

Early Efforts

Throughout the country, there are non-governmental organizations that actively root out cases of agricultural trafficking. One that has taken aggressive and effective action against slavery in the Southern fields is the Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW). Founded in the early 1990's, the CIW is a worker-based organization devoted to improving the lives of farm laborers. Many of its members brought with them from their native Mexico, Guatemala, and Haiti experience in labor organizing, and they put this experience to use through programs - in their words - of popular education, leadership development, and powerful protest actions.ⁱ Confronted with the horrific conditions in Immokalee, they set about uniting the workers – most of whom had little in common except the inhumane conditions under which they lived and worked. CIW set out to combat known labor violations: the sub-poverty wages; impossibly long hours; denial of health benefits, pension, meal and break time, sick days and holidays; injury from the hard labor; danger from exposure to pesticides; slum-level, high-priced housing; and black-listing of any workers who dared to complain or attempt to organize. And in the course of their efforts, they discovered slavery in their midst.ⁱⁱ

In hindsight, it was not a great leap; as CIW member Laura Germino says, “Slave operations don’t occur in a vacuum. It’s at the end of a spectrum of labor violations.” The same conditions that give rise to the abuse of migrant workers with at least the freedom to leave, taken a step further, make slavery possible. When the philosophy is, “The less you pay, the more you make,” the ultimate objective is to pay nothing. And what better way to achieve this goal than to enslave the work force?

The Coalition didn't set out to free enslaved workers; in fact, in the beginning, they weren't aware – any more than the rest of us - that there was such a thing as human trafficking in the fields. As foreign, vague and misunderstood as trafficking is to Americans today, fifteen years ago it was virtually unknown. Poor labor conditions, yes; low wages, of course; but slavery in America? Never.

Then came the word that Miguel Flores had enslaved scores of workers in South Carolina. Working with his partner, Sebastian Gomez, Flores recruited his victims - mostly indigenous Mexicans and Guatemalans - both in Latin America and in the United States. They were forced by gun thugs to work 10 to 12 hours daily, often for no pay except what went towards bare subsistence. The few who attempted to escape or defy their captors were beaten; at least one was shot.ⁱⁱⁱ By the time the CIW heard of Miguel Flores, his slavery ring had been operating for years.

“... the boss shot a worker...”

Often, the awareness that one is enslaved comes abruptly. One day, a newly arrived worker in Miguel Flores's South Carolina labor camp inadvertently “tested the boundaries” when he took a leisurely stroll along a cornfield that bordered the compound. Within minutes, a pickup truck roared up, and Sebastian Gomez ordered him inside at gunpoint and drove him back to the camp. The message was unmistakable: You cannot leave.

Sometimes the awareness of slavery comes gradually, as it did when the newly formed Coalition of Immokalee Workers first learned of Miguel Flores's activities. A few CIW members were on an outreach trip in South Carolina in July 1992, when six laborers approached them. One of the

workers, a small Mayan woman named Julia Gabriel, told a CIW member that they hadn't been paid for their work at the last camp. Ah, thought the member, a non-payment of wages issue.

"Why didn't you get paid?" he asked.

"Because we had to leave the camp in the middle of the night."

"Why did you have to leave?"

"Because the boss shot a worker who owed him money and was trying to leave to find work elsewhere."

Gabriel revealed the name of the boss, Miguel Flores, and told the CIW members that the compound was called "Red Camp," and lay three hours to the north, in the little dirt-poor town of Manning. Red Camp consisted of three barracks and was situated among fields and woods at the end of an unlit dirt road; it was the largest of many Flores encampments in that part of the state.

"That's all we had to go on," says Germino. She and her two colleagues drove to Manning, and since it was Sunday, they assumed the workers would be at the town's one laundromat. They were, under the watchful eyes of guards and informants. The CIW members asked for Miguel Flores, and were greeted with an ominous, "Who wants to know?" Flores's wife was there, and – at the request of the CIW people – agreed to give the six workers their back pay, so as to avoid a public scene. Then, curiously, she volunteered the information that Sebastian Gomez, who had recently been arrested for fatally shooting a worker, was out of jail, since the police had been unable to find the man's body. "Another piece of the puzzle came together; we learned that Miguel Flores's partner was Sebastian Gomez, and we had heard before we even left

Florida...that Gomez and his people had shot a man up in the Carolinas who'd wanted to work elsewhere....So you see, something vague that you can't really act on becomes clear once additional information comes in."^{iv} Adds Greg Asbed, a CIW member, "It's like when you have radio static, and suddenly you're tuned to the right station."

The CIW members returned to Immokalee, and spoke with Department of Justice agents to try to push the case; over the next year, the CIW interviewed several witnesses to Flores's atrocities - including some of the original six escaped workers whom they'd met in South Carolina - and gave their names and statements to the DOJ. Nothing was done.

At one point, sheriff's deputies from Hendry County, Florida, contacted the CIW to discuss Flores's activities in and around LaBelle, a small agricultural town 25 miles from Immokalee, where the contractor had maintained a strong and growing presence for years. The bodies of Hispanic men had been turning up in the nearby Caloosahatchee River, and the deputies suspected that Miguel Flores was behind it, but no evidence was ever found to connect Flores to the killings. However, one deputy later commented that once Flores was in jail, the killings miraculously stopped.^{vi}

It gradually became apparent that Flores had camps in a number of locations in Florida, Georgia and South Carolina, holding a captive work force that numbered between 400 and 500. As months passed, the CIW continued to grow the number of leads, escapees and witnesses, and still the DOJ dragged its heels. In late 1993, the case was reassigned to another DOJ prosecutor, but human trafficking was apparently on neither his nor the FBI's radar. It seems the feds just didn't

know what to do with it, and consequently, the case didn't progress for a year. Time and again, the CIW would contact the federal authorities with a list of witnesses, and time and again, they were met with resounding silence.^{vii}

Another year passed and in August 1994 a third prosecutor was put on the case who finally, slowly, painfully, started the wheels in motion. He interviewed Julia Gabriel, the woman who had first told the CIW of the Flores ring. In Laura Germino's words, Julia, at 4'10", was "a tiny woman with a big story to tell."^{viii} By early 1995, DOJ prosecutors had *re*-interviewed several of the witnesses with whom the FBI had spoken, in some instances, several times. Availability for interviews was a major issue; the DOJ and the FBI never quite seemed to understand that the workers traveled with the harvest, often ranging from Florida to Pennsylvania, and working very long days. Even when the workers were in the vicinity, it was absurd to schedule an interview at, say, 10 o'clock in the morning, and assume a worker would be there; and yet, that is precisely what the agents did, so that the interviews would conform to their own schedules. And still, the workers would manage to show up, over and over again, to give their testimony. Meanwhile, the number of men and women Flores enslaved continued to grow, as did the stories of his violence against workers, translators, informants and witnesses.

Despite all the efforts being put forth by the CIW, and the dozens of witnesses and escapees who had come forward, life went on undisturbed in Flores's camps. Many mornings, Sebastian Gomez woke the workers by firing his 9-millimeter semi-automatic Smith and Wesson pistol in the air, and his partner, Miguel Flores, would punctuate his curses in the fields with shots from his own gun. When vendors or visitors approached his camps, he drove them off by brandishing

his pistol or firing over their heads. On one occasion, he shot out a visitor's tires. Over the years, Flores was arrested periodically on firearms and abuse charges, and sometimes he was bailed out by the local growers for whom he supplied the workers. He was never prosecuted. Former Department of Labor Senior Investigator Armando Brana states, "In my files, I have seven reports of workers who disappeared or died while working for Flores. Even for those who were shot, it was listed as 'death by natural causes.' Some, it seemed, fell off a bridge, or were hit by a tractor or a bus...." Investigations were cursory. "In one case," recalls Brana, "the coroner on the case was the farmer Flores was working for!"^{xix}

In January 1996, the Department of Justice was still evaluating the situation, and had not yet committed to fully pursuing it. They were, however, still re-interviewing witnesses. Meanwhile, it had become apparent that the case would be helped by introducing additional investigators beyond the FBI, and the Justice Department asked the Border Patrol to step in. For the first time in more than three years, a dedicated, bilingual agent was on the case. Agent Mike Baron was given his own budget, and free rein to form his own investigation. Baron had picked crops as a boy, and he knew the business from the inside. He reached out to the CIW and the workers, and provided an interest and an understanding that had been lacking. One significant change he made was to interview workers only on the weekends, to avoid stirring suspicion by their absence, and to allow them the weekdays to keep earning.

Finally, in October 1996, an indictment was brought in the U.S. District Court in South Carolina, against Miguel Flores, Sebastian Gomez, and two of their recruiters, on charges of conspiracy, involuntary servitude, extortion, illegal possession of a firearm, use of a firearm in the

commission of a violent crime, transporting and harboring aliens, and unlawful entry into the United States after deportation. The judge considered the defendants a high flight risk, and ordered them held without bail.^x

In May 1997 – nearly five years after the CIW started its campaign against the Flores slavery ring – the defendants entered a plea of guilty. This left only the sentencing hearing. Julia Gabriel, the tiny woman with the big story to tell, came forward to speak for a severe sentence. She told her story, and that of friends and co-workers who had been threatened and brutalized, and when she finished, she said, “That’s what I saw. And everything they did to others, they had no compassion for them. A lot of people were hurt. And there were a lot of victims, because they were very sure of themselves, and they could do anything. And they took advantage of the people, and that’s why I’m here, so that they will receive a harsh sentence, because they hurt a lot of people...and these people did nothing to them. These people are victims....And now is the moment of sentencing, and what I want is for them to see that...if they are prisoners...they will see what they did to other people. And if they are given a short sentence then they can, once they are out...go for revenge, and no, that shouldn’t be. They are bad people. And that’s the truth I’m telling you.”^{xi}

The court believed her. Flores and Gomez were each sentenced to 15 years in federal prison.

Although there had been other cases of slavery in the fields, some going back to the 1970’s, the Miguel Flores case was the first contemporary agricultural trafficking case to gain national prominence. It had caught the government flatfooted. The government simply wasn’t prepared

for modern slavery and the result was hesitation, confusion, disinterest, and constant misunderstandings on the government's part in pursuing it, as well as the inordinately long time it took to bring the traffickers to justice.^{xiii} At one point, the FBI actually conducted a brief investigation of Flores, and found him to be "in full compliance with the law."^{xiii} Armando Brana recalls that when he began working with Border Patrol Agent-in-Charge Mike Baron, his bosses resented the time he spent on the Flores case. "Dealing with my supervisors was harder than conducting the actual investigation. They'd ask me sarcastically, 'So, have you joined the Border Patrol?'"^{xiv}

The conviction of Flores was a landmark case, and instrumental in bringing about the Victims of Trafficking and Violence Protection Act in 2000, with its sets of definitions, charges and penalties for dealing specifically with cases of sex and labor slavery in the United States. And from a time when, in the words of Mike Baron, "you could fit the whole anti-slavery movement in the back of my patrol truck," it helped spark the anti-human trafficking effort in the country today.^{xv} Baron is lavish in his praise of the Coalition's efforts: "If law enforcement had the same dedication and tenacity as the CIW, and weren't bound by our restrictions, there wouldn't be a place for the criminals to hide. They maintained contact with the workers, and tracked the movements of the crew leaders. Without the CIW, we wouldn't have had any witnesses; we never would have found the victims."^{xvi}

More bad apples to pick

With the awareness that slavery existed in the fields, there was no going back. "It became clear," says Germino, "that this wasn't a one-time bad apple employer. This was something...the

community decided we had to fight back against.”^{xvii} The CIW made the liberation of enslaved, as well as oppressed, workers a priority. Now, with its deep-rooted, community-based network of over 3,000 members, the CIW sometimes receives word that a crew leader is operating a slave camp, and they begin to investigate. In their words, “workers are well-placed to understand, analyze, investigate, and operate within the parallel and totally separate world that captive workers and their employers inhabit in rural agricultural communities.”^{xviii}

By 2008, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers had contributed to the uncovering, investigation and prosecution of several trafficking operations in four states, resulting in the liberation of well over a thousand workers, and long sentences for the offenders. Among those cases was that of the notorious Ramoses – two brothers and a cousin – who enslaved hundreds of workers. In order to gather information, a young CIW member, Romeo Ramirez, volunteered to infiltrate one of the Ramos camps, pretending to seek work. He lived in squalid conditions with several other workers, and when he left, he took with him enough information to justify an investigation. When asked if he feared for his safety while among the Ramoses’ crew, Ramirez replied, “When you’re afraid, you can’t get anything done.” Eventually, the Ramoses were sentenced to lengthy prison terms, their land and property was confiscated, and they were fined \$3,000,000 – the amount the judge determined they had earned off the labor of their enslaved workers.^{xix}

In early 2007, the CIW was helpful in bringing about the arrest and conviction of a man who owned labor camps in Palatka, Florida, and Newton Grove, North Carolina. For over 15 years, Ronald Evans recruited workers from homeless shelters, and kept them in debt by providing them with overpriced crack cocaine and alcohol, coupled with exorbitant charges for rent and

food. Aside from the horrific nature of the offense, what makes this servitude case unusual these days is the fact that Evans was not preying on foreign migrant workers; nearly all his victims were American-born. Once again, the Coalition was instrumental in investigating the case, traveling to Palatka and North Carolina several times to gather information. Along with advocates from advocate organization Touching Miami with Love, “[T]he Coalition hit Laundromats, gas stations, and convenience stores. They talked to workers, clinic officials, priests, waitresses and growers” in their search for witnesses and victims.^{xx} They then turned their findings over to the DOJ, which brought Evans to justice. In attempting to minimize the slavery aspects of the case, Evans’s attorney callously argued, “This was the best situation most of these people ever had in their lives.” The judge disagreed, and sentenced Evans to 30 years in federal prison.^{xxi}

Multi-Tasking Against Slavery

The CIW defines its anti-slavery campaign as a “worker-based approach to eliminating modern-day slavery in the agricultural industry.” They work on multiple fronts. In their attempts to deal with existing slavery situations, they combine community outreach, investigation, and counseling. They hold member meetings on a regular basis. To help get the word out, the CIW has its own radio station in Immokalee – Radio Conciencia - and they broadcast locally in the various languages spoken by the workers. Their programs combine music with vital information on workers’ rights.

Because the Coalition is worker-based, members have access to situations and places that would be inaccessible to government and law enforcement agents. As a member states, “The CIW

members know how slavery camps operate, and often become aware of such operations due to being tapped into networks in the world of migrant labor.”^{xxii} When they uncover slavery, the Coalition works closely with the Department of Justice - which has made tremendous strides since the days of the Flores case - to bring the captives to freedom, and the perpetrators to trial.

Because of the complex, violent nature of agricultural slavery, the investigative techniques used by the CIW are many and varied. As in the case of Romeo Ramirez, they will send a member into a slave camp to gather evidence. (Mike Baron credits them with perfecting their techniques for “covert operations.”) They frequently travel to various states, visiting remote camps, looking for evidence of forced labor and speaking with the workers. In the course of their investigations, some of which have taken years, they have spoken with “workers, growers, store owners, flea market vendors, police, motel owners, priests, nurses, gunmen, and crew leaders.”^{xxiii} They have combed the internet, performing criminal background checks and license plate searches; they have studied police records and court documents. And when they’ve discovered workers in a slavery situation, they’ve helped them escape.

Once a worker is free, the CIW provides counseling, as well as education and peer support. The freed worker can train in slavery awareness, labor rights, and organizing techniques. He or she can, in turn, become a peer educator for others coming out of slavery, calming their fears of retaliation, and addressing the shame many feel for having been “bought, sold, and treated like an animal.”

The CIW has provided training on agricultural slavery for many organizations, including: the FBI in Quantico, Orlando and Miami, for both supervisors and field agents; the North Carolina State Troopers Training Academy; the Florida Coalition against Domestic Violence; and the North and South Carolina U.S. Attorney's Offices, which included local, state and federal officials, and was attended by such agencies as Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE).

Holding the Big Corporations Accountable

But it is not enough just to uncover slavery, and bring the bad guys to account; while prosecution is vital, it addresses an abuse only after it has occurred. The Coalition of Immokalee Workers takes the view that, while it is necessary to address trafficking cases as they arise, new ones will just keep coming up. As the CIW sees it, the true key to ending slavery is to prevent it from happening in the first place by targeting the big corporations that buy the produce, because they have power over the growers and their sub-contractors. "Our goal," says Germino, "is to get them to take responsibility and say, 'we are no longer going to tolerate sweatshop conditions and slavery.'" Many of the current labor violations – including a steep increase in the number of trafficking cases – are indirectly driven by the demand for lower and lower prices by the buyers from the big corporations. So now, says Germino, "Let them use their power in the market for good.... [If] they can say to a supplier, 'We want 'x' and 'y' health and safety standards, we want this size tomato, we want this color,' they can do the same for labor standards as they do for animal rights. They could say, 'We don't want these particular kinds of abuses in our supply chain.'"xxiv

By going after the big buyers, the CIW is looking to reverse the process of falling wages and worsening conditions. They see criminal prosecution as a short-term means of dealing with existing slavery cases, while the concept of corporate accountability aims at removing the conditions that give rise to abuse in the first place. Many activist organizations choose to address labor abuses by concentrating on what goes on inside the farm gate; the Coalition's approach takes the issue beyond the gate, to the offices of America's biggest market and fast-food corporations. The ultimate objective is to convince the buyers to eliminate sweatshop conditions and slavery from their supply chain.

Ringin' Taco Bell's Bell

In 2001, the CIW began what would become a four-year boycott aimed specifically at Taco Bell, and its parent company, Yum Brands. The "Boot the Bell" campaign included marches and media events, including a ten-day hunger strike on the lawn of Taco Bell's corporate headquarters. It also saw a groundswell among college students that resulted in the closing or blocking of a number of Taco Bell restaurants. The result, which gained national attention, was a concession from Taco Bell to pay a penny more per pound of tomatoes directly to the workers, to adopt a genuine policy of zero tolerance for slavery, and to establish an "enforceable code of conduct," drawn up with the participation of the workers.^{xxv} In early 2007, Yum Brands added its other companies – including KFC, Long John Silver, Pizza Hut, and A&W - to the agreement.

On April 9, 2007, after a two-year campaign, McDonald's followed suit – along with their suppliers - and agreed to pay the additional penny per pound. They also consented to work with

the Coalition in a “collaborative effort to develop a third party mechanism for monitoring conditions in the fields and investigating workers’ complaints of abuse.”^{xxvi}

Initially, the response from Burger King was not as positive. In late 2007, Burger King – after nearly two years of discussions with the Coalition - issued a public response that has baffled and frustrated CIW leadership. As one Coalition leader has stated, “It’s as if they’re repeating every failed tactic Taco Bell had tried to use....”^{xxvii} They refused to pay the additional penny per pound, claiming no connection with the work force. And rather than focus on the issue of wages and working conditions – the true root issues - the Burger King spokespeople expressed dismay at the workers’ *housing* situation: “...the workers’ living conditions are, in fact, substandard, and we are sympathetic and concerned about the housing.”

Burger King offered a counter-proposal for improving the lives of the workers: “We have offered to send Burger King recruiters to the area to speak with the CIW and with workers themselves about permanent, full-time employment at Burger King restaurants....” Lucas Benitez of CIW responded: “Burger King was never acting in good faith. How else could one explain their absurd ‘offer’ to solve the ongoing exploitation of farm workers by training all of Immokalee’s tomato pickers to work in their restaurants? Who, exactly, would be left to pick their tomatoes? This kind of answer isn’t even serious; it’s a slap in the face....”

In lieu of a paying penny more per pound, monitoring field conditions, and refusing to buy slave-harvested produce, Burger King offered charity: “We have...spoken with the CIW about the strong interest from the charitable arm of Burger King Corporation, the Have It Your Way

Foundation...The Foundation is keenly interested in working with the CIW and others to identify charitable organizations that could improve the lives of the workers.”^{xxviii} The CIW membership feels that Burger King has missed the point. The workers never requested, nor wanted, charity; they are seeking a small but long overdue wage increase for the paid workers, and freedom for those enslaved. CIW members saw the offer of charity as an insult.

Ironically, just a few weeks after issuing their position statement denying concessions to workers, Burger King was the subject of an article on the front page of the *New York Times* Business Section, under a banner reading, “Burger King Pledges Cage-Free Food.” “Animal rights activists praised Burger King,” the article states, “for its new commitment to begin buying eggs and pork from suppliers that do not keep their animals in cages or crates.” Burger King, the article continues, “has told egg suppliers that it will look favorably on cage-free eggs when making purchasing decisions.”^{xxix} As Lucas Benitez said during the Taco Bell boycott, “Taco Bell has a policy that it will not buy food from contractors that mistreat animals. All we are asking is that they have the same policy for humans.”^{xxx}

Instead, Burger King resorted to dirty tricks. First, a spate of vicious comments and false allegations against the CIW began to appear on the internet, signed only by the writer’s online names. “The CIW is an attack organization,” read one, submitted under the name surfxaholic, “lining the leaders’ pockets... They make up issues and collect money from dupes that believe their story.” Other submissions referred to the CIW as “bloodsuckers” and “the lowest form of life.” As it turned out, the smear campaign was conceived and carried out by Stephen Grover, a Burger King vice-president, who used both his young daughter’s computer and online name to

wage his nasty little war. He was finally unmasked in April 2008, when his daughter blew the whistle. A CIW member commented, “When you realize the person posting those things is actually Burger King’s vice president in charge of the ethical operation of the company’s supply chain, it makes you wonder just how high up does this whole thing go.”*

A month later, it was discovered that Cara Schaffer, the 25-year-old owner of a private security firm hired by Burger King, had infiltrated the CIW and the Student/Farmworker Alliance, a non-profit student activist organization, by pretending to be a student at Broward Community College. She attended two planning sessions before her true identity was known. Schaffer, a loose cannon who had apparently been denied her Florida private investigator’s license due to lack of training, had nonetheless been employed on other such projects by the fast food giant. John Chidsey, the CEO of Burger King, was aware of the long-term use of Schaffer’s company; but as one Burger King executive stated, “It is both the corporation’s right and duty to protect its employees and assets from potential harm.” Why the massive organization felt the need to protect itself from two pacifist non-profits was not explained.**

Burger King’s indiscretions made the national news, including the *New York Times*. In late May 2008, smarting under the exposure, the corporation elected to issue a public apology to the CIW, and to sign an accord along the lines of those approved by Yum Brands and McDonalds. There are still a number of Goliaths, including Chipotle, Whole Foods, Wal-Mart, and Safeway, that have yet to acknowledge their involvement in the purchase of slave-picked produce; the CIW’s long-term game plan includes them as well.

*Amy Bennett Williams, “Burger King Puts Self On Grill,” *Ft. Myers News-Press*, 4/28/2008.

**Eric Schlosser, “Burger with a Side of Spies,” *NY Times*, 5/8/2008.

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers’ antislavery efforts have not gone unrecognized. In 2003, three CIW members received the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award for their work in combating slavery. They are CIW co-founder Lucas Benitez, “undercover operative” Romeo Ramirez, and the courageous Julia Gabriel. It was the first time this prestigious international award was given to recipients within the United States. In 2007, CIW was given the annual Anti-Slavery Award by London-based Anti-Slavery International, the world’s oldest and original human rights group. And in April 2008, Lucas Benitez joined farmworkers, growers, and law enforcement officials in testifying at a U.S. Senate Health, Education, Labor and Pensions Committee hearing titled, “Ending Abuses and Improving Working Conditions for Tomato Workers.” The hearing, held by U.S. Senators Ted Kennedy, Bernie Sanders and Richard Durbin.

ⁱ Asbed, Greg. “Golpear....”

ⁱⁱ Asbed, Greg. “Golpear....”

ⁱⁱⁱ Ibid.

^{iv} Interview with Laura Germino, Jan. 6, 2007.

^v Interview with Greg Asbed, Jan. 8, 2007.

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- ^{vi} Interview with Allen Davies, formerly sergeant, Hendry County, FL, Sheriff's Office, Feb. 14, 2007.
- ^{vii} Interview with Mike Baron, formerly Border Patrol agent-in-charge, Pembroke Pines, FL, March 27, 2007.
- ^{viii} Interview with Laura Germino, Feb. 2, 2007.
- ^{ix} Interview with Armando Brana, formerly USDOL Senior Investigator, April 3, 2007.
- ^x Indictment: "United States of America v. Miguel A. Flores, Sebastian Gomez, Andres Ixcoy, Nolasco Castaneda: Crininal No. 2:96-806."
- ^{xi} "Transcript of Sentencing Hearing, Criminal No. 2:96-806," pp. 59-60.
- ^{xii} Interview with Armando Brana, April 3, 2007.
- ^{xiii} Ibid.
- ^{xiv} Interview with Armando Brana, April 3, 2007.
- ^{xv} Interview with Mike Baron, March 27, 2007.
- ^{xvi} Ibid.
- ^{xvii} Interview with Laura Germino, Feb. 2, 2007.
- ^{xviii} CIW Anti-Slavery Campaign position paper, p. 1.
- ^{xix} Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon*, p. 254.
- ^{xx} *Naples News*, "Labor Camps Kept Workers in Servitude with Crack Cocaine," Sept. 23, 2006.
- ^{xxi} *Florida Times-Union*, "Labor Camp Owner Given 30 Years in Prison," Jan. 27, 2007.
- ^{xxii} CIW Anti-Slavery Campaign position paper, p. 1.
- ^{xxiii} Interview with Laura Germino, Feb. 2, 2007.
- ^{xxiv} Ibid.
- ^{xxv} Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon*, p. 262.

^{xxvi} CIW Website.

^{xxvii} Interview with Lucas Benitez, April 12, 2007.

^{xxviii} Burger King Public Statement.

^{xxix} *New York Times*, “Burger King Pledges Cage-Free Food,” March 28, 2007.

^{xxx} Soodalter, *Hanging Captain Gordon*, p. 262.