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# PEOPLE WHO FOLLOW THE CROPS





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#### **U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS**

The United States Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by the Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging denial of the right to vote by reason of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to the denial of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;

,

- Serve as a national clearinghouse for information concerning denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; and
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and Congress.

#### MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

Arthur S. Flemming, Chairman Stephen Horn, Vice Chairman Frankie M. Freeman Manuel Ruiz, Jr. Murray Saltzman

Louis Nuñez, Acting Staff Director

## PEOPLE WHO FOLLOW THE CROPS

A Staff Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights by the Rocky Mountain Regional Office.

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#### LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

#### **TO: MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION**

Arthur S. Flemming, Chairman Stephen Horn, Vice Chairman Frankie Freeman Manuel Ruiz, Jr. Murray Saltzman

Louis Nuñez, Acting Staff Director

The Rocky Mountain Regional Office (RMRO) of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, pursuant to its responsibility to investigate civil rights problems in its region, submits this report on the difficulties of migrant farmworkers in Colorado and North Dakota.

Through its investigation, the RMRO observes that the problems of migrant farmworkers are perennial. Public attention is for a while focused on the migrants. Yet, this attention soon lapses into disinterest because, as followers of the seasons, migrants are soon gone from the public eye. Frequently, migrant camps are hidden from view and the general public remains unaware of the suffering and deprivation experienced by these inhabitants.

The staff of the RMRO presents to you this photographic essay to tell the story. We hope it will serve to gain and stimulate public attention.

By definition, the migrant farmworker is a poor person. In terms of income, housing, health, and education, the migrant is a victim of abject poverty and social exploitation. These migrants and their children harvest the food we find so plentiful in the grocery stores. These people who contribute to our well-being are, themselves, deprived of such bounty. They are kept apart, denied the rights and privileges denied to no other group of people. Their lives are lived in a 20th century version of peonage.

We urge you to review the plight of migrant farmworkers and initiate a national program enlisting the aid of the American people to remedy their pain and suffering.

Respectfully,

DR. SHIRLEY HILL WITT Regional Office Director

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The problems of migrant farm laborers, child laborers in particular, are unremitting. For a short while public attention focuses on these problems and, when the migrants have harvested the crops and disappeared, public attention lapses, perhaps until the next season.

For that reason, the staff of the Rocky Mountain Regional Office of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights wishes to thank Ron Smith of the *Grand Forks Herald* for his photographic view of the migrant worker in Colorado and North Dakota. It tells its own story and refocuses attention.

This study was the principal staff assignment of Lynn Palma, summer intern in the Rocky Mountain Regional Office, with writing and review assistance from Cal E. Rollins and William Levis. Esther Johnson and Cathie Davis provided support assistance with overall supervision by Dr. Shirley Hill Witt, Regional Director, and William F. Muldrow, Deputy Regional Director.



he migrant farmworker is, by definition, a poor person. The massive problems confronting migrants cannot be properly examined without understanding the poverty affecting them. The alarming statistics relating to education, health, and housing are the tip of the iceberg. Underneath lies an ugly system of poverty and social exploitation hidden from general view.

Problems are inextricably interwoven into the migrants' poverty. Poor health, for example, is related to low income, since medical services are costly. In turn, when a migrant is sick and does not work, no pay is forthcoming. In relation to migrant children, poor health often is the cause of their lack of achievement in school. When they are sick (or have no shoes to wear), they do not attend school.

Most often, migrant children do not attend school because they have to work in order to contribute to the family earnings. They may harvest the crops or care for younger children. Due to absenteeism, the children's success in school is minimal. This lack of success leads to negative feedback and loss of interest in academic achievement.

The low income from sporadic and poorly paid labor forces migrant families into inadequate housing. They pay for and receive unsatisfactory health care and lack proper nutrition. The migrant worker, then, from childhood is locked into a position that limits earning power. Such migrants, for the remainder of their lives, seem able to do nothing else but migrate and work, work and migrate.









### "Migrants: Who Are They?"

No group of people I have worked with—in the South, in Appalachia, and in our northern ghettoes—tries harder to work, indeed travels all over the country working, working from sunrise to sunset, 7 days a week when the crops are there to be harvested [than migrant workers].

There is something ironic and special about that, too. In exchange for the desire to work, for the terribly hard work of bending and stooping to harvest our food, these workers are kept apart like no others, denied rights and privileges no others are denied, denied even halfway decent wages, asked to live homeless and vagabond lives, lives of virtual peonage.

**Robert Coles,** Testimony before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Hearing on the Migratory Subculture, July 28, 1969.















The average income for migrant farmworkers is well below the poverty level. One government publication estimates that migrant workers average 138 days of work during the year for an average of \$17.70 per day or \$2,457 per year.<sup>1</sup> Other estimates are lower.<sup>2</sup>

Food Stamp Sales for Ju	me, 1977
17otal Food Stamps Families	- $        -$
Total Migrant Families	
Total Othera Families	63
Total Zero Purchase Families Total Migrant	<sup>37</sup>
Total Migrant stamps sold 5, Total Migrant Money Paid 5, Total Migrant Bonus issued 15,	21,213.0 682.75 530.25
Total Other stamps sold 2, Total Other Money Paid 2, Total Other Bonus issued 4,	452.75 822.25
Total Food Stamps issued in June, 1977 Total Money Paid 8, Total Bonus Issued 20,	





### HEALTH

The migrant laborer's life expectancy (male and female) is 49 years. For migrants, infant and maternal mortality is 1-1/4 times the national average. The death rates for migrants who succumb to influenza and pneumonia are twice the national average, while 2-1/2 times the national average succumb to tuberculosis. Malnutrition among children of migrant workers is 10 times the national rate.<sup>3</sup>

Ăccording to the National Safety Council, agriculture is the third most dangerous industry nationally in terms of serious injuries and death.<sup>4</sup>

### HOUSING





It appears that no working group suffers from worse housing than migrants. The growers, who traditionally furnish the housing, view improved living quarters as economically infeasible due to the limited time the housing is occupied and the costs involved to improve it. As a result, labor camps have become virtual prisons for the migrant families who occupy them.<sup>5</sup> According to Dr. Raymond Wheeler:

[H]ousing and living conditions [are] horrible and dehumanizing . . . without heat, adequate light or ventilation, and containing no plumbing or refrigeration, each room [no larger than  $8 \times 14$  feet] . . . the living space of an entire family appropriately suggesting slave quarters of earlier days. . . .<sup>6</sup>







### **EDUCATION**

On the average, migrant children attain only an elementary school education. Even this level can be misleading, since migrant children usually are 6 to 18 months behind their classmates in achievement. While 80 percent of all other children enter the 12th grade, only 11 percent of migrants get that far.<sup>7</sup>



### THE STRUGGLE TO LEARN

Each spring, as the migrant children leave their home bases with their families to look for work, they also leave their classrooms. Not many children will enroll in new school systems for the remainder of the academic year.

The few migrant children who do enroll in another school for the rest of the academic year may undergo curricular and cultural shock. For example, migrant children may be taught mathematical division before they are taught addition as a result of their enrollments in a number of different school districts.

A number of studies have discussed the relationship between educational failures of migrant children and the economic and social situation that forces them to work in the fields.

In recognizing the unique problems inherent in education of migrant children, Congress accepted responsibility for ensuring that such children receive compensatory education by amending the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to specially include children of migratory agricultural workers. In a joint report on that legislation, Congress described the problems:

The children of migratory agricultural workers present a unique problem for educators. Migratory workers travel from community to community in order to work. They often settle in a single community for two months or less. Consequently, their children are seldom in school long enough to participate in school activities; some spend only two to six weeks in any one school district during the harvest season. Well over half of all migrant children are not achieving at their grade level, a substantial number of them are two years or more behind in their schooling.<sup>8</sup>

Almost a full 8 years after the amendment had been implemented, after the States had had time to use imagination and resources in

designing programs, a private evaluation of these programs, conducted under contract with the Office of Education, reported very little improvement in opportunities for migrant children. Among the important findings emerging from the evaluation were:

- Migrant students, despite some gains, are still functioning at a lower level than expected for their grade or age group. As they advance, the gap in grade equivalents expected for their age group continues to widen.
- The average migrant students are from 6 to 18 months behind what would be expected of their age group.
- When compared to the student population as a whole a significantly higher percentage of migrant students are enrolled in grades 1 through 6 and a significantly lower percentage in higher grades 7 through 12.
- While the average student has an 80 percent chance of entering the 12th grade, the migrant student has an 11 percent chance of doing so. Most principals consider economic pressures to be the greatest cause of students' dropping out.
- Eighty-three percent of the students reported attending no more than two schools during the year; they follow the crops and the seasons but may not attend school.
- It takes 3 years for the average migrant student to move from third to fourth grade, after which time they never are able to catch up.
- The majority of the students polled reacted positively to schooling. However, of those wanting to drop out, 53 percent stated that they needed to work.
- Migrant parents are supportive of the schools and want their children to get an education.<sup>9</sup>



### The Cycle of Life

The cost in human lives is too great, the waste of human potential too much.... To argue that the farm is different, to call the fields lush and cool and the air unpolluted, is a callous effort to mask the truths....

### **Ronald B. Taylor,** Sweatshops in the Sun













### CHILDREN OF THE FIELDS


In the spring of each year, many of the 800,000 children employed in commercial agriculture join their migrant farmworker parents as they journey north from Florida, Texas, Arizona, or California to harvest crops in all corners of the Nation. The tour begins in March and continues until October or November. The lifestyle is one of transiency and poverty.

Migrant children can be Chicanos from Texas, California, or the Midwest; blacks from Florida or the Southeast; Puerto Ricans from the Northeast; Native Americans from the Southwest; or whites from all parts of the country. Some 27 years ago, the President's Commission on Migratory Labor (1951) reported: Child labor has all but disappeared from American industry. Only in agriculture does it remain a serious problem. Children work in agriculture today primarily for the same reason they formerly worked in industry—because of poverty in the family. The child's earnings are needed. This is the same reason given years ago why child labor could not be eliminated in industry.<sup>10</sup>

















### ONE FAMILY OF MANY

There are four dwellings next to the railroad tracks on the grower's farm 2 miles outside of Draton, North Dakota, a small farming town. During the sugar beet harvest, all the dwellings are occupied by the Hernandez family, which includes the grandfather, his three sons, a widowed daughter, and their children. Gilberto, age 37, is the oldest son and leader for the four families. He and his wife, Lile, live in one trailer with their four children. Two other trailers, along with a tworoom house, are occupied by relatives.

It is July and a trail of rose clouds hangs low in the sky. Gilberto Jr., going on 11, climbs out of his trailer and makes his way toward the two-room house of his cousins a little down the road. The schoolbus is soon to be there. He is sleepy. The crowing of a rooster is picked up here and there all around him. From the sounds he knows it must be nearly 6. He and his cousins must hurry to catch the bus that will take them to the migrant summer school. Gilberto, at 10, is the eldest of 12 children in his extended family. His brother, Jessie, is 13 and an adult, since he works all day in the sugar beets.

In the house of Gilberto's cousins, there are six adults and four children. By the time Gilberto leaves his trailer, he knows his cousins are awake. He hears a baby cry. Adults are moving around readying themselves for the day. Gilberto is greeted by his grandfather walking toward the outhouse. The children wash up at the water tank.

The schoolbus arrives and the 12 Hernandez children, including two of 5 months, board it. The families live 17 miles from the public school in Grafton, but it takes at least an hour to shuttle the children one way over the back roads. They will eat breakfast at school.

The adults, along with Jessie, go off to work in the fields without breakfast. Lile said, "No one could eat so early." She puts rice and beans in a thermos to be eaten at work. They fend off mosquitoes and flies beneath the sweltering sun when eating a quick meal. Because the harvest of sugar beets is mechanized, the adults are hired to do the preharvest work leading up to the harvest, thinning and clearing the weeds in two separate hoeings. The Red River Valley Sugar Beet Association has suggested a wage of \$25 an acre for the first hoeing and \$18 for the second. An acre consists of seven to eight rows, each 1 mile long.

Lile explained that, from a distance, beet hoeing looks no more difficult than raking leaves. But to do it right, you must take off your shoes and roll up your pantlegs. You soon grow accustomed to the hazard of stepping on thistles as you make your way through the chunks and mounds of black earth.

Migrants usually work the fields for 12 hours. Lile gets home at 6 p.m. to meet the schoolbus. Her husband works an extra hour. The days are hot and humid. With sweat pouring down the workers' faces, Lile observed, it is difficult to distinguish weeds from beet leaves. She said that she and Jessie would cry from the burning sun, blistered hands, and sweat running down their faces.

Last night, Gilberto Jr. heard that there were tornado warnings. Tonight, he watches the lightning zigzagging the sky. Thunder keeps the adults awake. He knows the fields will be damp and most of the workers will not go to work. His parents want to go on to pickle picking in Wisconsin, so they will trudge out into the muddy fields to finish the beets. Everyone is behind schedule and the rows are full of weeds. What ordinarily should take 3 days will take a week now, he's heard his mother say.

The Hernandez children under the legal work age attend the migrant summer school program. The program is one of 100 nationally that are federally funded under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to provide special education to migrant children. The migrant summer schools in North Dakota's Red River



Valley offer classes from preschool to seventh grade. After the seventh grade the children are sent to work in the fields.

The Hernandez family learned of the summer school program through an outreach worker from the school district who came to the farm and expressed enthusiasm about it. "Years ago, before the summer program, we had to leave Jessie, the older one, in the car all day while we worked," Lile explained. "I could hear his baby cries from the other side of the field. It was so hot, and the mosquitoes would bite him. It would take me a long time to work down the rows back to him. Before I could change his diapers he'd be a sad mess."

The family feels strongly that the education the children are getting is important. Gilberto Sr. only finished the third grade, while Lile completed the eighth. Both have difficulty speaking English and want their children to learn the English language to make a better life for themselves.

Their son, Xavier, age 8, says he wants to be a dentist when he grows up because the dentists he has known make many children cry. He feels that when he becomes a dentist he can make them happy.

Jessie wants to be a lawyer. He wants to help all of his people to "plead not guilty," he says.

The Hernandez family can be considered luckier that most migrant families. They have work they can count on when they leave their home in Crystal City, Texas, to travel the 1,400 miles to North Dakota's Red River Valley. For the past 7 years they have worked with the same farmer.

They work in the sugar beet fields for 7 weeks and then travel to Wisconsin for the cucumber harvest. Their lives are not as easy in Wisconsin, however. The farmworkers live in boxcars on the owner's property and work much harder. The labor involves constant stooping. The pickles, as the workers call the cucumbers, prick when touched, wearing out the pickers' gloves, swelling their hands, and making their fingers bleed.

Most of the Hernandez family will return to the North Dakota farm for the potato harvest in September. They will not vacation on the way back to North Dakota, because they are concerned that the children, who are now school age, do not miss the beginning of regular school.















#### Dyads

Chicano parents ... know to wait until their children are 11 or 12, say, before they sit down for ... the talk. After that moment is over, various fantasies no longer get spoken: ideas for vengeance upon Anglos; thoughts about amassing money and power, using both against sheriffs or school officials; dreams of acquiring large homes like those owned by Anglo growers and large, air-conditioned cars, like those that foremen use, when they are not driving the grower's truck. After that there is the final loss of faith—an acquiescence that delights Anglos....A "boy" has "grown up and settled down." A "girl" has begun to "grow up and come to her senses."

Robert Coles, Eskimos, Chicanos, Indians













#### PALISADE PARK: A PLACE TO FIND WORK

Palisade Park, near Grand Junction, Colorado, is home to many migrant families waiting to find a day's work. Families often sleep in their cars under bridges next to the river or out in the peach orchards. The city park provides a few shade trees as relief from the sun while the children wait for their fathers who are seeking jobs. The park also provides the only restroom facilities, although only the women's side has running water. The gas station across the street directs the "fruit tramps," as they are called by some, to the park.

On an August day, one can observe the migrants stopping in the park to wash their hair and their dishes. According to Norma, a migrant who had made the park her second home during the first weeks of August, the city has given up cleaning the restrooms. Norma, herself, had cleaned the toilet after she learned that one of the children in the park carried an infection. She attempted to involve the student health team operating out of a mobile unit near the park, requesting that they find shower facilities for the migrants. She felt their response to be callous. "We leave that up to them [the migrants]," they reportedly told her.

The park is also an employment agency for many of the migrants looking for work. Norma's husband, Woody, found his job of weeding on a ranch while he was living in the park. Norma and her husband had spent all the money they had to get to the park area to search for a job. They borrowed money from the Migrant Ministry for gasoline. After that was exhausted, Woody hitched the 20-mile round trip to the Grand Junction Job Service Center to look for employment.

Yet, they felt themselves lucky. They had a job and not many children, and they weren't treated as poorly by the job service center as the Anglo family across the park. Norma stated that she saw the family pull up to the job office in Palisade to be told, "This is not a job office until Monday."

That family is one of the many migrant families using the Palisade City Park as a refuge. Ted and Marie are traveling with their cousin, Larry; a sister, Lynette; and several children. "We have five, with one on the way," commented Ted. "We don't know when though. But that makes six." They are traveling in a Ford from the 1950s pulling a U-Haul trailer. The smallest children sleep inside the car at night, the next oldest on top of the trailer. The adults make bedrolls on the ground.

The workers who come to Palisade to pick fruit on the western slopes of Colorado are a mixture of cultural and ethnic groups. Ted comes from a family of "Okies" who followed crops during the 1930s dust bowl migrations. Norma also worked crops as a child in California. Woody, her husband, is a Chicano born in Texas. There are young white "hippies" who like to call themselves fruit tramps. Navajos travel up from New Mexico. A number of the workers are from California and Florida. But Palisade also has a greater number of undocumented aliens.

According to Norma, a busload of Navajos arrived while she and her family were waiting for work. She said:

A couple of the Indians came over and showed me what looked like a three-page contract and asked me to translate, because it was in English and they couldn't read it. It was an interstate clearance order from the employment office. This whole busload had been sent up to work here from New Mexico when there wasn't even work for the people waiting here. The clearance order had the name of a grower in the area and even mentioned the kind of housing they could have. But one of the Indian men said he couldn't find any place to stay.

On August 3, 1977, 39 workers arrived in Palisade Park from













Gallup, New Mexico. The next day, 46 workers arrived from El Paso, Texas. These workers were observed by the many migrant families waiting for work in the park area. The workers had been transported to the area pursuant to a clearance order.

The peak for standard peaches is August 18 through Labor Day. Last year, the peak lasted 5 days because of an unusual season. Due to rain followed by a period of hot weather, the early peach and the standard peach season coincided. All fruit matured at one time—from August 18 through August 25.

During the second week in August, observations and interviews with migrant farmworkers indicated no work was available. Wally Diede, applicant services supervisor for Colorado Job Service in Grand Junction, confirmed these observations that very limited work was available at that time. Yet, for weeks, the Colorado Job Service Bulletin, which is published weekly from April to November by the Colorado Department of Labor and Employment, solicited workers to arrive in the area earlier than the season warranted.

The migrants are anxious to work when they reach a new area. But sometimes the crops are delayed because of unusual or unpredictable weather conditions. Occasionally, growers wait to see what turn the price of their crops will take. If the price is right, they profit by discing under the lettuce crop, for example, and claiming farm losses. Sometimes there is no work because the grower had the workers come early to the area. In the meantime, migrants waiting for work have no protection.

In the Palisade area of Colorado during the first week of the August 1977 drought, migrant workers and their families arrived to find that work wouldn't start for 2 additional weeks. The employment service had brought 85 workers under the interstate clearance order into the area.

John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* described job order abuses that were prevalent 40 years ago. On the basis of a job clearance order, processed through the employment offices, workers still travel thousands of miles to work. It is essential to the well-being of those workers that the information they receive be accurate and up to date. Once the employment service has lent its support to the employer's recruitment efforts, it would seem incumbent upon it to monitor the entire recruitment process, clear the departure and arrival of workers, verify the continuing need for workers, and assist those workers who may be terminated for reasons such as lack of work.



## THE ENDLESS FIELDS

Many migrant farmworkers do not know how much money they will be paid upon completion of their jobs. A law student working for Colorado Rural Legal Services (CRLS) confirmed this:

Half the time my clients don't know what they are getting paid. They don't know the employer's name. They want a job and they don't care about anything else. They're not going to ask the grower's name. They just go to work and they know someone will come by with a paycheck or they hope someone will come by with a paycheck.

A Federal minimum hourly wage was guaranteed most industrial workers in 1937 through enactment of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). For 30 years following the passage of this act, farmworkers were specifically excluded. Under the act, farmworkers were not to be given payment equal to that of other workers until 1978.

The FLSA contains a 500-workday exemption for agriculture. Minimum wage protection extends to workers of growers using more than 500 workdays of agricultural labor in a calendar quarter. Department of Labor statistics indicate that the act covers less than 1 percent of the Nation's almost three million farms.<sup>11</sup>

Because the 500-day stipulation applies to the calendar quarter, most farms escape coverage by the minimum wage laws. The months of June and July are usually the period of highest demand for labor. June falls into the second calendar quarter and July into the third. While crop activity begins in the spring, the work is not continuous until fall. There are numerous interruptions in work schedules as crops mature at different periods or as certain phases are mechanized and no longer require manual labor. Given 90 days in a quarter, including Saturdays and Sundays, a farm would need to employ five to six workers full time to fall within the 500-day requirement. In view of the nature of agricultural production, only the largest farms are covered.

In one of the wage claim cases handled by CRLS, the farmworker was not paid at all by the crewleader. The worker told CRLS that she thought she was owed \$145. CRLS filed a wage claim suit in the State court, helped the farmworker complete a written complaint to the State division of labor, and approached the crewleader on her behalf. Realizing the farmworker would press her legal claim, the crewleader paid the \$145 amount he owed her.

The crewleader in this case simply did not initially pay the worker. He could be out there now not paying workers. The worst threat to him is that, every once in a while, a worker will press a legal claim, and he will have to pay what he owes. There are no sanctions other than getting caught, and no reasons for him not to cheat his workers again and again.

Luis Jaramillo, director of the Colorado Migrant Council (CMC), said that one of the typical problems during the summer of 1977 was the threat of workers being replaced by cheaper labor. Farmworkers were consistently being told if they did not agree to do the work at a lower price, the grower could find other workers. One family that CMC tried to assist was working for a grower at \$13 an acre. The entire family was working in the fields and living in the grower's housing. They were informed by the grower that he had found "wetbacks" who would do the work for \$11 an acre. The family then consented to work for the lower rate.

Wages for working the preharvest of sugar beets in the summer of 1977 were erratic, according to the CRLS law student. Growers were paying between \$12 and \$25 for thinning an acre, which takes about 10 hours to complete, and about \$6 to \$8 for the hoeing,



which requires about 6 hours. The law student's supervisor, Richard Ginsberg, agreed, adding:

The work hasn't gotten any easier this year and the fields aren't any less dense of weeds, but the wages have dropped considerably. Last year \$25 an acre to thin was considered a reasonable price. If it took approximately 10 hours to thin the acre, the worker earned about \$2.50 an hour. This summer the workers are getting \$13 to \$16 for the same work and for the same amount of time.

Even where laws exist for the protection of the worker, few resources for enforcement of these laws exist. In Colorado, the State labor and employment division has only two people to deal with migrant wage complaints and registration of crewleaders.

Senior Labor Investigator Art Gallegos closes up his Colorado Springs office each spring and tells his staff to take messages until November. He then travels thousands of miles crisscrossing the State, personally contacting at least a hundred growers to register crewleaders or farm labor contractors. During the summer of 1976, the State register recorded 131 crewleaders, each of whom was responsible for an average crew of 40 to 50 workers. In such crops as lettuce, one crew can average 125 workers.

Until 1973, the Federal Government had in fact registered only 3 crewleaders out of the estimated total of 150 in Colorado. Gallegos believed that, even with the stepped-up efforts of the State, more investigators are needed to do the job of registering.





# OUR NEXT GENERATION


At three or four the children are boisterous, eager, impatient to experience the next ride, the next camp. Between five and ten those same children experience an ebb of life, even a loss of life. They move along all right; they pick themselves up again and again, as indeed they were brought up to do, as their parents continue to do. They get where they are going, and to a casual eye they seem active enough, strenuous workers in the field. But a change is taking place. Once wide awake, even enterprising, they slowly become dilatory, leaden, slow, laggard, and lumpish.

**Robert Coles,** Testimony before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Hearing on the Migratory Subculture, July 28, 1969.











It does take ... desperate spirit on the job, for a mother and father to let their children know—without qualification or omission—what the world is like. Chicano parents may keep their silence so long that, ironically, their children are made even more curious: why do we [Chicanos] live like this when they [Anglos] do so much better? ... "What shall we say of Anglos to our children?"

## Robert Coles, Eskimos, Chicanos, Indians





## NOTES

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