farmworker injustices and for policy changes. Moreover, unlike the CAS literature, these authors analyzed the complexities of participatory research, including identifying ways and means of ensuring that farmworkers have a voice in deliberations and decisions affecting their welfare.

The WFU researchers employed a participatory framework in their research. However, they did not utilize an approach that addressed questions of transnationality and citizenship. In addition, even though these analysts rightly critiqued the capacity of organizations to speak for workers, they did not address such concerns from an organizational perspective, but instead, from a coalition's point of view. This inquiry differs from this approach by utilizing Fraser's (2009b) theory of participatory parity, which has a global dimension. Finally, although the lessons from the PACE study are critical to understanding the general context in which migrant farmworkers are laboring in the southeast region of the U.S., it was conducted more than fifteen years ago, and the local, national, and global political climate has changed markedly since.

Analysis

Theoretical explorations of participation and democracy have framed many previous analyses of the Alternative Agrifood Movement. For example, in studies addressing farmworker participation many authors (Allen, 2004; DuPuis & Goodman, 2005) have employed Young's (Young, 2001; Young, 1990) critiques of the public sphere to recommend a more reflexive AAM. Slocum (2006, 2007) and Guthman (2008a) have also operationalized and strengthened Young (1990) and Fraser's (Fraser, 1990, 2009d) critiques of the public sphere by detailing the role that race and social status play in further marginalizing specific groups and reinforcing many of the oppressions that both Young and Fraser highlight.

The key themes that emerge from this literature include: the need for awareness of the power dynamics associated with charity models of service, the continuing significance of agrarian exceptionalism as a primary social frame, the implications of AFIs and FBOs routine abstention from political stances, the effects of neoliberalism as the dominant social imaginary, and recommendations for the systematic practice of reflexivity and inclusivity within AFIs and the AAM. Scholars have also offered empirical recommendations arising from participatory work with farmworker populations and motivating faith-based communities to support farmworker justice (Arcury & Quandt, 2009a; Husebo, 2011; Nilsen, 2014). In addition, farmworker organizations and sustainable agriculture initiatives are beginning to form connections. Organizations such as the CIW are creating democratic processes in which farmworkers and growers can collaborate and health researchers are assisting such efforts by providing data on which public work conditions and health-related regulations should be updated and implemented

However, the literature reviewed here still evidences gaps. First, the food systems literature requires additional research to understand how to connect the data from the AAM to labor, how to support organizations seeking to open space for farmworker participation in AFIs, and how the AAM and FBOs could more effectively engage farmworkers in decision-making. Second, while the AAM does adequately discuss Benhabib (2004), Young (2006), and Fraser's (2009b) articulation of the cosmopolitan ethic and accompanying individual responsibility for treating non-citizens with the same respect and dignity accorded citizens, the CAS literature has not applied, discussed or sought to integrate these theories of justice to date.

Conclusion

The frameworks presented in this literature review suggest that this study, as framed, has the potential to generate knowledge of possible interest to multiple audiences. Although there is a vast body of empirical, normative, and theoretical scholarship focused on social justice in agriculture and sustainability, there is a relative dearth of research on faith-based organizations that work with farmworkers. In addition, few CAS scholars have employed a theoretical justice framework that incorporates questions of nationality in their analyses as the present study does. This analysis was explicitly designed to build on existing research while deepening investigations of institutions that work directly with farmworkers. Moreover, by contributing to the scholarly and activist literature investigating collaborations between the farmworker and sustainable agriculture movements, this analysis provides empirical data to support new ways of working to improve the lives and livelihoods of farmworkers.

Chapter 4 - Research Design

I volunteered with Valley View during the summer of 2015 to gain a deeper understanding of the issues facing the farmworkers the FBO serves and the strategies it was employing to address them. During that time, I learned that the Ministry was conducting a capacity-building project to increase farmworker participation in the governance and administration of the organization. This initiative represented an interesting opportunity to conduct an exploratory ethnographic case study of the strategies Valley View was employing to create space for participation, the exercise of increased agency, and efficacy among the farmworkers it serves.

I returned in 2016 to undertake my dissertation fieldwork. From May to September, I conducted five months of fieldwork to produce an ethnographic case study aimed at understanding the perceptions of participants involved in the participatory project aimed at offering opportunities for farmworker exercise of agency. The unique characteristics of Valley View's organizational change initiative provided me an excellent opportunity to reflect on, and contribute to, theories of social justice, power, and participation.

Research Approach

From a critical realist epistemological and ontological frame, I utilized ethnographic data collection methods and qualitative content analysis to guide my work and reporting of findings. In order to sort, analyze, and present my transcriptions, field notes, and archival data, I employed qualitative, directed content analysis (DCA):

The goal of a directed approach to content analysis is to validate or extend conceptually a theoretical framework or theory. Existing theory or research can help focus the research question. It can provide predictions about the variables of interest or about the relationships

among variables, thus helping to determine the initial coding scheme or relationships between codes (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1281).

Schreier has identified three features that “characterize the [DCA] method: qualitative content analysis reduces data, it is systematic, and it is flexible” (2014, p. 2). White and Marsh have contended that, with this strategy, “The emphasis is always on answering the research questions but considering as well any transformations that the initial foreshadowing questions may have undergone during the coding or any new questions or themes that emerge(d) during the coding” (2006, p. 39). DCA was a valuable approach for this analysis because it was flexible and complemented the study’s critical realist ontology and epistemology. More particularly, it supports both concept-driven (existing knowledge) and data-driven (empirical data from fieldwork) coding, or semi-open coding and, like critical realism, it assumes that both the objective and subjective may be true.

Overall, the methodology used here encouraged reflexivity. Roberts (2014) has argued that in order to gain the critical reflexivity needed to understand the dialectical relationship between structure and agency, one must spend a considerable time with participants, including multiple interview sessions and/or observations. He has also contended that critical realism is “a movement from a concrete context within which causal mechanisms are abstracted and analyzed and then back to the concrete context to understand how these causal mechanisms operate” (Roberts, p. 7, 2014). Because I spent more than eight months conducting fieldwork and analysis, this immersion allowed me to understand the context as well as larger causal mechanisms and thus gain a deeper understanding of the dialectical relationship between agency and structure in the case I examined.

Likewise, Heath and Hindmarsh have argued that,

Rather than confining its focus to individual experience, or rejecting the notion of knowledge altogether, critical realism is able to use ethnographic data to illuminate structured relations, and beyond that, to show how these relations may be oppressive, and to point to the sort of actions required to make them less oppressive (Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002, p. 14).

Critical realism supports this articulation through its use of dialectic, and it “provides a sound basis for moving ethnography beyond the examination of specific social instances, in order to examine the general structural context of those instances” (Heath & Hindmarsh, 2002, p. 2).

Case Selection

Stake (1998) has argued that the opportunity to learn is the primary criterion when choosing a case to study and that it is better to learn a lot from an atypical case than a little from a typical one. I followed this logic in selecting Valley View for investigation. The FBO provided a strong opportunity to learn as there is little research on such civil society organizations that work specifically with farmworker populations and the Ministry serves more people than most other similarly focused organizations in its geographic region. Moreover, Valley View engaged in a significant organizational change in that it received a grant from HFJ to conduct a capacity building program to create space for participatory leadership among the farmworkers it serves, increase Latino representation on the Board, and deepen its BOD members’ understanding of farmworker livelihoods. Given Valley View’s transitional state and its unique context, the FBO offered a special opportunity to learn how the perceptions of project participants reflected themes in the topical and theoretical literature as well as to learn more about how power works in micro-political spaces, especially for farmworkers.

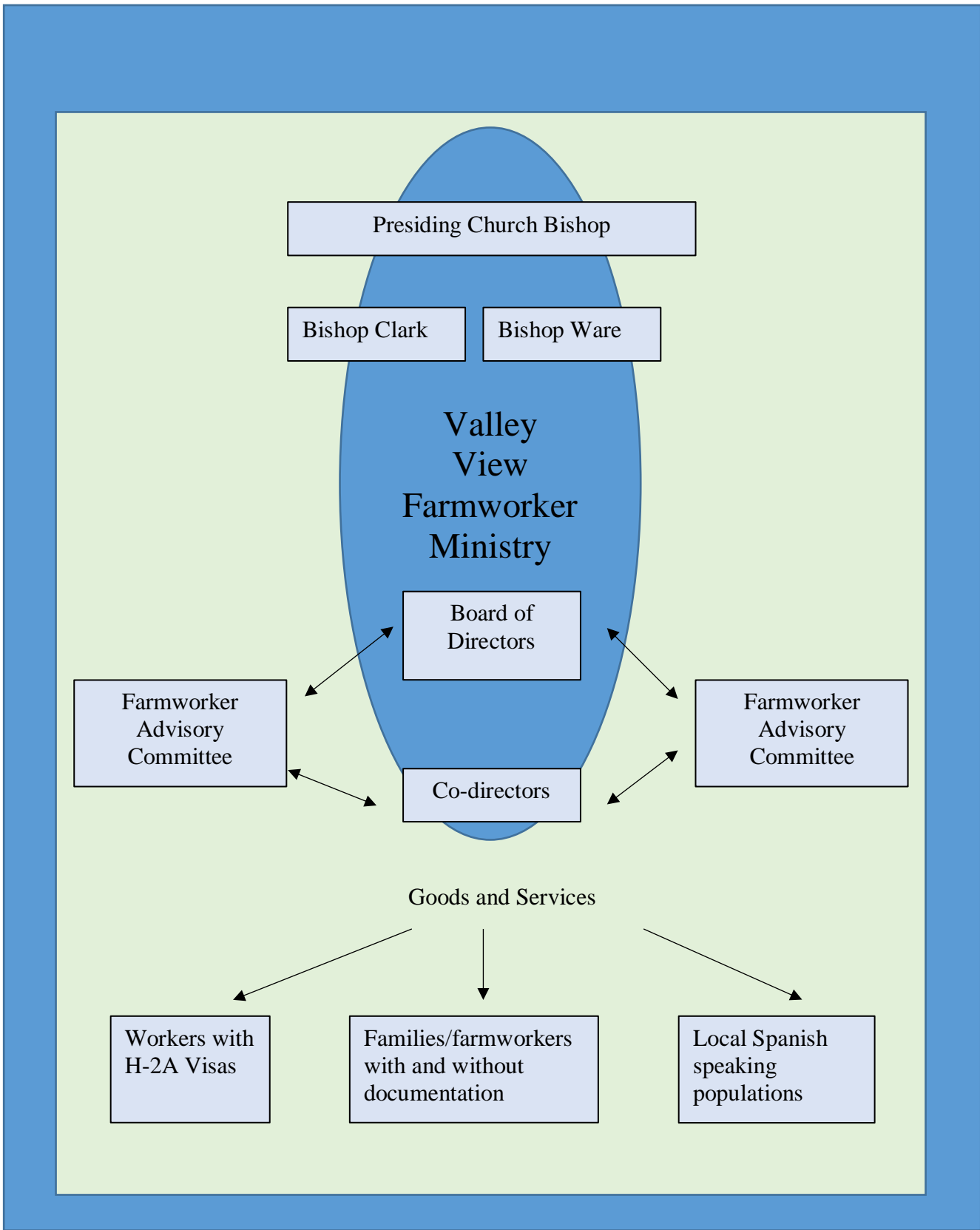


Figure 3: Valley View Farmworker Ministry organizational chart (Erwin, 2017)

Figure 3 represents the decision-making structure of Valley View. The Presiding Bishop acts as a leader for all relevant denominational dioceses and churches in the United States, including the dioceses of North Carolina, which has Bishops for Diocese 1 and Diocese 2. Valley View's Board of Directors technically reports to those two Bishops. However, each Bishop appoints an individual to represent them on Valley View's Board of Directors. The Farmworker Advisory Committee advises the Board of Directors and the co-directors. Valley View serves those who are represented by the Farmworker Advisory Committee in addition to workers with H-2A visas, families and undocumented workers, and the local Spanish speaking population.

Reflexivity

As a researcher, I followed Bourdieu's suggestions on research and scholarship reflexivity. Bourdieu described rigor as "obsessive reflexivity," which should include the following for the researcher: understanding the social and political structures that make things the way they are and viewing him or herself as having a position in the field of study, having a habitus, and possessing a certain amount of capital in that space. Bourdieu specifically recommended,

that you must retrace the history of the emergence of these problems, of their progressive constitution, i.e., of the collective work, oftentimes accomplished through competition and struggle, that proved necessary to make such and such issues be known and recognized (1992, p. 238).

Bourdieu also recognized research's power and the possible effects associated with categorizing and giving names to people and societies. Thus, it is important to understand the potential problem of using the title of researcher, or expert, and the investigator must be aware of the social problems that inquiry can create (Bourdieu, 1992).

In an effort to honor Bourdieu's injunction to be as reflexive as possible, I worked to be aware of my own power and the power of social science methods and constructs throughout the study. First, I sought to remain aware throughout my fieldwork that I was a white, middle-class female who grew up in the state in which Valley View is located. Because of my race, financial background, and citizenship status (as defined by the state), I inherently had more power in many social and political situations than many of the people with whom I was working and whom I interviewed.

The fact that I am a woman and all of the farmworkers whose lives and situations I was studying were men meant that there were some fields in which the dominant habitus was Latino male farmworker as I researched Valley View's efforts. Moreover, while I did not intend to change social power dynamics during my project, I accepted that my power and the power of others would inevitably increase my capacity to undertake some actions that others could not. In order to account for this, I endeavored to be as open and transparent as possible with all of my work. Finally, I sought to practice "obsessive reflexivity" in data collection and when considering how my personal bias and power might influence the work that I produced. This is because in many ways, researchers construct knowledge and bias is innately part of inquiry. I sought to address this reality by persistent reflexivity.

Reflexivity in the field. While in the field, my own habitus influenced my capacity to build rapport with the organization's employees, the Board of Directors, the farmworkers with H-2A visas, the undocumented and local families, and the local American population. In addition, because I had to gather data in spaces where I was an "outsider," I had to be flexible with my timing and the methods in which I used to build a measure of affinity. The experience of

conducting fieldwork for this study changed the way I conduct research and the ways I approach my own bias.

For example, I spent my childhood close to the region where I conducted my inquiry. This factor as well as my additional educational background made it relatively easy for me to relate to the Board members. Because of my personal and professional background, I am accustomed to working and communicating with Christians living in North Carolina. I understand the social cues, so when I interviewed many of the Board members, there were few challenges. My background was a strength when interviewing the Board members and conducting Board meeting observations. It permitted me to ask difficult questions with little tension, especially from white, female members of the Board and those who had worked in academia.

However, in contrast with the Board members, my habitus differed from most of the employees, the undocumented families and farmworkers, and the farmworkers with H-2A visas. I have advanced Spanish skills, but I learned Spanish in Peru and Ecuador, and the vast majority of the Spanish speakers in the study were from Mexico. Moreover, because I am in my thirties, and I am not married and do not have children, I found it challenging to relate to the female participants who were married and had children. I also used caution when relating to the male farmworkers, especially given that many were single.

I did not anticipate these challenges when entering the field, and about a month into my fieldwork, I decided that I needed to shift course to address them more effectively. I first extended the study's duration from three months to five months. That additional time allowed me to take on responsibilities, such as driving workers to and from church and assisting with organizing and distributing donations to workers. In these ways, I was able to get to know some

of the H-2A farmworker leaders and participate in more of the activities in which the workers were involved at Valley View.

A few unintentional actions on my part also proved helpful. First, because I could not leave my dog, Pancho, at my house for eight hours a day, he often came with me as I undertook my fieldwork. His presence usually broke the tension, as people would walk up to me, pet him, and ask me his name. It turned out that Pancho is a common name in Mexico, so many farmworkers thought that was funny. It was typically much easier for me to connect with research participants after our initial encounter.

Second, I also have a professional background of working with children, both in Latin America and in the United States. Therefore, during a share of the summer day programs, I played soccer with the children, talked with them about school, and let them walk Pancho around Valley View's grounds. All of the youngsters were bilingual, so it was often easier for me to communicate with them than with their parents. I slowly became aware that the children's parents had begun to see me as a teacher, and because of this, opened up more to me. By the end of the summer, most of the research participants knew me by name, and many would approach me to ask me how I was doing. When I completed my work, my English students gave me presents and made me tamales. Many of the kids asked me if, when I graduated, I could serve as their teacher.

My experiences during the study also challenged my political stance. I have a political bias that is largely Democratic and progressive. During the study, I lived in a progressive college town and traveled to Valley View for research. The town where I was staying had a very different culture than Valley View and the surrounding towns, which were largely conservative. I

also conducted the study during the heavily contentious 2016 presidential election, and Trump/Pence signs were everywhere.

Interviews with rural and urban residing participants reflected the contrasting landscapes and cultures I otherwise observed and experienced in my day-to-day life. In addition, because of my unique experience, I at times felt like I was observing and hearing the rhetoric and contrasting perspectives of the campaign. I would often work on my dissertation in an upscale, coffee shop surrounded by people from around the world on the same day that I would observe farmworker and grower poverty in rural North Carolina. Fieldwork did not change my political stance, but because of the embodied nature of ethnography, it did help me empathize with the political “other” by providing me with an understanding that went beyond television news soundbites.

Finally, my professional habitus also influenced my capacity to build rapport and conduct community-based research. For instance, as a doctoral student, there is an incredible amount of pressure to fulfill the requirements stipulated by the university and your graduate committee. There were days I would drive an hour and a half to Valley View, to visit a camp, only to find that the farmworkers were still in the fields working. Given that I am accustomed to an academic schedule, where people are typically punctual, I was at times frustrated with the farmworkers and Valley View’s employees, who did not share my orientation on this concern.

Upon reflection, however, I soon realized that this frustration had little to do with courtesy or respect, and much to do with my own professional habitus. Once conscious of this, I was much more understanding, and I still made the trip to Valley View even when there were doubts regarding the specific outcomes of my visit. This shift in my own research consciousness opened space for me to be more relaxed in the field.

Overall, my fieldwork experience transformed how I understand my own position as a researcher. This inquiry changed me and encouraged me to become a more flexible, reflexive practitioner. In the future, I anticipate utilizing similar methods to analyze individuals and groups who are grappling with and attempting to ameliorate the challenges associated with changing political, economic, and social conditions.

Validity

Throughout the study, I worked to attain conceptual validity, which is the capacity to “identify and measure the indicators that best represent the theoretical concepts the researcher hopes to identify” (George & Bennett, 2005, p. 19). When designing data collection instruments, conducting fieldwork, and analyzing the data, I identified indicators for opening space for participation and agency and the efficacy of those mechanisms by using Fraser’s analytical framework and definitions of justice as participatory parity, efficacy, and legitimacy.

Fraser’s three indicators include representation, recognition, and redistribution. Therefore, I utilized these as codes within the coding family PARPAR (Participatory Parity). I also employed CAS indicators and considered them in light of my research questions and the data. The most important of these were the agrarian imaginary or exception (see Chapter 3) and the existence of color-blind racism (see chapter 2). I analyzed speech, field notes, and archival documents to understand better how these indicators expressed themselves in the study.

Reliability

According to Yin (2013), reliability is achieved when using non-statistical methods through triangulation, responsible storing and organization of data, and ensuring a clear chain of evidence. In order to ensure reliability, I sought rigor through obsessive reflexivity and the triangulation of data sources. I used multiple research methods, including participatory observation, semi-structured interviews, and documents analysis. When I finished analyzing

data, I stored my coding sheets separately from interview transcriptions and field notes, on a thumb drive kept in a locked drawer at the Virginia Tech Institute for Policy and Governance. Finally, in order to create a clear chain of evidence so as to ensure that my findings linked back to my research questions and the theoretical and empirical positions I posited, I utilized the Computer Assisted/Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software program (CAQDAS), NVivo.

Generalizability

As I conducted a single case study using ethnographic methods, my aim was to achieve analytically generalizable propositions. Analytical generalizations are key to strengthening and/or disproving theoretical concepts and unveiling causal, contextual mechanisms not apparent when applying positivist methods. Yin (2010, p. 21-23) has described analytic generalizations as involving the following two-step process: offering a conceptual claim whereby investigators show how their case findings bear upon a particular theory, theoretical construct, or theoretical (not just actual) sequence of events and then applying that understanding to other similar situations in which analogous events might also occur.

This study's results did not involve generalizations to larger populations. Instead, I used the data I gathered to reflect on specific existing theories, themes, and scholarly arguments. I worked to achieve analytical generalization by consciously reflecting on the following conceptualizations:

1. Fraser's conceptualization of justice as participatory parity.
2. Fraser's definition of efficacy and legitimacy.
3. definition of the agrarian imaginary/exceptionalism.
4. Case studies of AFIs, community-based research, and development organizations using similar theoretical frameworks.

Research Ethics

I completed the following tasks to build and maintain trust and protect the human participants with whom I worked during this study. First, I completed Virginia Tech's Institutional Review Board (IRB) Training and I worked through the IRB to ensure that I had developed an ethical protocol for my project. In addition, as part of that process, I provided consent forms, in either English and Spanish as appropriate, to each of the individuals I interviewed. I also worked with the IRB to prepare two scripts: one for use when a study participant was not literate and/or the interview was by telephone, and another for participant observation opportunities, which explained the purpose of my study and how I would use such data while preserving confidentiality. I utilized a pseudonym system to protect the identities of all research participants.

When possible, I shared the transcriptions of interviews with interviewees and asked that they review them for factual accuracy and to double-check that I did not miss any valuable information in transcribing their comments. I employed this step for all interviews I conducted with Valley View Board members and employees. I was not able to send transcripts to the farmworkers I interviewed, as I did not have a means of contacting them and/or by the time I had transcribed their comments, they had already returned to Mexico for the season.

I also developed a memorandum of understanding (MOU) for Valley View's co-directors explaining exactly what I was going to do and how I would conduct my inquiry. I indicated I would not reveal the specific identity of the organization in any publications, including the dissertation. I also promised to share the final version of this manuscript with the organization so its leaders could be aware of my analysis and conclusions. Finally, during the participant observation portion of my study, I introduced myself as a researcher to all participants and explained the objectives of my inquiry. Part of the MOU agreement was that I assist the

organization with one or more time delimited projects. Therefore, throughout the summer of 2016, I taught English classes for Spanish speaking community members. In the Fall of 2016, I also collected immigration data for Valley View's co-directors, which they used to further educate members of the Board of Directors about farmworker livelihoods.

Data Collection

As I have indicated, I conducted a case study utilizing ethnographic methods to obtain and analyze the perceptions of, and the potential for, the FBO's project to open participatory possibilities for the farmworkers it was serving. I spent five months in the field, so this study is not equivalent to a conventional ethnography in which data collection occurs during a prolonged period. I had direct contact with the participants' work environments from May to September 2016 and utilized a 'family of methods,' including direct and participatory observation, after action conversations, semi-structured interviews, follow-up interviews, and document review to collect information.

Following O'Reilly, I adopted the following explanation of ethnography as a theory of practice that:

understands social life as an outcome of the interaction of structure and agency through the practice of everyday life; that examines social life as it unfolds, including looking at how people feel, in the context of their communities, and with some analysis of wider structures, over time; that also examines, reflexively, one's own role in the construction of social life as an ethnography unfolds; and that determines the methods on which to draw and how to apply them as part of the ongoing reflexive practice of ethnography (2012, p. 11).

This statement recognizes ethnography as a practice to understand the relationship between structure and agency.

Sampling. I used purposeful sampling to choose what documents I read, who I interviewed, and what spaces I observed for my analysis. The most important aspect of purposeful sampling is to choose the sites and individuals that are the richest in information, and for this case, I specifically used snowball sampling, to contact additional potential interviewees referred by other study participants. Valley View staff members provided me with key documents for review, introduced me to Board members and farmworkers, and took me to spaces that I observed (Bailey, 2007).

In order to understand and capture the uniqueness of a case, Stake has suggested gathering the following data: “the nature of the case, its historical setting, its physical setting, and other contexts, including economic, political, legal, and aesthetic, other cases through which this case is recognized” (1998, p. 90). With the assistance of staff at Valley View, I collected the following documents:

- Board meeting minutes from the last two years
- Request for Proposals for the grant from the Hispanics for Justice Foundation
- Meeting minutes from the two Farmworker Listening sessions

I gathered these documents and used them as data as well as guides for augmenting interview questions, as necessary, and for creating themes for analysis through coding.

Observation. I also used direct and participatory observation as an additional method of data collection. I conducted a combination of direct (strictly observing) and participatory

(observation while participating) observations and brief action-interviews to assist with the refinement of my research questions. I started my fieldwork in May 2016 by conducting direct and participatory observations. I used these initial opportunities to deepen my rapport with the organization's staff and members of its Board of Directors, and, to the extent feasible, a share of the farmworkers it served.

Throughout the five months, I communicated with farmworkers and conducted tasks with which Valley View needed assistance, such as visiting camps and distributing protective gear and toothbrushes to workers, working with local families, attending church services, driving workers from church to the camps, assisting with the food bank, and teaching English classes. During this time, I also participated in farmworker advisory meetings, Board meetings, and other events in which the farmworkers and Valley View were collaborating, including a meal at a farmworker camp. I also observed a community-based theater exercise in a farmworker camp with Valley View and another farmworker advocacy organization. Over the five months, I collected approximately thirty-five observations, with each field note resulting from these opportunities consisting of an average of four typed pages.

During my observations, I sought to record the rules, norms, routine actions, and social calculations of individuals in the different fields in which they were working. This included, but was not limited to their verbal behavior and interactions, physical behavior and gestures, personal space, human traffic within buildings, and what people stood out in various groups I observed (and why) (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2012, p. 76). In the field notes template (see Appendix J), I recorded who (actors), what (events, activity, silences), where (location(s)), why (the reason for the event), and how (the process of how things happened). All field notes included my reflections, emerging questions and analyses, and a list of things to do. Within this

framework, I observed and recorded what the verbal and physical responses were that I witnessed in conversations concerning citizenship, labor rights, and race. I also took note of which physical spaces appeared to encourage or elicit farmworker participation most.

Semi-structured interviews. I used open-ended, semi-structured interviews to understand why organizational actors decided to pursue the changes in strategy and processes they launched. In semi-structured interviews, “the interviewer uses an interview guide with specific questions that are organized by topics, but are not necessarily asked in a specific order ... during them, the interviewer might engage with dialogue with the interviewee rather than simply ask questions” (Bailey, 2007, p. 100).

I interviewed all of the Ministry’s twelve Board members, its three permanent employees (its co-directors and an immigration specialist), an additional part-time employee, a volunteer, four farmworkers involved with the project, and one retired farmworker for a total of twenty-three individuals. Each interview lasted from thirty minutes to an hour and a half. The interviews with the farmworkers were shorter, around 30 minutes, while those I undertook with employees, volunteers, and Board members, routinely lasted between an hour to an hour and a half. However, with the exception of Catia and Samuel (the co-directors), and Cecilia and Sara (the volunteer and intern), I spent more time with the farmworkers than with the BOD. Therefore, what I could not capture from interviews with farmworkers, I worked to understand through conversations with them.

Those I interviewed were all key players in the ongoing project and they provided a diverse array of perspectives. I worked with a translator while transcribing the farmworkers’ responses. For both the interviews and the transcriptions, the translator signed a confidentiality agreement, which I had previously submitted to the VT IRB for approval.

Data Analysis

In the fall of 2016, I analyzed the interview transcripts, archival documents, and field notes. This process included transcribing the interviews from the Board of Directors and the employees and hiring someone to transcribe and translate the farmworker and volunteer interviews. During this time, I also created a code frame and coded the associated documents (please see Appendix K). After that process was completed, I wrote up the results.

Coding. Before analyzing the interviews and the observations, I created a coding frame (Schreier, 2014), (please see Appendix K), which detailed the different code categories I developed from reviewing the relevant thematic literature and theoretical framework. As the research continued, I reassessed the information and added new code families as well as discarded codes for which there was little relevance. I utilized both concept-driven categories, those based on previous knowledge, such as theories, and data-driven categories, those based on the data collected (Schreier, 2014, p. 10).

This semi-open approach is different from grounded theory as the initial code families were derived from theory and scholarly questions and distinct from strictly empirically driven data analysis. For example, before the analysis, the code categories included participatory parity, with the subcategories of representation, redistribution, and recognition, and critical agrarian studies with subcategories of farmer/farmworker relations and agrarian imaginary. However, additional code categories and subsequent subcategories emerged as my analysis progressed, which included legitimacy and efficacy as defined by Fraser. I used a CAQDAS program, NVivo, to assist with applying multiple codes to the same text. As I coded the text, I used Descriptive Coding, which uses the process of tagging or, “assigning labels to data to summarize in a word or short phrase—organization and categorization of data and used simultaneous coding and most often a noun—the basic topic of a passage of qualitative data” (Miles, Michael

Huberman, & Saldaña, 2013, p. 74). In order to increase reliability, I applied the codes to the text twice and created notes that summarized each subcategory, especially with its relationship to theory. Once I finished coding, I utilized the categories as headings for my discussion of study results. Figure three outlines the research process from the question generation to data analysis.

Summary

This chapter reviewed how the ethnographic methods and direct content analysis I employed were supported by and supported a Critical Realism ontology and epistemology. It also described the sampling procedures, ethical guidelines, and reflexive observations I used in this research. The chapter concluded by detailing the study's data collection and data analysis strategy.

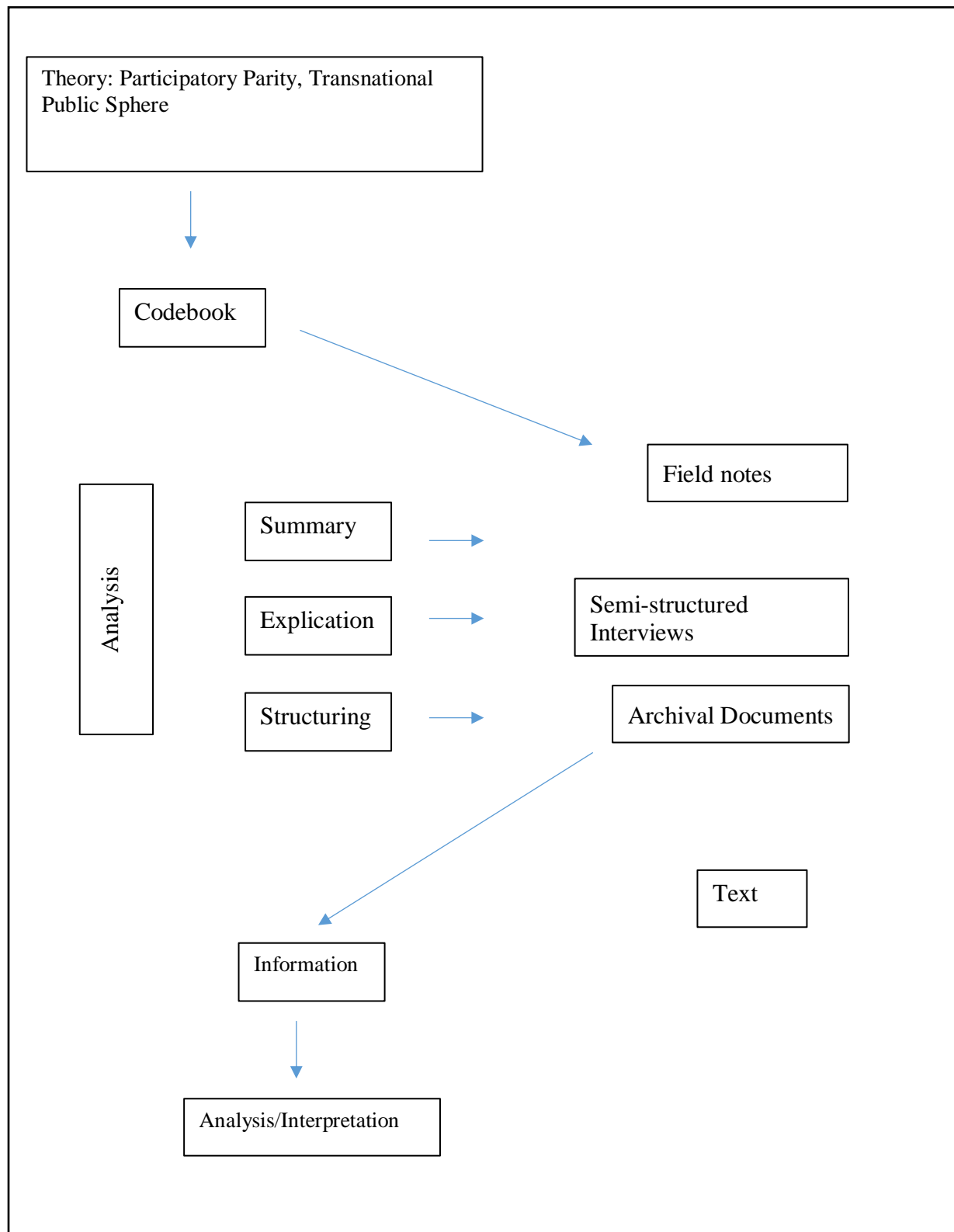


Figure 4: Research Process - Adapted from Kohlbacher (2006)

Chapter 5 - Research Findings - Participatory Parity

This study explored the capacity of the listening sessions and farmworker advisory committee initiated by Valley View Farmworker Ministry to open participatory space for the workers the nonprofit served at the time it was undertaken. I employed Fraser's conceptualization of justice as participatory parity to examine the relationships among these groups. Fraser's conception of participatory parity, "requires social arrangements that permit all to participate as peers in social life" (Fraser, 2009b) and "incorporates the political dimension of representation, alongside the economic dimension of distribution and the cultural dimension of recognition" (Fraser, 2009b). Employing this framework, this chapter examines how representation, redistribution, and recognition were manifest among participants in the Hispanic Justice Foundation (HJF) sponsored Valley View Ministry project. I then highlight which conceptualizations of the agency/structure dialectic were evident in my observations, review of relevant documents, and key informant interviews. Finally, I analyze these results in light of this study's research questions.

Research Questions

This chapter specifically addresses the following questions:

1. How did the Valley View Farmworker Ministry integrate strategies to address maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation into its participatory project? How did the participants understand the goals of the project? How did their perceptions compare with the requirements for participatory parity as articulated by Fraser?
2. Using Fraser's all-subjected principle, who should be involved in participatory initiatives? How did the FBO's decision rules ensure voice in public deliberations and representation in decision-making to the different stakeholders affected by its

initiative? Are these groups' claims legitimate in Fraser's terms? Why or why not?

3. How did farmworker agency express itself in the Ministry participatory project, if at all?

Representation

Fraser has argued that, "overcoming injustice means dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on par with others as full partners in social interaction" (2009b, p. 16). It follows that one method to understand whether an organization is beginning to surmount identified injustices is to investigate its mechanisms and/or rules of decision-making. For Fraser, "public opinion is legitimate if and only if it results from a communicative process in which all who are jointly subjected to the relevant governance structure(s) can participate as peers, *regardless of political citizenship*" (2009d, p. 96). She specifically suggested measuring this process by imposition of the "All-subjected Principle" which,

holds that what turns a collection of people into fellow members of a public is not shared citizenship, or co-imbrication in a causal matrix, but rather their joint subjection to a structure of governance that set the ground rules for their interaction (Fraser, 2007, p. 96).

In the case I investigated, the relevant governance structure was that of the Valley View Farmworker Ministry organization, even though the participants certainly shared other governance institutions, including local, state, and national governments.

Two farmworkers, nine Board members, and four employees discussed the issues of who Valley View serves and/or how Board representation is decided in individual interviews with me. In addition, for at least thirty minutes of the four-hour in-person Board meeting I attended, the

Board of Directors discussed the issue of representation. The focus of the project was largely H-2A workers with seasonal visas legally working in the United States. Although the organization is chartered to serve farmworkers without regard to their citizenship status, the HFJ initiative focused on H-2A workers. Valley View also serves undocumented workers and other local Spanish speaking and Creole speaking (Haitian) residents through its English classes, immigration services, and food distribution program.

Board member representation. Two church dioceses support Valley View and traditionally, the two Bishops of those jurisdictions have selected Valley View's Board members. This meant at the time of this study, that everyone on the Board, except for José,¹ were members of one of those area dioceses.² When I asked about the process of Board representation, Suzanne said, "right now they are appointed by bishops, and right now one bishop has had trouble filling two spots because the people he's asking can't come up for a day to come to a meeting in the middle of nowhere" (Suzanne, personal interview, June 30, 2016).

Some of the Board members, in addition to being part of the church, participated because of their knowledge, life histories, and different personal and professional strengths. For example, Jessica was a former sharecropper, and therefore, had a unique perspective on the farmworker experience. She also has had extensive professional experience working with administration. Other Board members, including Martha and Charlie, had experience working with nonprofit

¹ Trained as an engineer in Mexico, José is a former farmworker, and has conducted academic research with farmworker communities. Because of his different experiences and professional acumen, he is asked to be on many committees, while working tirelessly with workers every day of the week and on weekends. In other words, he is overworked, and he likely could not attend meetings because he is the former farmworker who is always asked to be on committees and involved with grant proposals.

² After this study was completed, Valley View changed the Board's composition, adding a female who is a member of the local parish, a native Spanish speaker from Mexico, and a professional who works with farmworker populations. They also added another woman who is a Spanish speaking reverend in the region, another lawyer who works with civil rights, and a person who is a community gardens professional. José is no longer on the board.

management and administration. Along with other members of the Board, they were key in assisting the FBO's employees with the leadership transition from Father Edwin to Samuel.

The only Board member not a member of either diocese was José, a former farmworker who now helps direct a local organization that serves farmworkers. His participation was important in increasing the Board's understanding of the local farmworker population's needs. However, due to his schedule, José was not able to participate in the Board's activities as much as he would have liked. Although there were strengths with the current system of Board appointments, Allison expressed a desire for a more inclusive Board selection process, one that allowed for more members outside of the two dioceses.

One of the problems I think the Board suffers with is who can ... serve on our [diocesan] boards and councils, and all of that. It's people who either have jobs that allow them to take time off and take time during the day, during the week, so they have a certain kind of affluence or it is people who are retired. And so, the challenge to involve the farmworkers in decision-making processes, I think is hugely important. I'd also like to [see the Board] accept the challenge of getting people under fifty involved in the decision-making process. I know some really cool, radical undocumented twenty-somethings who I would love to have on the Board of Valley View, but that's not going to happen unless we find ways to really change (Allison, personal interview, June 30, 2016).

In their interviews with me, Barbara and Caroline questioned their membership on the Board and suggested that a Spanish-speaking representative or someone with more fundraising skills might be a better fit because, although both had a high regard for the diocese and Valley View, neither spoke Spanish nor had any nonprofit development or management skills. For

example, when I asked Barbara about how she planned to continue her commitment to the Ministry she said,

You know I think part of what my discernment is, am I the best person to be doing that? I mean I've said to him, Crystal Baines, who's our deacon here should be the one on that Board, not me, because she speaks fluent Spanish, she has a Spanish congregation. ... Well, I mean I think that the community needs to have self-representation (Barbara, personal interview, June 7, 2016).

For her part, Martha, echoed this sentiment observing,

In some ways, the person that replaces me should be more Spanish speaking. What they are looking for isn't necessarily my match, my fit anymore. ... I'm sort of one of the last of the ones that are evolving out of the program because the next person, again, to replace me should be someone who has more of the fundraising or philanthropic or knowledge of working with the farmworkers or something that gives them more experience in what we're trying to do, rather than an outsider that all of a sudden shows up on the Board (Martha, personal interview, August 16, 2016).

Farmworker representation. When the project began, the grant called for Valley View to include farmworkers on its Board of Directors. However, worker schedules depend on the weather and crop-related needs, so they prefer to meet after 7:00 p.m. or on weekends, and many of the Board members lived at least an hour away from the center, were retired, and preferred to gather during weekday working hours. Therefore, farmworkers and Board members were typically available at conflicting times. This prompted Valley View initially to create a farmworker advisory committee, instead of formally including workers on its Board.

The director of the Ministry's programs and outreach, Samuel, was responsible for recruiting farmworkers for the Committee. In 2015, as Samuel and an intern made their regular rounds to visit the farmworkers at their residences, they informed many about the listening sessions and, in addition, the two used a system recommended by a community organizer to identify leaders among those with whom they spoke. Samuel described these individuals as natural leaders, "the ones that said 'go here' and three or four or ten or twenty people would go with them" (Samuel, personal interview, June 28, 2016).

When I asked Samuel about how he differentiated between types of leaders, he described his process as follows:

And there are kind of two types of leaders, there is the leader that has power in some way over the others because he is connecting directly with the middleman or with the boss and then the others are either afraid or they understand that he can talk to the boss at any moment and that's a different type of leader. They are following him, but because of fear. However, there is another leader that is more, the one that everybody confides in (Samuel, personal interview, June 28, 2016).

For the Farmworker Advisory Committee and the listening sessions, Samuel and the intern sought to select the second type of individual identified in his statement. They spent much of the summer of 2015 identifying leaders and informing them and other workers about the listening sessions. Samuel sought to develop a relationship with the leaders in particular and also worked to deepen his understanding of life in the camps. In that spirit, he frequently conversed with leaders and workers in the transport vans and at church services, where he would make announcements about farmworker programs and remind workers of the listening sessions with the Valley View Board of the Directors.

Although Samuel was careful to select those he thought were “natural” leaders to participate in the listening sessions, some Board members nonetheless expressed confusion concerning how the worker representatives had been selected. For example, when speaking about the farmers’ presence in the listening sessions, Charlie, a trustee, said,

that's also a little funny because the listening groups, the guys who were kind of the leaders, who did the initial talking were like the crew leader types. I don't know what their function was, but it was like the guy who was the guy for the farmer (Charlie, personal interview, August 31, 2016).

Growers. The growers, or the owners of the farms, were not present during the listening sessions or the farmworker advisory committee meeting, and their overall involvement with Valley View is minimal. In conversations that Father Edwin had with Catia, Samuel, and some Board members, he discouraged contact with the growers for fear that it would limit access to the camps. One of Father Edwin’s stories included being met by a farmer with a gun on one of his camp visits, and there are other similar anecdotes from farmworker outreach workers.

The only instance where I heard about contact between the ministry and the growers was when church members from an urban area visited and prepared a large meal for the workers in their camp. The church prepared meals two days in a row. I attended the first night, but not the second, and Samuel later told me that the grower’s son attended the celebration on the second night.

2015 Listening Sessions. During the summer of 2015, Valley View staff members organized two listening sessions between workers and the organization’s governing Board members. In addition, Samuel held smaller gatherings in the vans to recruit workers and to get to know them. He organized two educational sessions for the Board of Directors and included a

community organizer as a participant in each, so that the Board could better understand the farmworker's livelihoods. Board members Harold, Caroline, Will, Jenny, and Charlie attended the first listening session and the same Directors (except Charlie) were involved in the second meeting. Local Latino families also participated in each gathering. Each session involved approximately 25 workers with three camps represented at the first meeting and three camps participating in the second conversation. Different farmworkers from different camps attended each meeting.

Francisco, the community organizer, and Samuel, planned each listening session's process prior to each gathering. Samuel and Catia also notified all of the Board members of the dates and times of the listening sessions. However, some could not attend as they occurred on Sundays and a few were active members in their church's services. As Valley View does every Sunday, the Ministry provided farmworkers transportation to the church. However, for the listening sessions and farmworker advisory committee meeting, the workers stayed at the center until about 3:00 p.m., about three hours longer than usual. During the listening sessions, due to language differences, everyone had headphones that translated each participant's comments into their own language; English or Spanish, respectively. The meetings always had food and started with everyone going around the room telling their own immigration story. When asked about the process of the listening sessions, Samuel described one question that Francisco had asked each of the workers.

And, then if you have the control of this, if you were the directors of this ministry, what would be your plans, what would you do? I mean it's not that he asked, what are your problems, and then they start saying oh I don't have enough money, they don't pay me enough, the other day, my shoes were broken. That's not what you want, so you tell them

the other way. You now have more power to make decisions concerning your problems; what you would do? (Samuel, personal interview, June 28, 2016)

When asked about the process of the meeting Will said.

[The Farmworkers] would bring up an issue, and there would be some conversational element to it, where some of the Board members would respond or Samuel or someone would respond, and then they would move on to another issue. And they sort of listed it up on the blackboard for everybody to look at. They categorized it into different areas of need, that sort of thing (Will, personal interview, July 8, 2016).

Samuel did not want the workers to imagine that Valley View could fulfill all of their requests, and he explained how the laborers did not expect the Ministry to do everything for them: “We didn't finish the conversation saying ok, perfect we took notes, we are going to solve your problems. No, they know we will study this to see how we can, if we can, help” (Samuel, personal interview, June 28, 2016).

2016 Farmworker Advisory Committee. Samuel engaged the workers in a similar manner at the Farmworker Advisory Committee meeting as he had sought to do for the listening sessions. Throughout the summer of 2016, he worked with an intern to spread the word about the new year's meetings. He did so via the leaders identified in 2015 and, as before, in conversations in the church vans, at services, and at some of the programs.

There were, however, several key differences between the 2015 listening sessions and the 2016 advisory committee. First, the listening sessions included H-2A workers and Board members. However, the advisory committee consisted of approximately twenty-five people, farmworkers, Samuel and me, and a few Spanish speaking volunteers and their children. As I speak Spanish and Samuel is from Spain, there was no need for language translation, another key

difference. In addition, the listening sessions appeared to be much more formal, with an agenda of questions developed before those gatherings, whereas the advisory committee, which I attended, was informal, and it proceeded without a set agenda.

Samuel and I began the Committee meeting by introducing ourselves, and then all who had gathered ate a meal together. Samuel first asked the workers if they had any requests of the Ministry. The farmworkers responded with different wishes, challenges they were experiencing with middlemen at their workplaces, and frustrations with the rhetoric of the then presidential candidate, Donald Trump. The workers also spoke about unions and Samuel reiterated that Valley View is not a union, but emphasized that those employed as laborers do possess power. When we wrapped up the meeting, Samuel asked the workers if they wanted to have such gatherings every month and a half and they agreed that the proposed schedule was reasonable. Nonetheless, to my knowledge, another advisory committee meeting had not occurred as of the date of this writing.

The advisory group meetings were still in a phase of creation and brainstorming when I undertook my fieldwork. However, one possibility for the future that Catia discussed with me in her interview was how necessary it was to keep the informality of the gatherings: “We were thinking that whoever wants to come in, like the farmworkers in general. If there are any farmworkers that are waiting, and they just want to come in, they should be able to do so” (Catia, personal interview, July 5, 2016). Other farmworker-serving nonprofits and corporations in the area have also recently established similar advisory committees, so in many ways, all of these groups appear simultaneously to be working to understand who should be involved and how such entities will work.

Undocumented families and workers. Valley View also serves undocumented families and workers in the region. When I asked Catia to share her sense of the differences between the H-2A workers and undocumented “families,” she said,

Yeah, the H-2As are kind of confined. ... So, on Sundays, you know getting to go out and coming here to them is I think is more like, going out. ... I didn't know how bad it was until this guy, I went to take the guy to the clinic. He didn't even know that he was like, five minutes away from the clinic. He didn't know the clinic was there. ... They stay at the camp all the time. Weekends, they go to the store... you know wherever they need to go, and they go back or to Walmart, but they don't know anything else. And, the families, I mean they have things to do on Sunday. If they come here, it's because they want to come to service, and I think the farmworkers I see, I think they come to service as a form of meditation, like spiritual. ... But, I think the families, the farmworker families that come on Sundays are, they come and they go because they have to go, they have things to do on Sunday, and they're all over the place, and I think that's why because they're not, they're not waiting for somebody to take them and bring them. They have their own vehicles. They have their own things to do (Catia, personal interview, July 5, 2016).

In the summer of 2015, Samuel and the Valley View staff planned a meeting with a group of undocumented families and farmworkers after a church service, but none of them elected to attend the proposed gathering. After the 2015 meeting failed, Valley View staff decided to engage these farmworkers and their families using other means. One way that Samuel did approach the undocumented population successfully was through a grant-supported program. With this grant assistance, Samuel planned different events with these families throughout the summer. Those mainly concerned health, field trips to a nearby museum, and special days during

which parents and their children met at the Valley View facility to throw water balloons, play soccer, and eat together. This project also involved visitor groups, including the church congregation mentioned above that came to the Ministry and cooked a meal for the workers and their families. Instead of planning another advisory committee meeting, Samuel used such gatherings to get to know the families and also to learn more about their needs.

Recognition

Another key component of Fraser's theory is the recognition of difference. Fraser argued that, "people can be prevented from interacting on terms of parity by institutionalized hierarchies of cultural value that deny them the requisite standing; in that case they suffer from status inequality or misrecognition" (2009d, p. 16). Below, I include data from different areas during which farmworkers expressed concerns linked to inequality and misrecognition. The most prominent factors affecting or shaping recognition were educational status, urban-rural residency, race, and language.

Educational status. Valley View's Board members are disproportionately retired professionals who either studied and/or worked at universities, or worked in law firms, schools, served as medical doctors in the military, or were employed by nonprofit organizations. Among others, the Board included a retired professor, a lawyer, a doctor, a nonprofit manager, an assistant to a city manager, and two retired teachers. Those who are not retired professionals work for one of the sponsoring dioceses or the church in some other capacity. Two are ministers, one is an administrative professional, one is a deacon, and even though they are not required to attend meetings, the two Diocesan bishops are formally Board members. The Ministry's full-time employees possess college degrees and/or some sort of post-Baccalaureate courses in nonprofit management and fundraising.

Even though there were a few workers who had graduated from college, the majority did not have formal education and some were not literate. Most have worked in farming their entire working lives. Some of the H-2A workers had traveled to the United States for more than thirty years while others were undertaking their first year of such labor in 2016.

Race. Race also emerged as a key component of recognition throughout the study. As far as their demographic characteristics are concerned, of the people I interviewed, ten were white, ten were Hispanic, one was Black, and one was Asian-American. There are nine white members, one Hispanic member, one African-American, and one Asian-American member of the Board. All six of the farmworkers I interviewed were Hispanic, and four of the five NGO employees/volunteers were also Hispanic, while one was white.

In the initial application for the HFJ grant, Valley View staff described the racial makeup of the Board as problematic because it did not reflect the demographics of the constituency the Ministry serves. When asked about the original impetus to pursue the grant a key staff member involved in its preparation observed,

I really wanted to change the time and place of meeting because it's a farmworker ministry, and it is hard to do it with work schedules, but my hope was that the Board would go out to a camp and meet with farmworkers at their houses because it is the farmworker ministry, it is not the white people sitting around a table ministry (Beverly, personal interview, July 28, 2016).

An employee also expressed surprise that the Ministry's Board not only consisted principally of Caucasian representatives, but also that it primarily reached out to the white community for support:

Well, I know, I was surprised to hear that the Board is mainly made up of white members. I was very surprised about that. I kind of expected it to be, I kind of expected them to have already made this move of including farmworkers (Sara, personal interview, August 2, 2016).

Interviewees also described the church—both locally and at the diocesan level—as comprised of a mostly white population. For example, Will, a Board member, stated,

You know. The church, again, this is my perspective, but they like to talk a lot about diversity, but when it like comes down to it, it's mostly old rich white people, you know. Even though, they are old, rich, white people who like to talk about diversity, but look at most congregations, it's not terribly diverse (Will, personal interview, July 8, 2016).

In addition, one interviewer spoke to the dynamic between many of the white parishioners and the farmworker population,

I think the farmworkers ministry as it is right now makes white people feel good. We can give money to you, and you will take care of the farmworkers. I think having never been to a camp, but having worked with the Ministry, we need to get off our fat white asses and we need to educate people about the substandard ways of life that we are subjecting other human beings to (Suzanne, personal interview, June 30, 2016).

At the in-person Board meeting, Board members Jessica and Will also mentioned tensions within the local Black community, and called the situation “very dicey.” For example, Will said that the majority of the African Americans who live near the Ministry also routinely express anxiety concerning their own living conditions, as there is high unemployment in the community. Moreover, just 30 years ago all of the area’s farmworkers were African American. Concerning who the Ministry serves, Jessica observed that there may be tension among the

Ministry's stakeholders because Valley View is helping workers that are not Americans, while the local African-American population has been suffering for many years without targeted assistance from the FBO. At the BOD gathering, another member asked whether the Ministry's support for the area's Latino farmworker population could make it appear to the public that the NGO is opposed to aid for the Black and poor rural white communities.

In interviews, at the Directors meeting, and at one of the annual festival meetings, other Board members and employees argued that Valley View's provision of opportunities for white church members and the broader local white community to learn about another culture will also encourage increased racial inclusivity within the church. Beverly, Valley View's former development coordinator, explained this well when speaking about Valley View's place in the church,

It is huge, you know, because the church, it's not going to stay the white WASPY Church. I mean that is definitely changing, and there is a lot of Latino leadership in the church, especially with the newly-elected, newly installed, presiding Bishop. Yeah, it is important. The church needs to show. It needs to be a reflection of the people that the church serves, so it is an inclusive Church (Beverly, personal interview, July 28, 2016).

At a farmworker festival meeting at which I was a participant observer, a member of one of the local dioceses, Drake, also envisioned that gathering as a way to encourage white community members to gain a deeper understanding of the Latinos living amongst them: "We need to make it open to all so that they feel welcome." He suggested that having face-to-face interactions is a way of encouraging people to change their minds about Latinos. At the in-person Board meeting, Jessica also mentioned how Valley View's location could help the majority white population understand Latino culture and people better. She argued that in light of the

state's polarized and deeply partisan current political situation, the more individuals come to know others as people just like themselves, the less likely they will be to *other* them.

Language. A theme that emerged many times in the interviews I conducted, and in the documents, I examined, as well, was language. At present, only three of the board members have a strong command of Spanish, and only one of those is an active trustee. However, four of five of Valley View's employees at the time of this study were bilingual. Indeed, three of them were born in Mexico and raised in the United States. The one volunteer that I interviewed, and all of the farmworkers only spoke Spanish.

In the listening sessions, the community organizer provided headphones offering preferred versions (English or Spanish) of the dialogue as it was occurring. However, even with this assistance, Board members who did not speak Spanish expressed frustration in their interviews with me concerning trying to communicate with workers. For example, when asked about the listening sessions, one Director, Harold, discussed this concern:

So, in those instances I tried to meet and talk with some of the farmworkers, but once again there was a language issue, that's a bother, and I think there's more than that. I would say the principal thing, but sitting down and chatting with some of the farmworkers over that very nice lunch that they had there too, was not an easy thing to do, but I made the effort (Harold, personal interview, June 20, 2016).

Suzanne also does not speak any Spanish. She was not yet part of the Valley View Board during the listening sessions, so she could not comment on language during those meetings, but when I interviewed her, she had recently visited the Ministry's Sunday church service. When asked about further engagement with the laborers, she also expressed frustration and concern about trying to communicate with the farmworker population:

And he goes, well, come on now, I'll translate for you, and I was just like a deer in the headlights. I'm like what will I do, what will I say, how will I do it, you know? And, I feel that way, not that I'm a hot shot other than I'm involved with the Ministry, you know. And, if I feel that, imagine how everybody else is going to feel, of course maybe other people don't have the same hang-ups I do, so they'd be happy to just oh yeah sure, let's go talk. But, I was so surprised at my own reaction when he offered to translate for me, I was immediately like, I don't know what I'll say (Allison, personal interview, June 30, 2016).

Some Board members who had a command of Spanish shared how that facility assisted them with their overall experience with Valley View. For example, one trustee had spent a lot of time doing ministry work in the Caribbean, and when asked how that experience had shaped his current governance role with Valley View he suggested that it had helped considerably:

I was imagining that I, I would have a little bit of understanding of what I would be finding, and I also imagined that my limited background with Spanish in the Dominican Republic would help me a little bit at least going in and out of Spanish-speaking communities. So, I think I can say that both of those ideas were found to be correct (Bishop Ware, personal interview, June 24, 2016).

The Spanish-speaking volunteer, Cecilia, was responsible for organizing the goods that Valley View receives from church members for distribution to farmworkers. During the summer, she has almost weekly contact with English-speakers because visitors regularly bring clothing directly to the Ministry. She was very dedicated to helping the workers, but when asked how she could help more, she responded that without English language skills, she sometimes felt helpless.

I can't help out as much as I'd like to. With English, I would like to say to the Americans when they come, 'Welcome! We're missing a lot of this that we need here,' or I could tell

them how great it is that they come to help us, but I can't express this to them, because of my English (Cecilia, personal interview, August 2016).

While I was conducting my fieldwork, Valley View was offering English classes to Spanish-speaking community members on Tuesdays and Sundays. As part of my participant observation, I was an English teacher on Tuesdays from May to September, 2016. Although about five people regularly attended the 90 minute lessons, many of the workers could not attend the Tuesday classes because of the time at which they were offered and the Sunday sessions were often cancelled because the teacher offering that program was travelling and/or unavailable.

The Farmworker Advisory Committee requested additional English classes. In addition, six workers expressed interest in participating in the courses to me, and one worker, David, even asked if Valley View could supply his camp with instructional English videos and/or CDs. Sara, a Ministry employee who also spent a lot of time speaking with the workers, also discussed this need with me:

The language here at the ministry? I mean I think it's important that it's in Spanish because many of them are Spanish speakers. Well, now I guess I have encountered some that do speak indigenous languages, but they also speak Spanish, and they understand some Spanish. I think language is important, though. I feel like it's a shame, though, we didn't have any ESL classes during the summer because of a lot of the farmworkers were, they constantly ask about English, and I'm just like, well, I don't know. I don't know what's happening, I don't know, and they would ask if I was the new English teacher, and I was like oh no I wish I was (Sara, personal interview, August 2, 2016).

Redistribution

The third component of Fraser's theory is redistribution. She has argued that, "people can be impeded from full participation by economic structures that deny them the resources they need in order to interact with others as peers" (2009b, p. 193). The following section presents data that highlights key issues linked to farmworker financial instability, urban versus rural residence, and participants' perceptions of charity.

Livelihoods. Given that the worker's material livelihoods depend on the discretion of the farmers for whom they work, the weather, the health of specific crops, and the national and global political-economic situation, one can assume that, on average, these laborers, both documented and undocumented, experience more economic instability than Valley View Board members or employees are likely to undergo. For example, in the listening sessions, one of the main concerns of the H-2A workers was that of money as they have no pensions for retirement, no access to credit cards in the United States, and at times they worry if their working hours are sufficient in light of the cost of their travel to their employment. Moreover, at the Ministry's annual farmworker festival, David told me that a camp, Los Hombros, was going home early because the crops were not as bountiful as growers had expected, and that his friend from Los Hombros, another worker, was leaving the next day, two months earlier than planned. David described his professional life to me in these terms:

Yes, at fourteen years old, I had to go. I'm from San Luis Potosí; it's at the center of Mexico on the map—just next to Mexico City. There, I was working in construction, as a mason's helper. ... We used to go to Mexico City and stay there for three months, and then we would go back to town for another month, and then we had to leave again, because your money runs out; you have to go back to work because there is not much to do in the town

where you live. You sow corn and beans, but sometimes that doesn't help much, because it's very dry. Like this year, I thought about sowing, but the time for sowing period had already passed, and it hasn't rained, so there's no possibility of doing it (David, personal interview, August 6, 2016).

The prospect of retirement was also difficult for some farmworkers to conceive. When speaking about his future, David, for example, a grandfather of three, said.

I don't know, I think that, I'm still not sure when I'm going to go do that because life means working and working. But, I think that I'm never going to have money, I'm always going to be working (David, personal interview, August 6, 2016).

Although I did not interview any undocumented workers, Valley View Board members spoke of their livelihoods, as well. For example, there are many undocumented workers living and working in counties just beyond the Ministry's current service area. In the Board meeting, Will, a Board member who lived near the Center, described that population as basically enslaved and spoke about one situation in which a worker without papers had escaped and went to the police. Also in the Board meeting, Samuel said that between the two populations, the H-2A workers and the undocumented, that the situation for the latter is worse than you can imagine, and that they need more help. He also said to his knowledge, that all of the farmers (in the Ministry's service area) employed at least some workers without legal documentation to work in the United States.

Even though the H-2A worker's conditions are quite different from the Board members' lives, many of the farm laborers I interviewed told me they were surprised by the amenities available to them in the United States and how similar their lives are to those experienced by poor whites and African Americans in Valley View's location. For example, when asked about

the needs of the workers Will said, “There's plenty of people who aren't farmworkers who kind of live the same way in this area, so it's not uncommon for even our native [population] to live in kind of extreme poverty” (Will, personal interview, July 8, 2016).

When asked about the listening sessions, Charlie discussed the workers' livelihoods: “They are sleeping on mattresses on the floor that aren't great, they don't have ways to wash their clothes. Their living circumstances are abhorrent, but the financial advantage of it is such that they have come 14, 15 years in a row” (Charlie, personal interview, August 31, 2016). Even though Charlie recognized the sometimes extreme need of the H-2A workers, he was still surprised that, “a lot of the farm worker population in the bigger farms are now H-2A folks, who are driven in air-conditioned buses from Mexico to some farm” (Personal interview, August 31, 2016). Charlie also discussed his perceptions of the H-2A process.

They were, I don't know, exactly where they were from, but they talked about how you could make five dollars a day in Mexico, and they were making \$15 an hour here, and that they get on a bus in Mexico, and they have been here for 14, 15 years in a row, and so nobody is capturing these people and making them come here. That the compensation for day labor or for manual labor in Mexico was so low, and the minimum wage is so low, that you know the farmers here get a real bargain. Then, the workers endure pretty bad circumstances because of the economic advantages that they get out of it (Charlie, personal interview, August 31, 2016).

Finally, a temporary employee of Valley View discussed how her perceptions of the worker's livelihoods changed as a result of her experience with the Ministry:

I just expected things to be a lot worse to be honest, yeah, like conditions of housing, wage theft. I expected to hear a lot more about it, to be more shocked constantly, but I mean their

housing. I mean some of the camps, I mean it's not perfect, like I wouldn't want to live there for as long as they're living there, but it's not as, as bad as I've heard of others being. Yeah, I was actually surprised that one of the, at one of the camps, they have a very, very new house. I was kind of surprised at how nice their growers are, too (Sara, Personal interview, August 2, 2016).

Charity. Almost all of the interviewees also discussed the issue of charity. Valley View has traditionally acted as a charity-based, service organization that relies principally on parishioners from both dioceses that support it to provide needed items for the workers. Cecilia is the volunteer largely responsible for organizing the ongoing clothing and food drive for the workers. Valley View provides an air-conditioned trailer reserved specifically for clothing items, and Cecilia works hard. During some weeks, she volunteers for more than forty hours to keep its contents organized and to distribute the contents to the appropriate farmworker(s). The Ministry also provides gloves, food, water bottles, and other charitable items to H-2A and local undocumented workers and families. Board member Harold described their needs as follows: “They're pretty basic. They need gloves. They need access to water. They have difficulty if they have a medical problem, taking off time. Transportation is a frequent issue; they need an opportunity to wash their clothes” (Harold, personal interview, June 20, 2016).

A few of the Board members described their church's perceptions of Valley View as the place to which parishioners envision bringing clothes and canned goods. After I described the HFJ project to Suzanne, she also expressed concern about diocesan perceptions of the Ministry: “You talk to most parishioners at least before our big philanthropic campaign, and you hear ‘Valley View Farmworker Ministry. Oh, we give them clothing.’” (Allison, personal interview, June 30 2016)

As part of the HFJ project, the organization discussed the possibility of moving from its traditional service orientation toward becoming more advocacy focused. Nonetheless, fifteen of my interviewees suggested that even though they were having discussions about shifting its orientation, they still saw Valley View as a charity-based organization. Six Board members described the Ministry as a place to which they give money and clothing, but also expressed a desire to give items *and* build relationships with the farmworkers they support. Charlie offered an illustrative observation:

Like at Christmas time, you buy a present. Either give some money to Catia, give fifty bucks to Catia to buy something for a family, or you go to the Belk's to buy something and wrap it up. Your contact with the farmworker family is you know, give fifty bucks to Catia or to go to the, to the department store and buy some stuff. That might be helpful. Maybe that helps somebody, but it is a charitable thing. ... I guess in sum, the whole idea of the HFJ grant is marvelous, but I think for it to be integrated into the work of the Ministry, they're ought to be more of a commitment to do this not for a 1-or 2-year period but to be committed to an engagement with the people whom they serve for the future (Charlie, personal interview, August 31, 2016).

Bishop Ware also spoke in his interview with me about the need for Valley View's programs to go beyond providing clothes and services actually to building relationships within the church.

I think in this region there's lots of love for and pride about our historic involvement with farmworker Ministry, but I think that folks are aware that while we may want to do something in Valley View, that it needs to be something that happens more widely, and we need to find ways of building relationships, taking time, getting to know one another, and

then it's not just charity, you know, one group giving to another group, but it's going to be partnership in terms of how we do that together (Bishop Ware, personal interview, June 24, 2016).

José, a Board member and former farmworker who spends a great deal of time with the workers and has a deep understanding of their lives and needs, was also very supportive of the HFJ Project. In addition to building relationships, he saw it as an opportunity for the workers to see who provided them with clothing and other items:

Yeah, I told to them because they, they need to know who is behind everything because right now they say, no it's just Father Edwin, and it's Catia and they help us a lot. But Valley View has a lot of people. Yeah, including the, for example, the churches from [a nearby metropolitan area] (José, personal interview, June 16, 2016).

The workers also pointed out to me that many of the services that Valley View provides are vital for their survival. Alejandro spoke to this reality this way:

Ah yes, I think that more than anything, the ministry has been of vital importance, because sometimes we have important needs, priorities like, for example, when we go to do our taxes, we receive consulting, teaching from Father Edwin, from Mr. Samuel. They call us, and they tell us, 'Do your taxes,' 'Do this'. ... why? Because afterwards there can be repercussions, it can affect us if we don't do it, and I think this is very important for us (Alejandro, personal interview, August 2016).

Because the organization has been working with the population it serves for more than thirty years, and the majority of that time has been focused on charity provision, Samuel expressed some concern that the farmworkers did not understand the proposed shift from a charity-based to a more participatory model,

I mean you start talking about now you are going to be an advisory group to us. It's out of the world. I mean they don't get it. They think how, how is that possible? You are coming here every week or every month to drop off some clothes. Now, what are you doing? (Samuel, personal interview, June 28, 2016).

The shift from charity to a more participatory process also revealed some dissension within the Board of Directors. For example, during the Board meeting that I observed, Jessica expressed concern that if the Ministry provided the farmworkers with too many gloves, they would sell them elsewhere. In her interview, when discussing farmworker needs, she raised an often-voiced reservation in U.S. discussions of poverty and aid: “I hope in our efforts to assist we will make things better for people, but I hope that in the process, we do not create an entitlement mentality (Jessica, personal interview, June 21, 2016).

Expressions of Agency

Different types of agential possibilities emerged from my interviews and observations. Specifically, Board members and staffers have different perceptions of what mechanisms open participatory space for the workers, and in interviews and participant observations, farmworkers perceived agency as both individual and collective. As outlined above, there are many different theoretical explanations of the relationship between agency and structure, including those presented by Bourdieu (1977), Habermas (1985), Fraser (1990;2007), (Freire, 2006), and Archer (Archer, 2003). This analysis investigated which types of agential possibilities were most evident in the Valley View participatory engagement initiative. Two primary themes emerged, related to perceptions of the HFJ project and to collective agency, respectively.

Stakeholder Perceptions of the HFJ Initiative

Cornwall and Coehlo have argued that the “enabling” organization’s (Valley View) leaders must clarify how they view participation and why their organization is interested in

pursuing such a project (2007). This is necessary because through their case studies they found that oftentimes in participatory development, the undergirding assumption is that individual participation creates more open and effective channels of communication and ultimately more opportunities for citizens' needs to be met. Basically, the contention is that if you open space for engagement, people will automatically participate. This assumption is grounded in the belief that citizens are "ready to participate and share their political agendas and that bureaucrats are willing to listen and respond" (Cornwall & Coelho, 2007, p. 5). However, multiple case studies have found that citizens are not always willing and/or able to participate in participatory development programs or projects, and bureaucrats are not always ready to listen.

With this understanding, it was necessary to investigate how the Board and staff understood the HFJ project. Participants' perceptions of the HFJ project provided an example of the interplay of agency and structure. Part of Valley View's mission statement suggests that it "actively supports opportunities for the farmworkers to become self-directive," while another phrase observes, "through development and support of programs that work towards the empowerment of farmworkers" (Valley View Mission). At the Board meeting I attended, members discussed the word "empowerment," as used in the FBO's mission statement, and one trustee suggested that that aim is the most radical statement in their mission and discussed changing the Ministry's orientation. Twenty minutes of discussion ensued during which Board members decided that through programs such as HJF, the organization was indeed working to empower migrant workers to be more self-directive.

When I asked the Board members I interviewed to share their perceptions of the HFJ project, many expressed the view that they saw it as a way to give the workers more voice. When asked about the initiative, for example, Allison described it as, "So the HFJ grant was, my

understanding was, how can we as an organization work with this community to help them help themselves versus just providing services or are we really just a service provider” (Allison, personal communication, June 30). Barbara also discussed the issue in light of the organization’s desired shift from the charity model.

And, it has not been one in which people were necessarily able to advocate for themselves or to demand rights for themselves or to be able to bargain for themselves. And, in some regards I think of it as being a feudal system, the way that it's setup currently, and if we want that to change, then the way that's going to happen is for the workers themselves to have voice and to have some say so about their labor conditions, about what their labor is worth, what their conditions are (Barbara, personal interview, June 7, 2016).

Beverly expressed a similar sentiment regarding the capacity of the project to open participatory space, “I just thought it would all be positive and just support the staff and make it about the farmworkers, and truly give them, the farmworkers, a voice” (Beverly, Personal interview, July 28, 2016). Other staffers and Board members perceived the goal of the project as a way for the workers to become stakeholders in the decisions of the Ministry. As Barbara observed,

So, I mean there's a lot of work that's going to have to be done, I think, and it's not clear to me that it's up to the ministry itself to do the work because it's not our work, it's the migrant workers' work, so they need to become stakeholders in this with us if it's going to be successful, if they're going to have voice for themselves. Otherwise, we can continue to just be a cash machine, handing out food and clothes, doing some nice things for them, helping them through some rough spots, and that may be all they want, I don't know. And, that's fine, if that's what they want, but they need to let us know. We can't tell them what

we think they want; they have to tell us what they need and what they do want (Barbara, personal interview, July 7, 2016).

Samuel also expressed a similar sentiment, but also hoped that the workers would begin to see the organization as a tool to make change in their lives.

And the idea is that they end up seeing this as a tool that, they see this as their home. I mean that's true, but that they see it as a tool. And they can, they can access outside and change a little the system or the problems that they have. That's one thing. I think that the committee, the advisory committee, has to be established and created. Now it's very informal, and it always will be informal. I mean it depends on who can attend a meeting every two weeks. ... But the understanding is that it is a real advisory committee, that it is no longer listening sessions (Samuel, personal interview, June 28, 2016).

When asked about his perceptions and expectations of the HFJ project, David shared a vision quite similar to that Samuel had offered:

Oh well, I've decided to participate because I would like to look for a little bit more support for the majority of workers, whether they're from my camp or other camps, that we can achieve a little bit more, if we have more support. Well, like here sometimes the church gives us gloves. They give us clothing. And, like those who are the head of things, like Samuel, maybe they know people that can support and help the church, so that the church helps the workers. It's one of the things that, well, I think, I've liked about being here in the church with Father Edwin; every day I can, and the majority of Sundays, I'm here (David, personal interview, August 6, 2016).

Solidarity

Solidarity was a theme in my observations of the theater exercise, the Farmworker Advisory Committee, the Board meetings, and in Samuel's and the farmworkers' interviews. In

Samuel's interview, the Board meeting, and other conversations, Samuel said that Valley View is not a union, but that they are talking and acting like a union. In the meetings, the workers used the words "United" and "Together" many times, and one man said, now that we are gathering together, we can do something together. Alejandro, when asked about the HFJ project, observed:

Well I think that as workers, we need to understand the problems that exist on our farms, and the benefits that we also can get in the meeting, because your opinion, Samuel's opinion, and the opinion of other workers is really important. It's better to have different opinions in a meeting and realize what problems there are and what benefits. ...Then if there is a problem on my farm, another person can advise me, they can help me. It's better for us (Alejandro, personal interview, August 2016).

Using the examples of washing machines and pensions, David also explained how he hoped that meeting together at Valley View might yield change.

We talked about how we were becoming old men, and we don't know if in the future we will have a pension or anything. I mean, we can look together for that kind of means, so that in the future, if we continue to live, we may have a means of support in our country, in Mexico. ... For example, aid for camps that don't have even a washing machine, where they don't have necessary things like that (David, personal interview, August 6, 2016).

Another issue that the farmworkers discussed in interviews and in the meetings, was the position of the "foreman," or the boss, who occupies a supervisory role between the grower and the workers. Given that the farmworkers worked under the oversight of these individuals, they communicated that those occupying these posts too often either abused their power and/or were able to hide from growers how they were treating the workers in practice. They were hesitant to speak in detail about the exact issues they had with the foremen they described, but argued that

there were always concerns. Several of the workers noted that prior to this meeting, many had not spoken about these matters in an organized manner. One can surmise that some growers do not know about these issues. Likely, some farmers would be upset and perceive this situation as an abuse of power on the part of their employees. Others, however, would likely turn a blind eye and perhaps even encourage certain behaviors on their foreman's part. David spoke to how, at the meetings, he and the other farmworkers came to realize that this was a common issue, that occurred on multiple farms. For example:

David: Yes, yes, yes. Well it was a good experience, maybe because there were people from different camps.

Interviewer: Ah okay.

David: The other time [the listening sessions] there were only two or three, but now there were more camps [represented at the gathering]. And the problem, I mean, it's not a problem but most of us agree about the needs and about the people. For example, in the camps where you work, there exists a 'manager,' who is in charge of everyone else without being the actual boss (David, personal interview, August 6, 2016).

In the theater project, the Farmworker Advisory Committee, and in his interview with me, Mateo emphasized how, in many cases, the workers have to pick crops soon after they are sprayed with pesticides, and he spoke to the foreman of the farm at which he was working about this matter and that individual had taken no action to prevent it. In the Farmworker Advisory Committee meeting, he reiterated that if one person says anything about this to the foreman, nothing will happen, but if multiple people say something, things might change. Mateo expanded on this concern in our interview:

So, that was one of the issues that we were talking about in that meeting, just about the foremen, and that issue has been touched on and is a need. Maybe we all were able to see opportunities to solve it, that the person who is in charge of other people could be trained, and more than anything else, treat the workers better (Mateo, personal interview, September 19, 2016).

Analysis

In order to understand questions of program and organizational legitimacy more completely, I applied Fraser's all-subjected principle which,

holds that what turns a collection of people into fellow members of a public is not shared citizenship, or co-imbrication in a causal matrix, but rather their joint subjection to a structure of governance that set the ground rules for their interaction (2009d, p. 96).

Although the primary direct stakeholders, the Board of Directors, employees, and farmworkers, involved with Valley View are subject to multiple governance structures at different scales, for purposes of this study, as I noted above, I assumed that Valley View was their principal governance structure. Those subject to the organization's choices included H-2A workers in the camps it serves, the undocumented families and farmworkers the NGO assists, people who use the institution's immigration services, visitors, church donors, volunteers, employees, affected growers, and its Board members.

Fraser has argued that claims may be considered legitimate only when they result from "a communicative process in which all who are jointly subjected to the relevant governance structure(s) can participate as peers, regardless of political citizenship" (Fraser, 2009d, p. 96).

With this understanding, I suggest that at the time of the study, the Ministry's governance processes did not create space for legitimacy as the undocumented workers and their families were not yet participating on the same par as the H-2A workers, the Board members, and the

Ministry's employees. In addition, even though the H-2A workers were able to make claims within the organization, they did not have as much decision-making power as the employees and Board members. Although Samuel is working on changing these conditions and has attempted to use the Ministry to open space for the undocumented and H-2A farmworker populations to exercise increased agency, there is still a lot of work to do.

At the time of this study, claims of the different groups were not legitimate; however, this inquiry investigated the project's potential to create legitimate spaces during a specific time period, it was not a longitudinal study. There is hope that the Ministry can meet this criterion in the future, however, given that Valley View had made such significant strides in increasing legitimacy before I undertook this analysis, including creating a co-director structure, conducting the participatory effort, engaging the undocumented population, changing the Board's membership composition, and creating a new website that provided more information for all stakeholders. In addition, at the Board meeting I attended, members talked for at least thirty minutes about who they were serving and how they could better engage the undocumented and H-2A workers through mobile technologies.

Fraser has also contended that with participatory parity, struggles for representation must be met on two levels. The first plane, what Fraser calls the boundary-setting aspect, she described as, "inclusion in, or exclusion from, the community of those entitled to make justice claims to one another" (Fraser, 2009b). The second level is the decision-rule, which concerns the procedures that structure processes of contestation among individuals and social groups. The workers require representation for not just what they receive from the organizations, such as food, clothing, and assistance. They also need wider political advocacy for improved working and living conditions, including higher wages, better living conditions, clean water in the camps,

drinking water in the fields, protection from pesticides, and active protections to secure against wage theft. In addition to improving regulation and programs in these areas, there is also a need to improve the state's capacity to regulate and to shift its political willingness to enforce relevant laws.³

On the first plane, my interviews and observations suggest that Valley View was still deciding where its geographical reach ends and who was to receive its goods and services. At the time of this study, the NGO was seeking to share organizational decision-making with the H-2A workers in the camps it serves, with undocumented workers, with its employees, and with its Board of Directors. Some of the trustees and the employees also showed interest in including the growers in conversations, as well.

Even though there was not a formal process for including growers in its choices, their financial power de facto circumscribed Valley View's capacity to act politically and to meet certain farmworker needs. For example, as the trustees are almost all members of the two dioceses, and some of the parishioners in both dioceses are landowners (and growers), many Board members and employees were fearful of disrupting the relationship between the workers and the farmers. During the study, no one, except for Father Edwin. as Catia noted, had experienced or heard any grower directly say they had intentions of thwarting Valley View's efforts. However, there are many reasons why farmers would disapprove of their employees discussing their rights with others and/or why having grower(s) in such meetings might create fear among the worker population and therefore inhibit their involvement. In spite of this

³ For more information regarding immigrant, seasonal, and migrant farmworker livelihoods, please see this study's introduction and *Latino Farmworkers in the United States: Health, Safety, and Justice* Eds. Arcuy and Quandt (2009) as well as other works produced by the Wake Forest University School of Medicine Farmworkers Health Research program.

concern, a formal process including the growers was a risk that Samuel, Beverly, and Will seemed interested in taking, especially given the possibility that farmer engagement could improve the living conditions of many workers. It remains to be seen, but it is certainly possible that Valley View could seek actively to include growers in its governance in the future.

Furthermore, at the time of this research, there were no members of Iglesia Cristiana on the BOD. However, after I had completed my fieldwork, a bi-lingual church member from that predominately Hispanic parish located near Valley View's facility did join the Board. From my observations, it was difficult to include members of the local parish, with the exception of this person, because the majority of the parishioners do not have a working command of English. Many of the church's members also are undocumented families/workers, local families, or H-2A workers, and therefore either do not have time to participate and/or do not, as Catia explained, see the utility of engaging in the group.

Moreover, although there was not a formal boundary-setting process, in the listening sessions, only H-2A workers, Board members, the community organizer, volunteer cooks, and employees were present. In order to be a part of the gathering, the workers had to be off that Sunday, and many of those that Valley View serves work on Sundays. Finally, during Samuel's visits and his outreach efforts (in the vans, during programs, and through announcements after the church service), he had to reach either the leader from the camp or the individual residents of camps individually. Many of the H-2A workers do not have American cell-phone numbers, and all communication is through word of mouth. Therefore, if he was not able to speak to a farmworker or leader and/or those people did not hear of the meeting by word of mouth, even if the Ministry served them, those individuals were not able to contribute.

There were no rules for inclusion in the Farmworker Advisory Committee, but Valley View's Board members were not notified of the meeting and again, only those camp residents that could participate and/or that Samuel was able to notify attended. Through outreach, Samuel invited all of the workers who had participated in the 2015 listening sessions and additional workers that he met in 2016. He did create the space for the farmworker to meet, but because of their work schedules and/or communication difficulties or other logistical reasons some could not participate in the Committee's meeting.

On the second level, the rules for contestation for the listening sessions and the Farmworker Advisory Committee were different. However, it is important to stress that the farmworkers were not responsible for creating the rules in either instance. Samuel and Francisco (the community organizer) created the rules for the listening sessions, as Francisco had facilitated similar sessions with immigrant populations elsewhere. Some of the methodologies he had used previously emphasized building a relationship between the workers and Board members, and this process included sharing narratives. For the advisory committee meeting, Valley View did not provide formal guidelines, and the gathering was informal. While there were no rules for when to speak, Samuel was nonetheless responsible for facilitating the conversation, and the workers present addressed his questions, rather than craft their own agenda.

Concerning redistribution, Valley View is seeking to use the HFJ project to create a situation in which the workers it serves are able to exercise more power over their material lives, even if it is through their capacity to determine what charitable contributions will be provided to them. At the time of this study, the migrant laborers had indeed attained more of a say concerning which material goods they would receive from the Ministry and how they might

employ them. This was a significant shift as, until this change, Father Edwin, other employees and Board members decided among themselves what the workers needed and how those goods would be distributed and used.

One area in which farmworkers requested additional assistance from Valley View at the Advisory meeting was with pensions. There were definitely differences between the financial stability of the workers and those of typical parishioners. However, it was unclear how or if farmworkers could harness the participatory project to advocate for changes in their salaries or to obtain pensions, or to gain greater latitude for bargaining over work or living conditions. Finally, unless Valley View includes the farmers and state policy-makers in any dialogues it organizes in the future, it will be difficult to address income maldistribution, as it is revealed by relative levels of farmworker financial stability.

Valley View was proactive in developing and implementing multiple mechanisms to assist the workers in their struggle for recognition. First, Valley View is located in a Spanish speaking space, during the listening sessions there was a translation system, and staff members conducted the Farmworker Advisory Committee gathering only in Spanish. In addition, during the meetings, Valley View always provided Mexican food for the workers. The on-site Sunday church services, which many farmworkers attended, were also all in Spanish, and the vast majority of parishioners were Latinos. Finally, although this is not directly related to the participatory project, Valley View has an annual farmworker festival at which the NGO serves area farmworkers free food, provides live music, and sponsors a soccer tournament in which teams from different camps compete.

Although Valley View has clearly made an effort to create a culturally appropriate space by providing language, food, music, and sports, there were still key tensions arising from the

question of race. First, through the HFJ Project, Valley View intended to increase racial and ethnic diversity on its Board. They had not yet been able to do so at the time of this study because Directors are appointed by the two Bishops, and, with the exception of José, all of those selected were parishioners of one of the two sponsoring dioceses.

More, the vast majority of the church's parishioners were white and affluent, this situation has thus far proved difficult to address. Therefore, the racial and cultural recognition needed to be representative of those the Board serves had not been achieved at the time of this study. In addition, during the trustees meeting I observed, members discussed how Valley View was serving people who are Latino and not American citizens, when poor white and blacks in the area have also been suffering for many years. However, given that the vast majority of farmworkers are Mexican, or Latinos, there is no reason why Valley View would serve local blacks and poor whites, unless it changed its mission.

Different stakeholders voiced varied perceptions of the project's capacity to open space for increased farmworker agency. First, Board members, employees, and farmworkers all agreed that asking the laborers what they needed instead of simply providing them donated items was a step in the right direction. Although one Board member discussed possible issues with entitlement and financing the projects, Valley View as an organization supported the move toward soliciting increased farmworker participation in selecting the kinds of goods and services they received. However, even though the workers were gaining more of a say in Ministry direction, the organization had not moved by the time of this study to include workers in its ongoing discussions concerning whether to pursue advocacy, and how most effectively to manage its program and finances portfolio.

Another issue is that Samuel, the employee who had the most contact with the workers, also likened the meetings to gatherings held by “unions,” while Board members, Charlie, Allison, and Barbara, explicitly doubted Valley View’s capacity to make more systemic changes in workers’ lives. In the Farmworker Advisory Committee meeting and in my interviews with them, the laborers perceived the project as a way for them to make requests for certain items. However, like Samuel, Mateo, Alejandro, and David saw the meetings as places to gather with workers from other farms and learn about issues they had in common. Mateo saw the meetings as a space where he could brainstorm with others ways to approach farmers and middlemen with health, safety, and housing/lodging concerns.

Although my interviews and observations suggested that the project was opening space for solidarity, the differing perceptions of the initiative’s purposes could result in worker demands and needs ultimately not being met. For example, although the farmworkers made specific requests for goods and services, they also brought up issues that only direct engagement with farmers or policy-makers could address effectively. During the meetings, Board members warned that engaging with the growers could harm Valley View’s relationship with them and thus possibly persuade them not to provide necessary goods or services to the workers.

Even though the farmworkers and growers have a relationship/contract, there were concerns among the directors that if the farmers realized what Valley View was doing they could cancel forthcoming contracts and/or prevent Samuel and others from visiting the camps, both of which steps are certainly possible, and under direct grower control. In addition, about half of the Board members also warned that inviting the farmers to the meetings or reporting/highlighting injustices at those gatherings could backfire and harm the workers. The workers’ financial livelihoods depend on the growers inviting them back every year, and members suggested some

farmers may not like their workers participating in these sorts of gatherings. Martha expressed this concern as follows:

There is a lot of feeling that if you upset the farmers, if you then, you are causing more problems for the workers themselves. So, you have to find a balance between what you are doing and what the farmers themselves perceive you [to be] doing (Personal interview, July 13, 2016).

Finally, I explored whether Valley View was working towards participatory parity, which in Fraser's terms means, "dismantling institutionalized obstacles that prevent some people from participating on par with others, as full partners in social interaction" (2009b, p. 193). My interviews, observations and documents analysis suggest that the Ministry has made significant strides toward its goal of becoming a more democratic organization. Valley View has sought to dismantle the institutional obstacles to farmworker participation by creating mechanisms for worker engagement in decisions that could affect them.

However, some relevant issues of representation, recognition, and redistribution were beyond Valley View's organizational reach. For example, the bishops choose the NGO's Board members and the majority of both dioceses' members are white. Despite this tendency, there were relatively new bishops (one was pro tempore) at both dioceses during the time of the study. I was only able to interview one bishop, Bishop Ware, and he was aware of the racial tensions that the region faces and keen to build relationships among the local white, black, and Latino communities. Additionally, four Board members mentioned that the Ministry's Board needs increased Latino representation. Valley View has begun to address this issue by including representation from Iglesia Cristiana and adding more Spanish speakers to its BOD.

Systemic issues such as farmer centricity and neoliberal values could stall any organizational efforts to improve workers' retirements and relationships with their farm managers and owners. I concluded that Valley View was working actively to remove the institutionalized obstacles that prevent farmworkers from participating in the Ministry's activities on par with others. However, in order for the FBO to create more opportunities for participatory parity, it will need to engage politically with growers with a vigor it has not yet demonstrated.

Summary

This chapter described the ways in which the Valley View Farmworker Ministry was integrating struggles against misrepresentation, maldistribution, and misrecognition into its farmworker listening sessions and farmworker advisory committee. Valley View was rapidly dismantling barriers to participatory parity for the farmworkers it serves at the institutional level. However, issues outside of the NGO's power to address alone, such as the Church's decision-making power over its affairs and contextually systemic issues, such as neoliberalism, and farmer centricity, pose additional obstacles that Valley View must somehow address when working towards a more fully realized participatory parity for its primary stakeholders. One very significant barrier arises from fear that advocacy will boomerang and farmworkers will lose their work and/or their access to the Ministry's goods and services. I offer some possible strategies to address these concerns in the concluding chapter of this study.

Chapter 6- Research Findings and Analysis - Efficacy

This chapter outlines Valley View Farmworker Ministry's capacity to encourage farmworker efficacy and the forces, or causal mechanisms, that mediated efforts during my research to secure that possibility. Valley View's participatory project encouraged farmworkers to articulate claims to the organization concerning their needs, but in so doing, additional issues emerged, such as the workers' relationships with the growers. To capture the implications of these arguments, I work across multiple scales of analysis, including organizational, state, and transnational levels. I draw here on data from field notes, from meetings (online Board meetings and an in-person four-hour Board meeting held at the Ministry, that I observed), the lone farmworker advisory meeting held to date, notes from conversations in which I was involved as I drove vans offering transportation to farmworkers, and teaching English to a group of farm laborers. I also draw here on notes from other programs with families held at Valley View's facility. In addition, I have analyzed documents from the listening sessions and the interview transcripts of my interviews with the Ministry's Board members, employees/volunteers, and farmworkers.

Research Questions

One of the aims of this study was to investigate whether farmworker claims could be politically efficacious, in the terms that Fraser has argued must be met to realize that aspiration. Fraser defined efficacy as the capacity of public opinion to achieve political force and/or influence the relationship between civil society and the state. In what follows, I outline how different participants in the participatory project (farmworkers, Valley View employees, Board members, and volunteers) thought about efficacy and advocacy during the time of my study, the strategies or mechanisms that the organization employed to encourage the efficacy of

farmworkers' claims, and the different factors that mediated the realization of efficacy at the level of the organization, within the state, and to some degree, at transnational levels.

Overall, this chapter addresses the following questions:

1. What is the efficacy of Valley View-affiliated farmworker claims at the level of the organization, the state, and transnational sphere? How is this achieved? What are the forces that mediate the translation of communicative power at each plane of power?
2. How do the study's findings reflect the key themes concerning agency and efficacy found in the current critical agrarian studies literature? Do this study's findings differ from those of previous analyses?

Perceptions of Efficacy and Advocacy

One avenue for farmworker claims to be efficacious is by means of successful advocacy aimed at state actors, either directly or through Valley View. This section examines how the various stakeholders I interviewed concerning worker advocacy and accountability claims viewed those and their implications for Valley View at the organization and state levels of analysis. Many interviewees discussed advocacy and the topic was also addressed specifically in the Board of Director's meetings I observed. Historically, Valley View and its representatives have not taken a direct active part in activism or advocacy with the state. Currently, even though the Ministry's mission states that, "by encouraging leadership development, advocacy, and education aimed toward a systematic change of agricultural policy at local and state levels," the NGO is not directly advocating for farmworker rights to the state, and is largely a charity-based, service organization.

When asked about when and why Valley View decided not to pursue advocacy, Catia observed,

We can't do anything that would hurt Pastor Edwin's entrance to the camps, like you know, we can be in like, the background. If anybody says anything you know, we will guide them to farmworker Legal Aid, you know Legal Aid farmworker unit. ... We've participated in some things, like I remember doing translations from some farmworkers that were being abused by their crew leader. Anyway, but you know things like that, the background, kind of working in the background. We've had sessions where people came to give 'to know your rights.' So, things like that but not directly, publicly, saying anything (Personal interview, Catia, July 5, 2016).

Barbara expressed similar sentiments in her interview, "we're not an advocacy organization. That is for sure and I'm not saying that we should be" (Personal interview, Barbara, June 7, 2016) Other participants suggested that the organization could engage in additional advocacy. For example, when asked about the sessions with the community organizer, Catia discussed the Ministry's current position and was positive about Valley View pursuing increased advocacy efforts,

He [the participatory project consultant/community organizer] said there were levels of advocacy and from going from service only to advocacy and there were like. ... There were four levels or something like that. And, of course, the very last level is when you're out there, but I think, I think if we go out there, if we look at the levels, I think we can do more. I mean I definitely think we can do more than you know, than service only, and I think we are going in that direction with Samuel (Personal interview, Catia, July 5, 2016).

Beverly, Another Valley View employee, was also excited about the capacity of HFJ grant-related efforts to provide space for a response to farmworker claims.

I think the role of advocacy and the use of the HFJ grant is because we have to know what the farmworkers really want. Like, we just can't assume, tune-out. I mean we need the data, so if you have the data, like, Farmworkers want ... they want a mobile library, they want a mobile health clinic, they want mobile ESL and GED. We don't know, so if the Board and the staff at the farmworker ministry are aware of that, then that's what we can target because if 100 Farmworkers were interviewed, you know, 98% want XYZ, and then, we put ourselves in the position to deliver that service or XYZ (Personal interview, Beverly, July 28, 2016).

Bishop Ware also expressed cautious support for the Ministry becoming more involved in advocacy efforts on behalf of the population it serves:

I'm still trying to figure out where those lines live, so I would be one of those who would hope that our church and its farmworkers ministry can be maybe more actively supportive of some of the justice issues, immigration issues, and find ways to have those difficult conversations amongst ourselves in a way that allows us to be better and more adequately supportive of those with whom I hope it will remain in partnership, so that would be one. Not surprisingly perhaps but a lot more of the support of farmworkers has been the charitable (Personal interview, Bishop Ware, June 24, 2016).

Another Valley View Board member, Charlie, speaking in response to the sessions with the community organizer, was skeptical of the Ministry's ultimate willingness to move strongly toward an advocacy posture:

Well, if the purpose of the HFJ Grant is to empower the client community to use the institution as an advocacy effort to organize themselves and to speak for themselves to

better their situation, I have not heard the Ministry be ready to accept that role (Personal interview, Charlie, August 31, 2016).

Harold, another Board member, outlined several steps that would need to be undertaken if the Ministry was going to take advocacy seriously:

I think that at some stage that probably does or should involve, has to involve, probably going to the state department of labor and possibly the legislature, to make. I mean one of the most basic things that I think that I needs to be done is to have serious meaningful periodic inspections of the camps (Personal interview, Harold, June 20, 2016).

Although some Board members expressed doubt that the organization was or could move toward additional political advocacy, Samuel, a co-executive director, who works closely with the workers, had a different idea of where the organization is and where it is headed:

The relationship before was, ok, 'you bring me things, I take them,' but now, the relationship is different. We have to continue building that fellowship and then increase the relationship and build the relationship with other organizations so that they [the farmworkers] can be executive hands (Personal interview, Samuel, June 28, 2016).

Because Samuel spends significant time with the farmworkers, he saw the relationship between them and Valley View changing, unlike the Board members who rarely saw the farmworkers or visited the Ministry.

Advocacy

Many participants mentioned the many ways in which Valley View currently pursues advocacy through networks and education. The Ministry does not now practice direct advocacy, but it does participate in a farmworker advocacy network and individual members of the church and the Board are encouraged to become involved in the advocacy-related efforts of the state Council of Churches. For example, when asked about that entity, Allison, a Board member,

described it as one avenue that many Christians in the state utilize as a way to advocate for government policy change. When asked about advocacy, she observed, “As far as we will support their rights, we will do Moral Mondays, we will do all of that, but as an arm of the [state] Council of Churches” (Personal interview, Allison, June 30, 2016). That is, the organization’s staff members and the Church’s congregants could and do participate in direct political advocacy through the Council, but not as Valley View or as individual parishes.

Valley View’s role in the farmworker advocacy network allows it to partner with other farmworker-focused organizations in the region to meet worker’s specific needs and to advocate to policymakers and grower organizations on their behalf. For example, during my fieldwork, another organization in the Council of Churches needed assistance with accessing a camp to conduct a theater exercise with the farmworkers, learn more about their needs and issues, and possibly, further engage the laborers in advocacy efforts. The organization collaborated with Valley View for transportation and for help in securing entry to the camp. Valley View also works with other entities in the Council to organize and transport workers to the annual Farmworker Institute, which includes migrant laborers, policy-makers, activists, academics, and community service employees from throughout the state. During both the theater exercise and the Institute, farmworkers were asked to speak about key issues in their lives. Without Valley View’s longstanding relationship with the migrant workers, it is possible that the other organizations would not gain access to them and therefore not obtain valuable information for their advocacy efforts.

Another key way in which the stakeholders I interviewed and observed understood current advocacy efforts is through education and awareness-raising. The two ways in which they saw this happening was through Valley View’s visitor program and fundraising campaigns.

Samuel expressed this aspiration well and added that building a stronger relationship with the workers is a key part of the Ministry's future capacity for advocacy: "Educate others in the Diocese. That is advocacy for us. That's the visitors and the talks in churches and things like that, and yeah, continue fellowship and increase the relationship with the workers, that's the other thing" (Personal interview, Samuel, June 28, 2016).

Groups from beyond Valley View's immediate community visit the camps, conduct mission projects to support the FBO and its affiliated parish church, provide donations, and share meals with workers. During the summer, the Ministry hosts approximately fifteen groups from churches representing multiple denominations and synagogues as well as schools for visits with farmworkers at their camps, to paint and perform other needed maintenance at the organization's facility, provide clothing and food for the farmworkers, and learn about migrant worker livelihoods, agricultural work, and immigration status. Samuel highlighted these visitor efforts as a way to educate,

One of the strong pieces for us is the groups, the visitor groups, how you educate those people. That's because they can do whatever they want once they are out of here; they can pressure the government or they can do whatever they want (Personal interview, Samuel, June 28, 2016).

Another Center employee, Sara, expressed similar views regarding Valley View's role as an advocacy organization. However, her preferred target for change was buying power instead of political advocacy:

I think advocacy is important. Once you know about something, it's important to spread the word and make sure other people know about it because that effects, that in turn effects actions that are made and thought processes that go into producing things or supporting

other things and when it comes to the visitors program, I think you get a group of students, you get a group of younger people that are going to grow up one day and make financial or voting decisions. Even as children, they have a big impact on their parents, or even if they are young, they have buying power. They have buying power (Personal interview, Sara, August 2, 2016).

Challenges to Efficacy

Although there are many avenues for farmworkers to gain efficacy, multiple issues emerged as challenges to the process. At the organizational level, the two Bishops and their Dioceses ultimately possess final authority over Valley View's operations. In addition, the Valley View Ministry just underwent a leadership transition and is starting to become more financially sustainable as an organization. However, the Board members and employees are still in transition and therefore there is some financial instability. There is also mistrust of the state's capacity and/or motivation to enforce and enact fairer labor laws; therefore, it is unclear if the claims can be efficacious at that level. An additional challenge is the grower's presence. Both Gray (2013) and Guthman (Guthman, 2004) have warned that grower presence, real and perceived, can thwart farmworker-friendly policies, and from the interviews I undertook, and my field observations, as well as relevant documents, the farmer's presence is also a concern for Valley View's capacity to advocate on behalf of the farmworkers.

Organizational challenges. At the time of this study and the Ministry's participatory project, Valley View had recently, within a year and a half, undergone a change in leadership accompanied by a shift in governance and organizational structure. The NGO had a new Board chair and many new Board members. During my interactions with the staff and Board members, I learned that prior to the organization's transition, Valley View had experienced serious financial issues. For example, in their interviews with me, five Board members and two

employees observed that while they were very grateful for the Pastor's long service, the organization's finances had been chronically difficult during his tenure. However, in the in-person Board meeting, both Allison, a Board member, and the nonprofit consultant commented on how much progress the organization had made financially and administratively during the most recent three-year period. Even though the situation has improved greatly, during the in-person Board meeting, two Board members nonetheless expressed concerns regarding the organization's financial capacity to meet the needs the workers had expressed during the 2015 listening sessions and the 2016 Farmworker Advisory Meeting. In addition, as the HJF project was grant-funded, four Board members suggested that the project should not just be a two-year initiative, and Samuel and Catia both stated that they plan to continue and build on the farmworker advisory committee.

Given that the organization is still in a leadership transition, another issue is that Valley View partially relies on donations from its parent church. However, as Allison pointed out in her interview with me, the Dioceses' memberships include many landowners that are significant donors. There is a fear among the Board and staff members that if Valley View takes a clear and aggressive political stance on behalf of the farmworkers, they could lose some funding support from growers. As Suzanne explained this point:

The Church, especially in the east, has a lot of landowners and those landowners have a lot of money and the farmers are probably [members of our church or another similar], so I mean you know it's like so we don't want to get in too deep, into the nitty gritty of activism (Personal interview, Suzanne, June 30, 2016).

As Valley View now relies on the two Dioceses as primary sources of revenue, the Church's leaders are able to exercise power over the activities of the organization and the

Bishops have been hesitant in the past to allow Valley View to pursue political advocacy directly. For example, Samuel stated:

Ok, at the beginning I was thinking that he [participatory project consultant/the community organizer] was going to help us to go and convert from service only to advocacy mostly, but he took the approach, probably due to the, I mean to the fact that the two bishops are in control in some way. ... There is always this weight of that we are a Church; we don't do any politics or anything. ... We have a brand and that's why we belong to the state Council of Churches, which is a, I don't know, [but] they are very political, very active in social issues (Personal interview, Samuel, June 28, 2016).

Much like the issue of transition, another organizational concern was that of communication and scheduling between the Ministry and the Diocesan level of the Church, particularly for the HJP Project. For example, after weekly services, Samuel regularly made announcements of upcoming programs to farmworker gatherings. After he had shared information about the upcoming advisory committee meeting, Samuel was a little concerned because the Pastor was planning on including lessons about Church teaching during the service. He explained that the weekly liturgy is already quite long, so he hoped that the workers would have time to attend both. Although Samuel had been the co-director for about two years when I spoke with him, but he remained concerned that the farmworkers were still not clear about who was currently Valley View's leader. Allison, a Board member, made the point this way when we spoke:

So, Edwin (the resident pastor for the church co-located with Valley View) is still very much the heart and soul of what happens on Sunday, so it is hard for Samuel to kind of take in his move into his role as executive director. And, even the name of the ministry is

tricky because it's in English, and so you try to translate it into Spanish and people go huh? So, he finally just says, you know, Pastor Edwin's ministry. He has to introduce himself as working in Pastor Edwin's ministry, you know. We are not out of the forest yet on that (Personal interview, Allison, June 2016).

An additional dimension of the farmworker's requests for assistance were possible issues of accountability. Samuel and Valley View were accountable to the workers in many ways. In the 2015 listening sessions, for example, the laborers requested gloves and water bottles as well as other items. Valley View worked very hard to provide them with new gloves that would last an entire season. In addition, the NGO provided the workers with water bottles with holders for the fields and partnered with a nearby university to conduct research on their utilization.

Apart from these pressing needs, many of the workers informed me (and another employee) that they desired increased access to English classes and an on-site laundromat. In the Farmworker Advisory Meeting, Samuel was very clear about informing the farmworkers to notify him when Valley View was not doing something correctly or not offering a service that might be helpful, as, for example, with the English classes. A worker, Alejandro, when asked about his expectations of the HJP project, mentioned the reality of things that the Ministry cannot change, one of those items being the relationship between the workers and their bosses.

Alejandro: I mean, there are things that aren't within your control or you can't help us.

Interviewer: Yes, of course.

Alejandro: You all could talk a little with the boss, but not in particular with our growers, we are good, I mean, no ...

Interviewer: There are many things, yes that's true. There are many things that we can't change.

Alejandro: You can't change them.

Interviewer: One, like the government.

Alejandro: Yes, there are bosses, there are rules, systems that the boss has on his farm (Personal interview, Alejandro, August 2016).

Even though Valley View arguably had been quite responsive and accountable to many of the workers' needs, three of the Board members I interviewed expressed concerns about the Ministry's capacity to be accountable to the farmworkers' requests and/or to be tempted to make promises that they could not keep. José has worked in the camps for at least ten years, and expressed fear that Valley View would not follow-up with its promises. He gave an example of a woman who came by the camps and provided the workers with music therapy, "And, my preoccupation is why they don't follow up again" (Personal interview, José, June 16, 2016).

Given that the HJP project was grant funded, Charlie, a Board member, also expressed concerns about accountability for follow-up.

I don't know, I guess that I feel that we haven't, at least I haven't heard that this has borne fruit in terms of a tangible set of priorities or an identification of issues or agreement to do something other than service provision by the Board, but this process of interacting with the, who you think are your client community is critical and important, and should be ongoing and it's not really, shouldn't just be a grant funded episode, you know? It should be built in (Personal interview, Charlie, August 13, 2016).

One ongoing matter is that a few Board members expressed concern regarding long-standing communication issues between the Valley View staff and the organization's trustees. This was beginning to change with Samuel, but the legacy of poor communication between the groups still caused issues. It was also difficult because neither Samuel nor Father Edwin were

native English speakers, so there was a language barrier. Here is how Harold, a Board member, explained his view of this issue:

But, I did meet him [participatory project consultant/community organizer] at that first meeting and talked some with him about the organization and what HJP was interested in and what those particular grants were interested in. I must say that I still felt not particularly well-informed until we started implementing the grant. I don't think there was a whole lot of communication about the grant until we started implementing it and I would say at that point, I believe Samuel was probably on Board and sent out material that described the project and some of the goals that it has (Personal interview, Harold, June 20, 2016).

During the farmworker advisory meeting, some laborers also expressed doubts about the efficacy of unions and outsiders as a means to help them attain their perceived needs. Some of the workers had been members of unions before, and some of those individuals argued that they mistrusted unions as, in their experience, they had not been able to follow-through on their promises. This mistrust of outsiders appeared prevalent in the Valley View community as evidenced by José's fears, Board member concerns about the organization's capacity to follow-through, and some farmworkers' apprehensions about talking about grower issues. However, because the workers had a long-standing, spiritual relationship with Father Edwin and the Valley View congregation, at the time of the study, trust appeared to be generally strong between the workers and the Ministry despite these concerns.

Farmworker schedules posed another significant challenge to efficacy. Work commitments persistently made it difficult for Valley View to ensure consistent worker representation at meetings. The laborers are present six months of the year and when they are in the U.S., their schedules revolve around the crops they help to maintain and harvest. They do not

have their own transportation, often have to work on Sundays, and always work on weekdays, the only days that Board members can typically visit Valley View. In addition, during my observations, I had conversations with workers who described having their promised work time cut by two months because the crops were bad. Others work six months near Valley View and then go elsewhere to harvest Christmas trees, and they spoke of their depression from being away from their families for nine months at a time. Others, meanwhile, expressed curiosity and interest in going to other countries to work, as they had seen commercials about Canadian worker programs on television.

The Valley View Board members I interviewed seemed aware of the instability of farmworker livelihoods. When we talked about the HJP project, members often discussed that concern, especially in relation to worker participation in Board meetings. As Bishop Ware observed:

The thing Pastor Edwin says is that a lot of those who are regular and sort of permanent members of the congregation work such crazy hours and in some cases, drive significant distances to get to Valley View that it's hard to get them together on Sunday morning. So, partnership with the Board, for example, might mean having to have meetings some time other than [the current] Tuesday mornings if they want to include farmworkers (Personal interview, Bishop Ware, June 24, 2016).

Political barriers. In addition, many of the interview participants mentioned the local, state, and national political situation as a possible barrier to efficacy. The farmworkers also raised this issue in the Farmworker Advisory Committee, and the Board members and staff often spoke of political tensions during Trustee meetings. For example, in the August in-person Board meeting, Allison pointed out that the national and state political situation was contentious and

that many people were not going to be receptive to working together. She expressed concern that the fractious atmosphere in the U.S. could create an “Us vs. Them” situation and an attitude to protect what’s mine among residents, vis-a-vis the farmworkers. She was specifically concerned that if Valley View wanted to undertake advocacy now, no matter who was in public office, they would be stepping on someone’s toes because if they advocated for the farmworkers, they could upset growers and perhaps disrupt funding sources. On the other hand, if Valley View advocated for the growers, it could fracture relationships with its principal clients and with other NGOs that support farmworkers.

Furthermore, when members were addressing political issues at the in-person Board meeting, Jessica reminded everyone of the polarized partisan political climate in the state. She was specifically apprehensive about the word “advocate” and how it might raise different feelings and views for various people. She pointed out that during the Civil Rights movement, many people put their lives at risk on behalf of the effort, and Valley View could possibly be putting someone’s life at risk by being more politically active.

During my observations, I also had at least six conversations with workers about the prospect of a Trump presidency. One young Latina girl called him mean, while other workers expressed fear that if he became President they would not be returning the following year for work. Others were just curious who I was voting for and what my thoughts were about the election as a whole.

Beyond the question of the presidential and gubernatorial elections, there was also a lack of trust among farmworkers, Board members, and staff in the state’s willingness to enforce labor regulations on farms. For example, Harold, a Board member, mentioned ongoing issues with safety and labor regulation enforcement:

Part of it, of course, is the problem that the regulations of the state are so minimal as far as trying to meet the needs of these human beings as citizens in the community. And, I don't get the sense that the [state] Department of Labor, at least in its current iteration, is trying to improve the situation by encouraging laws that will be more beneficial to the workers (Personal interview, Harold, June 20, 2016).

Allison also mentioned similar frustrations with the state 's current political situation.

I think that you know being a part of a change in this situation will come from people putting pressure on the government of the state because, right now, there are laws on the books that aren't being enforced or there isn't enough staff to enforce them, even if there were the attitude to do it. And you know, right now, the state is at kind of a low point, but I don't know if it is going to stay this way (Personal interview, Allison, June 23, 2016).

The Grower Presence

Perhaps the most significant barrier to expanding Valley View's advocacy efforts was that of the "Farmer, Grower, or Boss." Even though I did not interact personally with any growers at camp events, 14 of the 18 Board members/employees I interviewed brought up the role and power of farmers and 4 of 6 of the farmworkers I interviewed raised the issue of growers as well. Moreover, Board members discussed this concern during both the online and in-person Board meetings I observed and at least five of twenty-five workers (only about six actually spoke) at the Farmworker Advisory Meeting specifically addressed the need for improved communication among workers, foremen, and farmers/growers.

For example, at the in-person Valley View Board meeting, the trustees discussed how fear of bosses or farmers could thwart the participatory projects and farmworker participation envisioned by the HJP project. My conversations with Board members and employees suggested

that Valley View did not historically have a relationship with the growers. At the in-person Board meeting a member described the relationship between Valley View and the farmers as a “delicate dance.” Catia also expressed an identical sentiment when I asked about the historical relationship between Valley View and the growers, “We don't bother them, and they don't bother us. You know? Or, we don't bother them. Better, they let us in” (Personal interview, Catia, July 5, 2016).

In addition to explanations of their relationship to Valley View, there were also three ways in which Board members expressed fear vis-a- vis the growers. First, as mentioned in the organizational challenges section, Board members were apprehensive that if the NGO undertook political advocacy, growers and landowners would stop giving money to the larger church. For example, at the Board meeting, Allison warned against “stirring the pot” because farmers are landowners and support the Ministry. In my interview with her, she also discussed the delicate dance of supporting and advocating for workers while also keeping the peace with farmers, and specifically mentioned how this balance related to the financial health of Valley View:

Well, we have parishioners and people who are part of the Church who are in fact some of the largest givers in our congregations. There's always this fear that if you ask, if you go after the farmer because he is mistreating his farmworkers, he will say, well, I am just going to take my money and go someplace else (Personal interview, Suzanne, June 30, 2016).

Echoing Suzanne’s concerns, Allison, also a Board member, highlighted a similar tension:

At least that's what I keep hearing from the Bishop through the years is why we can't be more aggressive because we, you know, we have people in our pews who are farmers. I'd love to know how true that really is, but that's what I've been told. Sure, their story is

hard. It is hard to be a small farmer. It is hard [that] small farmers are under the competition of the big farmers and industry and all that and I get that, but I wish that if we have any influence over the people in our pews that we could encourage them to come to the table (Personal interview, Allison, June 23, 2016).

If the Church feared a possible decline in farmer support if Valley View increased its political advocacy activities, the workers expressed a related fear. Samuel, for example, noted in his interview that the farmworkers fear that if they complain too loudly or express their concerns too vocally, the growers may not renew their support for them:

And at the same time is the fear that they have of the farmers. That is still there. They are at any moment under the decision, not to be renewed the next year, so there is a lot of fear to talk. That is still there (Personal interview, Samuel, June 28, 2016).

Board members, too, expressed fear in my interviews. For example, when asked about his expectations of the Valley View participatory project Will discussed grower concerns,

Well, and I think there's a lot of fear on the part of the farmers, too, that they are going to get in trouble. You know? Well, if people come and find out that we're not meeting the standards. ... I think there is fear on both sides that sort of prevents a more partnered relationship from blossoming. That's something that we have talked about a lot at the Board meetings, how we can bring you know different groups together and say hey, we're all here for the same purpose, we want you to have. We want your farms to be successful because you're going to provide more jobs for these people, you know? But, we also want people to be taken care of and make sure that their needs are met (Personal interview, Will, July 8, 2016).

In addition to endemic fear making it difficult for the FBO and growers to deepen their relationship around advocacy, some farmers simply treat their workers better than others do. Will, Sara, and some of the workers with whom I spoke each made this point. David, a leader in one of the farmworker camps and in the HJF project, and an active member of the Iglesia Hispánico community, commented on this concern,

And I tell you that, (in our camp) we don't have that problem. We do have a washing machine, [and] if not, we can buy it by ourselves because the boss is helping us. There's no problem. We just have to communicate all of that to him; but in camps like that, like in the [other camp] ... there are very, very hard, very difficult bosses, many of them believe that, that we are like animals. ... But, there are other people who really treat us like people, simply like a worker (Personal interview, David, August 6, 2016).

Another issue is the farmer's economic strain. For example, when speaking about the grower's presence Will, a Board member, said:

They're good people. I think they just don't think about like, I don't know, think about the needs of these people or they are just more concerned about what the bottom line is as opposed to, well, are these people washing their clothes? Do they need transportation? I don't know. I don't think it's like, let's be intentionally mean to these (people). You know? (Personal interview, Will, July 8, 2016).

Another Board member, Harold, discussed an additional potential conflict between the Ministry and the growers. Because Valley View provides the workers with basic goods that the growers or the state could also furnish, and some argue should offer, he worried that that fact could cause conflict between Valley View and the growers. For example,

I mean if we're saying these are basic needs, water in the fields, occasional opportunities to see a doctor, if you need one without jeopardizing your income, a time to wash your clothes, to get out of the sun periodically, all these kinds of basic needs. ... If we take the position that these are things that are just basic human rights, how does that affect the relationship between the farmworker and the owner and the supervisor? Who, probably say you know we're looking out for their well-being. They believe they may well be. I don't know. I don't know that that is the case, but I do think it's possible (Personal interview, Harold, June 20, 2016).

Many of my interviewees observed that increased communication with the growers was a wise direction for Valley View, which could serve as an intermediary between the farmers and farmworkers. Martha and Will, both Board members, suggested this course and argued that what is good for the workers is good for the boss:

You don't want your farmworkers to get sick, you don't. Number one, if it gets out to the state level, you could be shut down. But, number two, if a farmworker is sick, they are not out there doing whatever it is that you're paying them to do. I can kind of see maybe we could get something going like that. You know? So, but I have kind of low expectations because it sounds some [growers] are better than others (Personal interview, Caroline, July 13, 2016).

In the Board meetings and in his interview, Will also spoke of Valley View serving as a “vessel for education” and doing “relational advocacy” by building community among the workers, farmers, and the Ministry. When asked about his expectations for Valley View, he also spoke to the need to care for the workers and argued that such is better for the growers as a whole:

I think perhaps we can be a witness to, sort of improving the standards of agriculture in a lot of ways that I think when you look at the bigger picture that it is better for the farmers, it's better for the managers, it's better for everyone if people are healthy, if they are well-fed, if they're, you know, not living in conditions that are conducive to the spread of disease, you know, that you're going to get more work out of people (Personal interview, Will, July 8, 2016).

Finally, Allison suggested that Valley View is well situated to serve as a connector that can heighten worker awareness of the broader population and vice versa. She focused less on the economic benefits that might arise from such a role and more on the resources that the Ministry possessed to undertake it:

We need to be focusing on the farmworkers, and we need to be focusing on the Anglos, and getting them educated and aware of what the problem is because that's going to be one of the main ways that change happens (Personal interview, Allison, June 23, 2016).

Analysis

This section analyzes the ways that Valley View is fostering opportunities for farmworker participation. It employs Fraser's (2009d) conceptualization of efficacy and critical realism's (Collier, 1994; Roberts, 2014) depth ontology to identify the structural forces impeding the efficacy of farmworker claims. Figure 2 suggests that Valley View has been utilizing different means to encourage the efficacy of farmworker petitions at the state level. First, individual members of the parish with which the Center is co-located protest, travel to the state capital to meet with lawmakers, and participate with the state's Council of Churches, which is very active in political advocacy. Valley View is also an essential part of the farmworker advocacy network, a group that has worked with state government officials to secure or change

legislation to improve farmworker living and working conditions. Finally, Valley View operates its visitor programs to support farmworker efficacy through awareness raising.

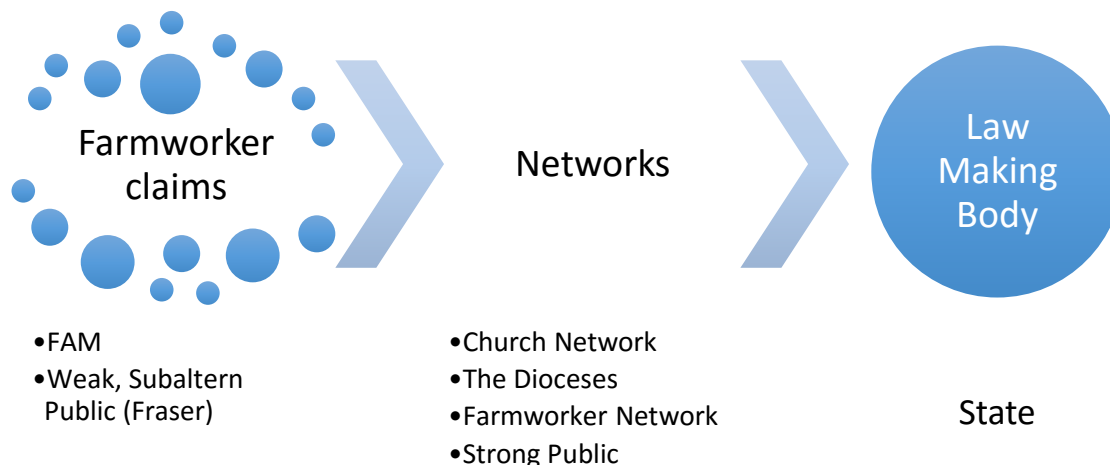


Figure 5: *Efficacy Strategies* (Erwin, 2017)

Figure 5 suggests that in Fraser’s (1990) terms, Valley View’s participatory project has created a weak, subaltern public for the farmworkers. I contend this because Valley View created the space with the intention of empowering the workers, but the project has not changed Valley View’s standing as an entity serving a subaltern public. As such, to date, the initiative has not fundamentally altered worker status, whatever its aspiration to do so.

This is so for two primary reasons. First, although the farmworkers expressed strong concern about issues related to the growers and their pensions, Valley View was only able to address their claims that linked to the organization’s traditional charitable role (provision of water, clothing, protective items). Furthermore, the “character of interactions among different publics” is not clear in this case (Fraser, 1990, p. 66). During the in-person Board meeting, Samuel stated that when Valley View staff see something amiss that could harm worker health or safety, they call an anonymous hotline that deals with farmworker issues. In addition, at the

Farmworker Advisory Committee gathering, Samuel told the workers that they can communicate issues to the union through their networks.

In Fraser's terms and through the lens of critical realism, it is important to understand the forces, or causal powers, that mediate efficacy. Although I did not design this study specifically to analyze the efficacy of particular NGO or farmworker claims, it is nevertheless appropriate to investigate the ways in which Valley View Board members and staff are seeking to encourage farmworker efficacy. Table 3 identifies the forces at the organizational, state, and transnational levels that mediate my empirical findings concerning this construct.

Level	Barrier	Force
Organization	Financial Stability	Neoliberalism Farmer Presence Leadership
State	Communication among member of Networks	Leadership Farmer Presence
	State Government	Neoliberalism Nationalism Farmer Presence
	Regulatory enforcement	Neoliberalism Farmer Presence
Transnational	Farmworker Livelihoods	Neoliberalism Nationalism Farmer Presence

Table 2: Causal Mechanisms

Some farmworker claims have proven efficacious at the level of the organization while others have not. Valley View responded to requests from the laborers regarding water bottles and gloves, and the workers with whom I spoke were very pleased by those actions. However, it is still unclear how, if at all, Valley View addressed additional requests. In one meeting with Samuel and Catia, we discussed the possibility of offering the workers financial literacy courses as a way to help them address their economic challenges. Nevertheless, while such classes might provide workers with information concerning how to manage their money more effectively, they

would not provide them financial stability in the long term, as pensions or other retirement funds might, for example.

One specific area in which Valley View is not presently meeting farmworker requests is for English lessons. The NGO is offering such instruction to the undocumented farmworker community, but due to the H-2A worker's schedules and the lack of offerings on Sundays, at the time of the study, there were no courses in which those workers could enroll. It was also unclear whether Valley View possessed the financial capacity (and will) to construct and equip a laundromat on its site. Staff members began to explore the costs of a sewer system necessary to support a laundromat during my field observation period, but it was uncertain whether the FBO could garner the resources necessary to make it a reality.

Concerning critical realism's causal mechanisms, Collier (1994) or Fraser's (2009d) forces, neoliberalism is one constraint that appears to permeate the organization's capacity to encourage farmworker efficacy. Like Husebo's (2011) study of the relationship between the Coalition of Immokalee Workers and faith-based organizations, Valley View has economic constraints associated with undertaking political advocacy. Because the organization is now largely supported by the two dioceses, Valley View must be responsive to its sponsor's ideas regarding advocacy. In addition, as Allison and Suzanne observed in their interviews, the church itself is supported disproportionately by landowners and farmers. In consequence, the Valley View Board and staff are not able to be as ambitious in their pursuit of political advocacy as some of those serving in those roles would like.

Neoliberalism is also present in that staff and workers alike described farmers as good or bad. Will, Beverly, and David all commented on this pattern in their interviews. I surmise from this description that following labor regulations can be voluntary and/or that those strictures do

not adequately meet worker health and safety needs. In addition, it is unclear whether claims to the state to address worker requirements can meet Fraser's translation and capacity conditions, which state that "the communicative power generated in civil society must be translated first into binding laws and then into administrative power. According to the capacity condition, the public power must be able to implement the discursively formed will to which it is responsible" (Fraser, 2007, p. 22).

Another key way that the influence of neoliberalism appears is through the articulation of the "bottom-line" as a rationale for unjust treatment of farmworkers. Will and Suzanne described the growers not "seeing" farmworker health and safety issues during their interviews, due to their own often unstable financial situations, a real threat. Will and Martha meanwhile sought to identify ways to change farmer behavior in their interviews and argued that ultimately, what is best for the workers is best for the growers too. Farm profitability seems to rationalize farmworker precarity and onerous schedules for many growers, factors that Board members, farmworkers, and employees each identified as challenges to the pursuit of participatory possibilities for the laborers.

Cultural imperialism also appears to impede farmworker efficacy. The United States is a stratified society. Fraser has described such societies as characterized by, "unequally empowered groups tend[ing] to develop unequally valued cultural styles. The result is the development of powerful informal pressures that marginalize the contributions of members of subordinated groups both in everyday life contexts and in official public spheres" (Fraser, 1990, p. 64).

Issues such as styles of communication, language, and norms of conduct can be understood as cultural in their roots. Board members expressed frustration and I also observed visitor dissatisfaction when the farmworkers or Valley View staff members did not arrive on

time for meetings, evidenced different communication styles, and/or did not attempt to converse with them. Although there may have been additional organizational communication struggles, one issue was that those from the dominant culture did not see or understand the cultural differences between themselves and the farmworkers and Valley View employees. This disconnect caused frustration and at times thwarted the efficacy of claims due to the fact that visitors were offended or perceived they had been disrespected and did not engage further with the organization thereafter as a result.

In reference to the transnational sphere, the farmworkers' claims are not yet efficacious. Fraser argued that transnational claims are efficacious if, "on the one hand, [they] create new, transnational public powers; [or] on the other, to make them accountable to a new, transnational public sphere" (p. 98). Even though Fraser was working toward a philosophical conceptualization of transnational public spheres, she also argued that, "it is by no means clear what it means today to speak of 'transnational public spheres'" (Fraser, 2009d, p. 77). Although this concept is not yet elegantly conceptualized, one staff member, Beverly, discussed the capacity of Valley View to include ideas from the Coalition of the Immokalee Workers, which has a transnational presence, but this idea was not elaborated at the Board meeting or by other interviewees. The farmworkers did not express specific interest in this notion, either.

In the Valley View case, there are many reasons why the transnational aspiration has not yet been realized. First, it was the second year of the project, so the organization was still communicating with the workers about the effort's purpose(s). In addition, having the work be part of a transnational sphere was not an explicit goal of the project as envisioned, even though Valley View is working with a transnational population, immigrant seasonal farmworkers, concerning globalized issues. Moreover, if the organization's leadership did make a decision to

pursue this goal, it would be very difficult to do so, due to the overall instability of the farmworkers' lives.

Although it would be challenging, there are advocacy options that are inclusive of farmworkers, growers, consumers, and others. One possibility is the Coalition of Immokalee Workers' (CIW) model. The CIW approach has proven to be an effective transnational advocacy strategy during a time when unions, especially in the Southern United States and/or in Right to Work states, often lack popular support. In addition, through transnational awareness campaigns and boycotts, groups like the CIW and garment workers have been able to act in solidarity with workers in other countries and with growers/producers.

One force that permeates all potential levels of farmworker engagement is that of grower presence. Critical agrarian scholars have argued that farmers wield very strong economic and political power. In addition, growers enjoy a very special place in the American imagination, which lends them enormous social and cultural power as well (Allen, 2004; Allen & Sachs, 1992; Gray, 2013; Guthman, 2004). The Valley View case appears to be consistent with this argument. The farmworkers, employees, and Board members I interviewed all expressed fear of upsetting their relationship to the growers, both because it could harm the farmworkers and because it could adversely affect the Ministry's financial situation.

Grower presence also influenced the way in which social and potential advocacy networks functioned, as Valley View could not itself be too visible a member of the state-wide Christian justice network or a vocal part of the farmworker advocacy network for fear that such would harm its relationship with the growers. The farmer presence also seemed to check any growth in Valley View's political advocacy operations. Most of the organization's Board members and staff that I interviewed wanted to do more, but at the Director's meeting, almost

everyone agreed that the risk to farmworker livelihoods of doing so was sufficient that it could not soon occur.

Grower presence was also evident in area politics as a local politician/farmer had just been accused of worker abuse on his farm. Many farmers are also members of the state's Growers Association, a nonprofit that advises growers on effective ways to utilize the H-2A seasonal worker program. Finally, geographically, the counties the Ministry serves are all rural and agrarian in character and almost everyone in the area grew up on a farm, their families are farmers, and/or they work in agriculture. The historical, geographical, and cultural makeup of the region only reinforces the agrarian imaginary of the small, often white, grower. This fact de facto marginalizes immigrant farmworker communities by rendering them socially and politically invisible.

Summary

This chapter has described Valley View's current strategies for supporting farmworker efficacy. Currently, the organization principally employs individual political advocacy networks and public awareness raising events as ways to realize this goal. One key factor mediating efficacy is Valley View's competing accountability claims, specifically its accountability to the workers and the growers alike. The effects of neoliberalism, cultural imperialism, and grower power profoundly mediate Valley View's ability to create opportunities for farmworker efficacy.

Chapter 7- Conclusions and Future Research

This chapter reflects on the utility of Nancy Fraser's participatory framework to explore questions of farmworker efficacy, agency, and justice. In addition, it reviews the capacity of critical agrarian studies to provide necessary tools and critique efforts to boost the participatory possibilities of vulnerable groups. I conclude this chapter by offering recommendations aimed at strengthening germane theoretical frames as well as empirical suggestions for those conducting similar research or developing participatory initiatives.

Considering Fraser's Framework

This study's findings inform existing theory and understanding in multiple ways. First, this analysis provides an example of how scholars can apply Fraser's participatory parity theoretical frame. Second, It supports Lovell's (2007) work by demonstrating that analysts can connect critical realism, ethnography, and Fraser's framework. Third, this research also speaks to, along with Cornwall and Coehlo (2007) and Gaventa (1982), the difficulties of securing participatory possibility for irregular migrants. This distinction is important, as many institutions and scholars are utilizing the term "participatory," especially to describe efforts to equip vulnerable individuals with purview over decision-making regarding land and resources. But far too often, these initiatives are merely rhetoric that do little more than manipulate those purportedly being assisted. This phenomenon was not at play in the Valley View case.

Nevertheless, there is an ever-present possible misuse of the term. For instance, if transnational institutions, such as the World Bank, are ignorant of or actively ignore issues of unequal power when employing so-called "participatory" development strategies, injustices will surely occur, not least for those supposedly being "empowered." This study highlights the significance of this argument by articulating the contextual realities implicit in implementing a "participatory project" with a culturally, politically, and economically vulnerable population.

Two components of Fraser's framework proved very robust in this study: the all-subjected principle and her criteria to analyze participatory efforts; redistribution, recognition, and representation. The all-subjected principle was apt as it provided language for understanding inclusivity. It also highlighted the fact that nearly all people are a part of multiple governance structures.

Fraser's concepts of redistribution, recognition, and representation proved useful tools for assessing the various claims of stakeholders concerning the Valley View participatory initiative. These three yardsticks were helpful in assessing the relative progress of the Ministry's efforts to encourage farmworker participation and efficacy in its programs and processes.

While these ideas of democratic participation supported the study in many ways, Fraser's conceptions of participatory parity and the transnational sphere proved less amenable to ready application to the Valley View case. To be fair, Fraser offered these notions as a thought experiment. Even so, I found that her lack of definitional clarity for these constructs made it somewhat difficult to apply them in the scenario I examined.

Furthermore, Fraser's framework did not help me, as a researcher, adequately specifically how grower power worked in the Ministry's space. This was a weakness, as it was difficult to develop specific policy recommendations for Valley View Board members to consider. In sum, in my view, scholars should employ Fraser's conceptualization with care and parsimony, and with awareness that it may not yield specific evaluative results.

Fraser's framework, did however, support this study's interest in assessing the implications of the Ministry's effort for social and global justice. For instance, in discussing representation, Fraser has warned of "the case in which one is excluded from membership in any political community. Akin to the loss of what Hannah Arendt (1951/1976) called 'the right to

have rights,' that sort of misframing is a kind of 'political death'" (Fraser, 2009b, p. 19). In many ways, Valley View is working with individuals who are at risk for this type of misframing.

Fraser's theory provided me language to assess and understand the difficulties and risks for these communities of opening participatory possibilities for them.

While I was able to use Fraser's framework to identify the risks and meager opportunities for this population, her description of the transnational public sphere and its connection to the nation state, was difficult to employ to identify spaces of increased agency for irregular migrants. Fraser has actually acknowledged this difficulty. What is clear from the Valley View case, if not always in Fraser's framework, is that even the most vulnerable individuals possess agency, and in appropriate circumstances can be encouraged to exercise it.

Critical Agrarian Studies

This study also informs existing arguments in critical agrarian studies. This case clearly supported those scholars who have pointed to the centrality of the agrarian imaginary and agrarian exceptionalism to farmworker status and treatment. It also underscores existing arguments concerning the mediating role of race and class in alternative agrifood initiatives and the need for increased farmworker collaboration and leadership in the alternative agrifood movement.

This inquiry addressed several gaps in the CAS literature, via the study's geographic focus on the South and exploration of a faith-based organization's efforts to open space for farmworker engagement and participation. This analysis augmented existing ethnographic studies of AFIs. First, this effort's findings support Allen (2004, 2010), Gray (2013), Guthman (2004), Minkoff-Zern's (2015), Sbicca (2015a, 2015b), and Holmes' (2013) earlier arguments aimed at problematizing the power of the agrarian imaginary. This connection was evident in Board member, staff, and farmworker fears of grower retaliation should Valley View move more

aggressively toward an advocacy posture. Indeed, this analysis provided an example of how such unequal power can constrain decision-making and participatory possibilities for multiple stakeholders.

Second, this case illustrated the significance of critical reflexivity and efforts to ensure inclusivity, as argued by Guthman (2008b) and others, by providing theoretical and empirical tools for understanding how issues such as race and class, and corresponding issues of power, reveal themselves in food system organizations that have a service and/or charitable focus. Their approaches provided analytical injunctions, while Fraser's more macro-oriented framework did not always do so. CAS scholars have consistently recommended reflexivity in the AAM, especially in recent years, and this analysis underscored the appropriateness of that contention. Fraser's framework also highlighted the importance of reflexivity for agential possibility and ultimately, for securing something approaching just outcomes for vulnerable populations.

This study also contributes to the CAS literature by adding to the few such studies undertaken to date, specifically those by Husebo (2011) and Nilson (2014), that have addressed faith-based organizations that serve farmworkers and/or support farmworker aid organizations, such as the CIW. This study offered insights into the issue of potential mission drift, the mediating role of agrarian imaginary/exceptionalism in virtually all dimensions of program design and service delivery, and opportunities for reflexivity among staff and board members alike.

Organizational Recommendations

Valley View's biggest challenge was mediating the tensions implicit between the farmworkers and those who employ them. The agrarian imaginary has long structured the dynamics of this organizational imperative. Minkoff-Zern has argued that, "farmworker-led consumer-based campaigns and solidarity movements, such as the Coalition of Immokalee

Workers' current Campaign for Fair Food, and The United Farmworkers' historical grape boycotts, [have] successfully work[ed] to challenge this imaginary" (2014a, p. 85). I agree and suggest that Valley View and organizations like it should investigate those advocacy approaches and determine whether and how they might be applied to their circumstances, so as to improve both the wages and living conditions of the farmworkers they serve *and* the incomes of growers.

Furthermore, during the study, a majority of the Board members expressed support for positioning Valley View to serve as a bridge between the workers and the growers. However, as Gray (2013) has argued, when grower paternalism and power thwart political action on small farms, stronger interpersonal relationships between workers and growers do not necessarily translate into binding actions, policies or laws that work to improve working or living conditions. In some cases, Gray found that stronger personal relationships even made the workers' situations worse. Therefore, I suggest that NGOs serving farmworkers establish or become involved in coalition-structures, such as the CIW, or a union such as FLOC, because their aims are political, social, and economic and not simply interpersonal relationship building.

In addition, in a time of increased nationalist rhetoric and neoliberal governance, I do suggest that Valley View increase its advocacy efforts on behalf of the farmworkers. However, they should also continue providing goods and services to the H-2A and undocumented laborer populations. This should be so, as the material items that organizations like Valley View donate and the spiritual and emotional support that the FBO provides workers are especially important, as state protections and support for workers and irregular migrants are becoming more and more limited.

At the time of this study, Samuel had already begun to ramp up Valley View's engagement with, and programming for, undocumented families. I suggest that the Ministry keep

its offerings for the H-2A and undocumented workers separate, as the two groups require different forms of support, and developing connections with and between the two populations is logistically difficult in any case. It is imperative that Valley View practice intentionality and vigilance if it is to continue to assist these populations effectively, much less open space for their exercise of agency or efficacy. Valley View enjoys a trusting relationship with the workers it serves. However, maintaining that trust without Father Edwin as the director of the organization was proving difficult. Therefore, as the NGO moves forward I suggest that its leaders actively seek opportunities for communication with the workers, through mobile technologies or through anonymous means, such as a request box in the organizations' facility.

I found a number of ways that farmworker claims could become efficacious in the context in which they were expressed. One such possibility was via Valley View's relationships with a farmworker advocacy network and a non-denominational Christian justice organization. One potential obstacle to employing these network connections successfully arose from a lack of clarity concerning the relationship between Valley View and the networks. Those blurred lines, however, reflected a fear of farmer retaliation, which was omnipresent and real. On reflection, this lack of clear cut ties may have been advantageous to workers because Valley View has a trusting relationship with some growers, and many of the other organizations in the advocacy network do not. It may therefore be advantageous for the Ministry to keep a low profile as they provide more politically-focused organizations access to the farms. To gain a better understanding of the network, I suggest that Valley View and other NC-based farmworker advocacy organizations conduct a self-conscious analysis of the strength, duration and character of their ties.

I also suggest that Valley View, and other migrant-serving nonprofits like it, develop clear strategies to address injustices perpetrated against farmworkers when they identify them. During the Board meeting I attended and the Farmworker Advisory Committee discussion, it was never clear how the Ministry intended to communicate injustices without harming workers. Samuel mentioned an anonymous telephone service by which NGOs could share their concerns, but this was not clearly explained to the group. The Board should consider and endorse all such efforts to ensure that everyone in the Ministry is on the same page and therefore understands what to do if they see a severe breach of justice or a morally and/or ethically unacceptable practice.

Another focus of the HJF grant was to increase the organization's Board member understanding of farmworker livelihoods and cultures. One constraint in raising their consciousness was logistics, the result of wildly disparate farmworker and Board member schedules. Even though this is surely an issue, many of Valley View's Board members enjoyed more free time than the workers. Therefore, I argue here, as I have elsewhere (Erwin 2016), that Board members need to travel to the workers' residences and work locations and to the Ministry facility when they are gathered there, to meet with them. I recommend that all of Valley View's Board members visit a farmworker camp during their tenure on the board. Doing so will provide them a much richer understanding of the conditions and resources (or relative lack of them) that the workers confront.

To complement the learning directors can obtain via camp visits, I recommend that Valley View staff provide Board members additional training concerning farmworker culture so that trustees can become more comfortable interacting with the workers and vice versa. An initiative such as this could perhaps help remedy what Catia called the "American Way" of doing

things, i.e., formal and impersonal administration, when we spoke. The farmworkers, employees, and the Board members had very different professional habitus and no group seemed really to understand the others' way of conducting business. To address these issues and improve the learning opportunities for the Board, I also propose that Valley View develop a plan and strategy to hire additional employees to assist Samuel and Catia with the Ministry's outreach, administration, and engagement responsibilities.

Through language, food, music, and soccer, Valley View has created a space in which the workers' culture is dominant. After I finished my fieldwork, the Board also increased its membership of Latino and Spanish-speaking members. In addition to these steps, I also recommend that instead of soliciting donations only from English-speaking parishioners, Valley View also devise efforts aimed at engaging the local Latino population, both those who attend Iglesia Cristiana and those who live in the region, who attend other churches. In addition to creating this space, it would benefit the workers and volunteers if Valley View could find a way to address the workers' requests for additional English classes.

My final suggestion concerns the role of worker claims within Valley View. At the time of the study, the Ministry was seeking to create opportunities that would ensure that migrant laborers could have a say in *what* goods and services the organization provided them. Nevertheless, neither the board nor staff members had yet given workers leverage in the governance or management of the organization. I suggest that Valley View seek ways and means to provide such opportunities.

Future Research

I recommend that scholars working in the CAS literature continue to examine the complexities of participatory efforts, especially for immigrant farmworker and farm apprenticeship populations. I also suggest that analysts active in this field undertake additional

comparative analyses that investigate the commonalities and differences in salient characteristics for agency and efficacy between small farm apprenticeship program participants and immigrant farm workers. Comparative case studies could reveal possibilities for solidarity between the two groups, specifically regarding policy and decision-making. Such analyses could also reveal the unique vulnerabilities each group confronts and thereby identify specific ways to increase the power of each in their respective contexts.

In my view, CAS scholars should also undertake additional studies that focus on organizations that serve immigrant farmworker and other irregular migrant populations, including refugees. I specifically suggest that CAS scholars study faith-based entities involved in such service provision. Nielson (2014) and Husebo's (2011) efforts laid a foundation for these types of studies, but additional research on the animating values and decision-making dynamics of these organizations is needed. Moreover, I suggest that scholars undertaking these efforts locate them in the South, with an eye to teasing out the connections among labor unions, the AAM, and FBOs that are possible in the region.

I learned that other migrant service organizations were also creating farmworker advisory committees while I was conducting my research. That fact suggests the utility of examining such efforts comparatively to determine the roles each is playing, their effects on farmworker engagement, and their implications for worker solidarity with other vulnerable groups. In the Valley View case, the workers are now involved in decision-making about the services they receive, but not in determining broader organizational priorities or direction. If other groups are taking different approaches and perhaps giving workers more leeway and/or including growers in such discussions, learning more about how they are doing so could inform implementation strategies as well as participatory democratic theory-building efforts. Additional longitudinal,

comparative case studies could be employed to investigate the methods, processes, and possibilities of such initiatives.

Valley View was also grappling during my study with the question of who has moral significance in the organization as well as how to reconcile its answer to that question with its relationship with the state, and how that translated into who it provided goods and services to and why. For example, the H-2A workers' housing conditions vary from what one study participant dubbed "a model" with clean bathrooms, bedding, and showers, to "deplorable," with outdoor latrines, buckets as washing machines, and old bedding on the floor. Some Valley View Board members and staff found these conditions unacceptable, while others rationalized them, claiming that many rural North Carolinians live this way and that farmworker housing in Mexico was likely much worse than that offered in the US.

This tension is especially interesting in a faith-based organization, such as Valley View, whose vision speaks to meeting the stranger at the door. This aspiration was certainly counter to the views expressed by some of my interviewees, particularly those who spoke about the quality of life for Mexican migrant farmworkers in North Carolina meeting or exceeding the level they would enjoy in their native nations. I suggest that analysts explore this concern by means of additional comparative analyses between FBOs dealing with it.

Finally, I recommend that researchers consider analyzing the Valley View as a mission location and/or voluntourism space. During my fieldwork, several Board members described the Ministry as a place that children and adults from a diverse array of churches and secular schools could visit and from which they could learn a great deal. While at Valley View, the visitors take food to the workers, learn about farmworker livelihoods and the industrial food system, gain a deeper understanding of race and immigration issues, and conduct additional service projects.

The educational and service opportunities that Valley View provides have prompted some Board members to envision developing efforts to provide on-site dormitory space so that more people could visit the site and learn from the workers.

It struck me that such visits provided many of the same opportunities and challenges associated with conducting service learning in developing nation contexts. Valley View's programs and its unique location provide valuable education to visitors, but challenges have arisen, including those associated with power and a possible lack of reflexivity. Given these realities, I recommend that scholars critically investigate Valley View and other similar organizations' educational strategies and programs. These studies could unearth possibilities for other institutions seeking to teach the public about labor in the food system and provide entities such as Valley View recommendations to improve its solidarity with those it serves as well as reflexivity concerning how it does so.

Conclusion

Overall, I argue that the Valley View Farmworker Ministry should continue its efforts to provide workers with the means to have a dignified life while they live in the United States. At the same time, the Ministry should continue to seek to increase the decision-making power that the workers have within the organization. Finally, when speaking to Participatory Parity, I contend that Valley View should increase its advocacy efforts while investigating coalition-style organizing that creates the space for workers to be more on par with not only the Ministry's BOD and employees, but also the growers for whom they work.

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Appendix A: Interview Protocol for members of the Board of Directors

Introduction

- Introduce myself
- Discuss the purpose of the study
- Provide informed consent
- Outline structure of the interview (audio recording, taking notes, and use of pseudonym)
- Ask if they have any questions
- Let them know I will stop the recorder any time if they wish to provide observations off the record.
- Test audio-recording device

Introductory Questions:

Can you tell me more about your role on the Board? What is your tenure on the Board?

What is your professional background?

Can you describe why you decided to serve on Valley View's Board?

Describe your experience with the Valley View and how you have come to be involved with the organization?

Initial Planning Stage:

Can you describe how you felt about the farmworker capacity building project?

Can you detail your initial perceptions of the capacity building project? Did your view change over time? How do you view the project now and why?

Farmworker/BOD Meetings:

Can you guide me through your experiences and perceptions when you visited the farmworkers at their homes?

Farmworker Church Meetings:

Were you able to be present at the farmworker church meetings or any other events held at the Centro Hispanico?

Concluding Questions:

Do you have expectations of the project?

If yes: What are these?

Reflecting now, What are your perceptions of the project now as it has evolved?

Has your perspective regarding your relationship to Valley View changed, if at all, after participating in this project?

If Yes: Can you describe this shift, any?

If no: Why?

Do you plan to continue your involvement with the project through meeting at the church?

If yes: How?

If no: Why not?

Is there anything else you would like to add or share about this topic that you feel is important for me to know? Are there any related issues concerning this subject that you would like to discuss?

Concluding Statement

- Thank them for their participation
- Ask them if they would be willing to review the finished product to see if it accurately reflects their views
- Record any observations, thoughts, feelings and/or reactions about the interview

Appendix B: Interview Protocol for FBO Employees

Date -

Pseudonyms –

Introduction

- Introduce myself
- Discuss the purpose of the study
- Provide informed consent
- Outline structure of the interview (audio recording, taking notes, and use of pseudonym)
- Ask if they have any questions
- Let them know I will stop the recorder any time if they wish to provide observations off the record.
- Test audio-recording device

Introductory Questions

Can you tell me more about your involvement with the Valley View capacity building project?

Organizational Questions

From your experience, can you describe the model of governance that Valley View has traditionally used to make organizational decisions?

Can you describe your participation in the Valley View capacity building project?

Why did you decide to participate in the farmworker - Valley View capacity building project?

Describe the project you participated in last year.

Can you describe how the initial idea for the HFJ project was perceived by the Board of Directors?

Can you give me a description - step by step - of how you engaged the farmworkers in the study?

Were there any unexpected details that you did not plan for? If so, what were those and what were their consequences in your view?

Can you describe what the goal of the capacity building project was?

Can you guide me through the experience where the Board members visited the farmworker camps with you and your co-workers?

Can you tell me more about what was discussed at the farmworker meetings at the church?

Can you describe the differences between the church meetings, the meetings at the farmworker camps, and the traditional Board meetings?

Initial Idea Stage:

Can you recall your reasoning for initiating the capacity building project with the farmworkers?

Can you describe a specific circumstance that motivated the project?

Did you work with other members of the Farmworker Advocacy Network to plan this initiative?

Presenting it to the BOD:

How was this project initially presented to the Board of Directors?

Can you describe how the Board of Directors received the project idea?

Explain how, from your perspective, the project gained approval.

Looking back, what were the best and worst case projections regarding the likely trajectory of the capacity building project?

BOD and the NCLC:

What did you learn from the NCLC trainings?

Explain your experience with the trainings.

BOD and the Farmworker meals and meetings:

Please describe the meetings and meals that were planned between the farmworkers and the Board of Directors.

What was their purpose?

How would you say they worked?

Farmworker Meetings at the Centro Hispanico:

Explain the impetus behind holding farmworker meetings after church services at the Centro Hispanico.

Can you describe the purposes and character of these meetings?

What was discussed?

Can you compare these meetings to those held with the Board at the Center and in the farmworker camps?

Concluding Questions:

How did the project change over time?

Do you plan to continue this project in the future?

What are the biggest surprises you experienced during the project period?

Is there anything else you would like to add or share about this topic that you feel is important for me to know? Are there any related issues concerning this subject that you would like to discuss?

Concluding Statement

- Thank them for their participation
- Ask them if they would be willing to review the finished product to see if it accurately reflects their views
- Record any observations, thoughts, feelings and/or reactions about the interview

Appendix C: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol for Farmworkers

Date -

Pseudonyms –

Introduction

- Introduce myself
- Discuss the purpose of the study, in their chosen language of English or Spanish
- Provide informed consent
- If someone is not literate, I will read the consent form and ask for his or her permission.
- Outline structure of the interview (audio recording, taking notes, and use of pseudonym)
- Ask if they have any questions
- Let them know I will stop the recorder any time if they wish to provide observations off the record.
- Test audio-recording device

Introductory Questions

Can you describe your day-to-day experience as a farmworker?

How long have you been coming to North Carolina to do farm work?

About how long are you in the state each year?

Where do you work while you are here?

Organizational Questions

Describe your experience with the Valley View?

How has Valley View served you and the larger farmworker community in the past?

Why did you decide to participate in the farmworker - Valley View capacity building project?

Can you describe how you were chosen to be a leader for this project in your camp?

From your perspective, can you describe what the goal of the capacity building project was?

Farmworker/BOD Meetings:

Can you guide me through your view and experience when the Board members visited your home and met with you and your co-workers?

Farmworker Church Meetings:

Can you tell me about what is discussed at farmworker meetings at the church?

Concluding Questions:

Do you have expectations of this project?

If yes: What are these?

Can you describe what you see the aims of the project to be?

Has your perspective regarding your relationship to Valley View changed after participating in this project?

If Yes: Can you describe this shift and what it means to you?

If not: Why not?

Do you plan to continue your involvement with the project through meetings at the church?

If yes: How?

If not: Why not?

Is there anything else you would like to add or share about the participatory project that you feel is important for me to know? Are there any related issues concerning this subject that you would like to discuss?

Concluding Statement

- Thank them for their participation
- Ask them if they would be willing to review the finished product to see if it accurately reflects their views
- Record any observations, thoughts, feelings and/or reactions about the interview

Appendix D: Semi-Structured Interview Protocol for Church Volunteers

Date -

Pseudonyms –

Introduction

- Introduce myself
- Discuss the purpose of the study, in their chosen language of English or Spanish
- Provide informed consent
- If someone is not literate, I will read the consent script and ask for his or her permission.
- Outline structure of the interview (audio recording, taking notes, and use of pseudonym)
- Ask if they have any questions
- Let them know I will stop the recorder any time if they wish to provide observations off the record.
- Test audio-recording device

Introductory Questions

Can you describe your experience volunteering with Valley View?

How long have you been living in North Carolina?

How long have you been volunteering and attending the church?

Are you a former farmworker?

Organizational Questions

Describe your experience with the Valley View?

How has Valley View served you and the larger farmworker community in the past?

Why did you decide to volunteer with Valley View?

Can you describe the farmworker advisory meetings that were held at the camp last year?

From your perspective, can you describe what the goal of the capacity building project was?

Farmworker/BOD Meetings:

Can you guide me through your view and experience when the Board members visited Valley View?

Can you guide me through your view and experience when other visitors come to the Valley View?

Farmworker Church Meetings:

If you were present, can you tell me about what is discussed at farmworker meetings at the church?

Transition:

Can you guide me through your experience as Valley View has experienced its recent transition in leadership and Board members?

Concluding Questions:

Do you have expectations of this project?

If yes: What are these?

Can you describe what you see the aims of the project to be?

Has your perspective regarding your relationship to Valley View changed after the project and transition?

If Yes: Can you describe this shift and what it means to you?

If not: Why not?

Is there anything else you would like to add or share about the participatory project or the transition that you feel is important for me to know? Are there any related issues concerning this subject that you would like to discuss?

Concluding Statement

- Thank them for their participation
- Ask them if they would be willing to review the finished product to see if it accurately reflects their views
- Record any observations, thoughts, feelings and/or reactions about the interview

Appendix E: Interview Protocol Farmworker (Spanish)

Fecha -

Seudónimo -

Introducción

- Presentación personal
- Discuta el propósito del estudio, en el idioma escogido por ellos Ingles o Español
- Proporcione el informe de consentimiento
- Si alguien no es alfabeto, le leeré la forma de consentimiento y preguntaré si da consentimiento a participar.
- Indique la estructura de la entrevista (grabación de audio, notas de voz, y uso del seudónimo)
- Preguntar si ellos tienen alguna pregunta
- Hacerles saber que me detendré en cualquier momento si ellos desean suministrar observaciones sin que sean registradas oficialmente.
- Probar el dispositivo de grabación de audio

Preguntas Introductorias

Puede describir sus actividades diarias como Granjero?

Por cuanto tiempo ha estado viniendo a Carolina del Norte a realizar trabajo de granja?

Por cuanto tiempo permanece usted en el estado cada año?

Dónde trabaja mientras está aquí?

Preguntas Organizativas

Describa su experiencia con Valley View?

Cómo le ha servido Valley View en el pasado a usted y a la comunidad de granjeros?

Por qué usted decidió participar en el proyecto de generación de capacidades como granjeros – Valley View?

Puede describir cómo fue escogido para ser líder de este proyecto en su campo?

Desde su perspectiva, puede describirme cuál fue la meta del proyecto de generación de capacidades?

Granjero/reuniones BOD:

Puede explicarme su punto de vista y experiencias cuando los miembros de la junta visitaron su casa para reunirse con usted y a sus compañeros de trabajo?

Reuniones de Granjeros en la Iglesia:

Puede decirme qué es discutido en las reuniones de granjeros en la Iglesia?

Preguntas Finales:

Tiene usted expectativas de este proyecto?

Si la respuesta es afirmativa: Cuáles son?

Me puede describir cuales cree usted que son los objetivos del proyecto?

Ha cambiado su perspectiva acerca de su relación con Valley View después de participar en este proyecto?

Si la respuesta es afirmativa: Puede describirme qué cosa cambio? Y qué significa para usted?

Si la respuesta es negativa: Por qué no?

Planea continuar su relación con el proyecto por medio de reuniones en la Iglesia?

Si la respuesta es afirmativa: Cómo?

Si la respuesta es negativa: Por qué no ?

Existe algo más que usted quisiera agregar o compartir acerca de su participación en el proyecto que considere importante darme a conocer?

Existe algún otro asunto relacionados con este tema que a usted le gustaría discutir?

Declaraciones Finales:

- Agradecerles por su participación
- Preguntarles si están dispuestos a revisar el producto final para confirmar si refleja acertadamente sus puntos de vistas
- Registrar cualquier observación, pensamientos, sentimientos y reacciones acerca de la entrevista

Appendix F: Interview Protocol Volunteers (Spanish)

Fecha -

Seudónimo -

Introducción

- Presentación personal
- Discuta el propósito del estudio, en el idioma escogido por ellos Ingles o Español
- Proporcione el informe de consentimiento
- Si alguien no es alfabeto, le leeré la forma de consentimiento y preguntaré si da consentimiento a participar.
- Indique la estructura de la entrevista (grabación de audio, notas de voz, y uso del seudónimo)
- Preguntar si ellos tienen alguna pregunta
- Hacerles saber que me detendré en cualquier momento si ellos desean suministrar observaciones sin que sean registradas oficialmente.
- Probar el dispositivo de grabación de audio

Preguntas Introductorias

Por cuanto tiempo ha estado viviendo a Carolina del Norte?

Por cuanto tiempo trabajar como voluntario?

Puede describir sus actividades con Valley View?

En el pasado, usted eras un trabajador?

Preguntas Organizativas

Describa su experiencia con Valley View?

Cómo le ha servido Valley View en el pasado a usted y a la comunidad de trabajadores?

Por qué usted decidió participar con Valley View?

Puede describir cómo fue escogido para ser líder de este proyecto en su campo?

Desde su perspectiva, puede describirme cual fue la meta del proyecto de generación de capacidades?

Granjero/reuniones BOD:

Puede explicarme su punto de vista y experiencias cuando los miembros de la junta visitaron Valley View?

Puede explicarme su punto de vista y experiencias cuando otras gente visitaron el centro?

Reuniones de Granjeros en la Iglesia:

Si estuviste a Valley View, puede decirme qué es discutido en la reuniones de trabajadores en la Iglesia?

Transición:

Puede explicarme su punto de vista cuando Valley View hizo la transición de directores y los miembros de la junta?

Preguntas Finales:

Tiene usted expectativas de este proyecto?

Si la respuesta es afirmativa: Cuáles son?

Me puede describir cuales cree usted que son los objetivos del proyecto?

Ha cambiado su perspectiva acerca de su relación con Valley View después de participar en este proyecto?

Si la respuesta es afirmativa: Puede describirme qué cosa cambio? Y qué significa para usted?

Si la respuesta es negativa: Por qué no?

Existe algo más que usted quisiera agregar o compartir acerca de su participación en el proyecto que considere importante darme a conocer?

Existe algún otro asunto relacionados con este tema que a usted le gustaría discutir?

Declaraciones Finales:

- Agradecerles por su participación
- Preguntarles si están dispuestos a revisar el producto final para confirmar si refleja acertadamente sus puntos de vistas
- Registrar cualquier observación, pensamientos, sentimientos y reacciones acerca de la entrevista

Appendix G: Consent Form

VIRGINIA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE AND STATE UNIVERSITY

Informed Consent for Participants

in Research Projects Involving Human Subjects

Title of Project: Participatory justice? Exploring farmworker agency through the case of a faith-based organization

Investigator(s):

Principal Investigator/Faculty

Advisor:

Dr. Max O. Stephenson, Jr.
Virginia Tech Professor
540-231-7340
mstephen@vt.edu

Co-Investigator:

Anna Erwin
Doctoral Candidate
(Phone)
erwinae@vt.edu

Dear Participant:

You are invited to share your views for a doctoral dissertation research study that seeks to understand the participatory strategies that the Valley View Farmworker Ministry is using to create leadership opportunities for the farmworkers it serves. You can decide not to become involved. The following information is provided in order to help you make an informed decision concerning whether you wish to participate. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to ask. You are eligible for this study because you are involved with the Valley View's organization and/or its recent capacity building project.

II. Procedures

Should you choose to participate, you will be asked to complete a 60 minute to 90-minute audio-recorded interview.

V. Extent of Anonymity and Confidentiality

At no time will the researchers release identifiable results of the study to anyone other than the principal individuals working on the project without your written consent. The Virginia Tech (VT) Institutional Review Board (IRB) may view the study's data for auditing purposes. The IRB is responsible for the oversight of the protection of human subjects involved in research.

VI. Compensation

You will not receive any compensation for participating in this study.

VII. Freedom to Withdraw

You are free to withdraw from this study at any time without penalty. You are also free not to answer any specific questions that may be posed to you, as you decide, and without penalty. Please note that there may be circumstances under which the co-investigator may determine that an interviewee should not continue as a study participant.

VIII. Questions or Concerns

Should you have any questions about this research, you may contact one of the investigators whose contact information is included above.

Should you have any questions or concerns about the study's conduct or your rights as a research subject, or need to report a research-related injury or event, you may contact the VT IRB Chair, Dr. David M. Moore at moored@vt.edu or (540) 231-4991.

IX. Subject's Consent

I have read the Consent Form and conditions of this project. I have had all my questions answered. I hereby acknowledge the above and give my voluntary consent to participate as outlined:

_____ Date _____
Subject signature

Subject printed name

Appendix H: Consent Form (Spanish)

INSTITUTO POLITECNICO Y UNIVERSIDAD ESTATAL DE VIRGINIA

Informe de Consentimiento para Participantes en Proyectos de Investigación que Involucran Sujetos Humanos

Título del Proyecto: Justicia Participativa? Explorando la agencia de granjeros mediante el caso de organizaciones basadas en la fe.

Investigador(es):

Investigador Principal / Tutor:

Dr. Max O. Stephenson, Jr.
Profesor de Virginia Tech
540-231-7340
mstephen@vt.edu

Co-Investigador:

Anna Erwin
Candidata a Doctor
(Teléfono)
erwinae@vt.edu

Apreciado Participante:

Usted ha sido invitado para compartir sus puntos de vistas en un estudio de investigación para una tesis doctoral que busca entender las estrategias participativas que el Ministerio Valley View de Granjeros (Valley View) esta utilizando para crear oportunidades de liderazgo para los granjeros a los que sirve. Usted puede decidir no participar. La siguiente información es suministrada para ayudarlo a tomar una decisión informada acerca de su deseo de participar. Si usted tiene alguna pregunta, por favor no dude en preguntar. Usted es elegible para participar en este estudio porque usted está involucrado con la organización Valley View y/o en su reciente proyecto de generación de capacidades.

II. Procedimiento

Si Usted decide participar, se le solicitará que participe en una entrevista con grabación de audio que puede durar de 60 a 90 minutos.

V. Extensión de Anonimato y Confidencialidad

En ningún momento los investigadores revelarán resultados identificables del estudio a ninguna otra persona que no sean los individuos trabajando en el proyecto, sin tener antes su consentimiento por escrito. La Junta de Revisión (IRB) del Tecnológico de Virginia puede ver la data del estudio solo para propósitos de auditoria. El IRB es responsable por la vigilancia y la protección de los sujetos humanos relacionados con la investigación.

VI. Compensación

Usted no recibirá ninguna compensación por la participación en este estudio.

VII. Libertad para retirarse

Usted es libre de retirarse del estudio en cualquier momento sin ninguna penalidad. Usted también es libre de no responder cualquier pregunta que se le haya preguntado, si usted lo decide, y sin penalidad. Por favor note que pueden haber circunstancias bajo las cuales el co-investigador pueda determinar que el entrevistado no debe continuar como participante del estudio.

VIII. Preguntas o Inquietudes

En el caso que usted tenga una pregunta acerca de este estudio, usted puede contactar cualquiera de los investigadores cuya información de contacto está incluida al inicio de este documento.

En el caso de que usted tenga una pregunta o inquietud acerca de cómo se está conduciendo el estudio, o de sus derechos como participante de esta investigación, o necesita un reporte de lesión o evento relacionado con esta investigación, usted podrá contactar al Jefe de VT IRB, Dr. David M. Moore at moored@vt.edu o (540) 231-4991.

IX. Consentimiento del Sujeto

Yo he leído la Forma de Consentimiento y las condiciones de este proyecto. Me han sido respondidas todas mis preguntas. Por la presente reconozco lo anterior y doy mi consentimiento voluntario de participar así como lo señalo:

_____ Fecha _____
Firma del participante

Nombre escrito del participante

Appendix I: Participatory Observation Statement

My name is Anna Erwin. I am a Ph.D. student in the Virginia Tech School of Public and International Affairs, and I am conducting my dissertation research on a project of the Valley View Farmworker Ministry—the participatory capacity building initiative the Ministry conducted in 2015 with the farmworkers it serves. The results of this study will be used for my dissertation and journal publications. For part of my research, I will be observing and participating in meetings, the farmworker festival, and other programs, during which I will be taking notes. No audio or video recording will be used. All data will be kept confidential and no identifying information will appear in the dissertation or in later publications arising from it.

Appendix I: Memorandum of Understanding

Date: April 21, 2016 – Amended June 8, 2016

Memorandum of Understanding (MOU): Between Anna Erwin, PhD candidate in Planning, Governance and Globalization, School of Public and International Affairs, Virginia Tech and The Valley View Farmworker Ministry (Valley View).

Background

The need for this memorandum has arisen because Ms. Erwin will conduct her dissertation research with the support of the Valley View in summer 2016. The proposed inquiry will likely be helpful to the Ministry as well as allow Erwin to address a key requirement for completion of her doctoral degree. This memorandum is to ensure that her aims and responsibilities are clear to her PhD advisory committee at Virginia Tech and to Valley View staff and Board members.

Purpose

This MOU outlines the goals and expectations of Anna Erwin and the Valley View governing Board and staff for her field research during the summer of 2016.

Anna Erwin has the following timetable and expectations for her research examining Valley View activities related to its capacity building project supported by the Hispanics for Justice Foundation:

- *May, June, July, August, and September*
 - Valley View employees will connect Anna with farmworkers involved in the capacity building project.
 - Anna will interview Valley View staff members (*co-directors, former development coordinator, and both 2015 intern and current intern*) as well as members of that entity's Board of directors.
 - Anna will interview at least five farmworkers
 - *Anna will seek to interview at least four Center/church members/volunteers*
 - *Anna will seek to interview at least four former farmworkers*
 - Anna will conduct participatory observation—by way of volunteering with Valley View 2-3 days a week for the months of May, June, July, August, and September. Her responsibilities will consist of:
 - Collecting observations while participating in meetings with the Board
 - Collecting observations and participating in farmworker advisory meetings
 - Collecting observations and participating in church services.
 - Collecting observations and participating in other Valley View projects and meetings as mutually agreed.
 - *Anna will assemble the following documents for review:*
 - *Board meeting minutes from the last two years*
 - *Request for Proposals for the grant from Hispanics for Justice*

- *Valley View's annual reports for the last three years*
- *Training materials from the North Carolina Latino Coalition*
- *Historical Documents about Valley View's relationship to the two dioceses.*
- *Minutes from the farmworker advisory meetings during 2015 and 2016*
- Anna will conduct a mutually agreed immigration and labor policy brief for the Valley View. This analysis will include:
 - A review of the most recent immigration statistics for the state of North Carolina.
 - A review and analysis of the most recent labor statistics for Latino farmworkers in North Carolina.
- Anna will collect observations at the Farmworker Festival and volunteer at that event as needed as well. Specifically, she will:
 - Volunteer during the week before the Festival to assist with efforts to organize it (physical labor and logistics)
 - Collect observations and assist with event logistics on the day of the event.
 - *Conduct interviews with farmworkers, volunteers, and former farmworkers at the festival*

Other Activities:

- Ms. Erwin will share all interview transcripts with interviewees for her project to ensure their factual accuracy. Anna will also share her approved dissertation with the Valley View's co-directors and Board chair.
- Anna will present her dissertation results and immigration and labor policy brief with participants in a forum to be determined mutually.
- Ms. Erwin will report her research findings in her dissertation and in publications in peer-reviewed journals.
- Anna will create a one-page PDF document containing the results of the immigration data analysis for Valley View.
- The names of all the interviewees and the Ministry will be kept confidential in Ms. Erwin's presentation of her research. She will assign pseudonyms to all interviewees and to the Valley View. Ms. Erwin will also not identify the organization's specific geographic location, but will suggest only that it is located in *rural North Carolina*.

Funding

Valley View will not provide Anna Erwin any compensation for her volunteer work or for her research concerning the Ministry's Farmworker capacity building project or immigration-related policy brief.

Contact Information

Co-Investigator:

Principal Investigator/Faculty

Anna Erwin

Advisor:

Doctoral Candidate

Dr. Max O. Stephenson, Jr.

910-620-6206

Virginia Tech Professor

erwinae@vt.edu

540-231-7340

mstephen@vt.edu

Partner name: The Valley View Farmworker Ministry

Partner representative:

Position:

Telephone: (910) 567-6917

E-mail: efmdirector@intrstar.net

_____ Date:
(Partner signature)
(Partner name, organization, position)

_____ Date:
(Partner signature)
(Partner name, organization, position)

_____ Date:
(Partner signature)
(Partner name, organization, position)

_____ Date:
(Partner signature)
(Partner name, organization, position)

Appendix J: Field Notes Template

[filename]

[TITLE]

[DATE]

[DESCRIPTION OF ACTIVITY – verbal snapshot – not analysis]

Impressions

‘who (actors,

what (act, activity, event, silences, feelings)

when (time)

where (Spaces, physical objects,

why (goals, objective)

how’ (process)

[REFLECTIONS – How may I have influenced the events – my feelings, what went wrong and what could be done differently]

[EMERGING QUESTIONS/ANALYSES – questions, lines of inquiry, theories]

[FUTURE ACTION – to do list of actions]

Appendix K: Coding Frame

1. Participatory Parity Question: How does EFM integrate struggles for maldistribution, misrecognition, and misrepresentation into its participatory project? How does the participants understand the participatory intent of the project? How does this reflect participatory parity as articulated by Nancy Fraser?		
PAMaster Code/Code Family	Code	Definition
Participatory Parity - Redistribution	PARPAR RED	Speaking/Notes about how economics - trade, jobs in a globalizing world, labor unions - were wrapped into the project, charity
Participatory Parity - Representation	PARPAR - REP	Speaking/notes about how participants integrate representative struggles into the design of the project - rules for representation, participant thoughts about representation,
Participatory Parity - Recognition	PARPAR - REC	Speaking/notes about culture and how it mediates the participatory process or other processes, specifically how they make adjustments for culture of all parties
Participatory Parity - Participatory Parity	PARPAR - PP	Speaking/notes the social/political/ economic arrangements for people, allusions to the way it should be
2. Efficacy Questions: What is the efficacy of the farmworker claims at the level of the organization, the state, and transnational sphere? How is this achieved? What are the forces that block the translation of communicative power into each level of power?		
Code Family	Code	Definition
Efficacy - Advocacy	EFFIC - ADV	Speaking/notes about the capacity of the organization to do advocacy, different types of advocacy, how they see advocacy, struggles for advocacy
Efficacy - Blocks to communication of needs - organization	EFFIC - BLOCKORG	Speaking/Notes about the capacity of the participatory project to make change in the organization. Why it can or can not be initiated by EFM - the specific blockages
Efficacy - Blocks to communication of needs - State	EFFIC - BLOCKSTATE	Speaking/Notes about the capacity of the participatory project to make change at the state. Additional ways in which the claims can be heard by the state. Why it can or can not be initiated by the EFM project, the specific blockages

Efficacy - Blocks to communication of needs - Transnational	EFFIC - BLOCKTRANS	Speaking/Notes about the capacity of the participatory project to make change in the transnational sphere. Why it can or can not be initiated by the EFM project, the specific blockages
3. Legitimacy Questions: Does EFM apply equal moral standing, or the all-affected principle, to the farmworkers it serves? How and why or why not? Does the FBO's decision rules accord equal voice in public deliberations and fair representation in decision-making to all members? How and why or why not?		
Code Family	Code	Definition
Legitimacy - All-Affected Principle	LEGIT - ALL	Speaking/notes about how and why Board members/employees/farmworkers regard "others" - how do they determine moral standing
Legitimacy - Rules for process	LEGIT - PROCRULE	Speaking/notes about who makes the rules for claims making <i>and</i> who is included - membership and procedure, who makes rules for process and advocacy, who has the power
Legitimacy - Rules for Representation	LEGIT - REPRULE	Speaking/notes about how and why farmworkers and Board members are chosen as representatives for their group
4. Agency and Creativity Questions: What other factors could be opening space for agency and creativity within the project or the space?		
Code Family	Code	Definition
Connolly - Agency and Creativity - Forces	AGENCY - FORCE	Speaking/notes about other factors that may open space or create change, including but not limited to God/prayer/religion, collaboration, shifts, policy, natural disasters/nature, money, etc.
Connolly - Agency and Creativity - Processes	AGENCY - PROC	Speaking/notes about what processes people think are the most effective for change
5. Literature Review Questions: How do the study's findings reflect the key themes in critical agrarian studies? Why and how are these findings different from other studies? How do the study's findings reflect key themes in other FBO/Ministry studies with farmworkers? Why and how are these findings different from other studies?		
Code Family	Code	Definition
critical agrarian studies - Farmer Centricity	CAS - FARMER	Speaking/Notes about farmers and farmers power in region or in general, inclusion and exclusion of farmers in decision-making. Tension of including farmers in the project. Ways to include farmers

critical agrarian studies - Invisible Workers	CAS - WORKERS	Speaking/Notes that invisibilize workers and/or speak to how they are not part of the social fabric. Or, even statements that leave out workers
critical agrarian studies - Neoliberalism	CAS - NEOLIB	Speaking/Notes about the importance of the market and money
critical agrarian studies - Race	CAS - RACE	Speaking/Notes about how race influences agriculture, the region, and the church
critical agrarian studies - Labor	CAS - LABOR	Speaking/Notes about how labor is changing and/or the inclusion of labor.
Critical Agrarian Studies - Decision-making	CAS - DECISION	Speaking/Notes about how decisions are made in regards to larger movements and the organization itself
Critical Agrarian Studies - Local	CAS - LOCAL	Speaking/Notes about priority of local food, businesses and/or labor on local, small farms
Critical Agrarian Studies - Land/Property	CAS - LAND	Speaking/Notes about the importance of owning land and who own lands
Critical Agrarian Studies - Networking	CAS - NETWORK	Speaking/Notes about the importance of a network for advocacy reasons.
Critical Agrarian Studies - Farm Relations	CAS - RELATIONS	Speaking/Notes about the relationship between farmers and farmworkers and the FBO.
Critical Agrarian Studies - Reflexivity	CAS - REFLEX	Speaking/Notes about the being reflexive as a movement and the church being reflexive
Critical Agrarian Studies - Open Participatory Space	CAS - PARTSPACE	Speaking/Notes about the opening of space for farmworker participation
Critical Agrarian Studies - Coalition Building	CAS - COALITION	Speaking/Notes about different forms of coalitions and ways to organize workers
Critical Agrarian Studies - Food as a	CAS - FOOD	Speaking/notes about the capacity for food to be a common denominator, the way different cultures understand food

Common Denominator		
Faith-Based Studies - Practicing what you preach	FBO - PREACH	Speaking/Notes about the church doing what the scripture/gospel says
Faith-Based Studies - Learning	FBO - LEARNING	Speaking/Notes about how the FBO serves as a space for learning
Faith-Based Studies - Class	FBO - CLASS	Speaking/Notes about whether or not the church will support class-based issues
Faith-Based Studies - Advocacy	FBO - ADVOCACY	Speaking/Notes about the church's stance on advocacy
Faith-Based Studies - Politics	FBO - POLITICS	Speaking/Notes about the church's stance politically
Faith-Based Studies - Decision-making power	FBO - DECISION	Speaking/Notes about who has power in decision-making and the direction of the organization