

M I G R A N T F A R M L A B O R I N C O L O R A D O  
A S T U D Y O F M I G R A T O R Y F A M I L I E S

Report Prepared by

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and

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Resource ID # 8791  
Migrant Farm Labor in Colorado

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The National Child Labor Committee expresses its appreciation to Dr. W. I. Myers, Dean of the New York State College of Agriculture, and Dr. Robert A. Polson, Head of the Department of Rural Sociology at Cornell for granting Dr. Thomas the time to undertake this work. It is

The National Child Labor Committee was fortunate to secure as director of the study Dr. Howard E. Thomas, Associate Professor of Rural Sociology at Cornell University, who obtained leave of absence for several months. Mr. Sheldon G. Lowry, a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at Michigan State College, and Mr. William Lopez, a graduate student at Colorado A. and M., were employed as assistants in field work.

The two-fold approach to the question - an intensive study of 262 families and interviews with many public and private agencies and officials - is described in the Report.

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It might seem that another "study" was superfluous. But the existence in Colorado of both an official State Committee and lay groups geared for action made this seem an unusual opportunity for a fact-finding study that would lead to definite improvements in the working and living conditions of migrant families.

The two-fold approach to the question - an intensive study of 262 families and interviews with many public and private agencies and officials - is described in the Report.

During this period there have been changes in the causes of migrancy, in the racial groups involved, in the locations and the crops on which they work. But two factors have remained constant: (1) the sub-standard conditions under which migrant families live and work and (2) the complexity of the problem. Child labor and school attendance are not isolated evils but are inextricably bound up with other social and economic factors, such as irregular employment, low annual income, policies of recruitment, housing, sanitation, health, care for children of working mothers, recreational facilities and working conditions.

The concern of the National Child Labor Committee for children employed in seasonal farm labor dates back to the first decade of the century. Founded in 1904, the Committee soon recognized that the exploitation of children was not solely a problem of cotton mills, canneries and coal mines but that child labor and all its attendant evils existed in farm areas also. Its first report on rural child labor was published in 1909 and its first report on migrant workers in 1914. Since then it has studied all phases of the problem from coast to coast.

FOREWORD

This study of migrant farm labor was started in June, 1950, at the request of Hon. Walter W. Johnson, who was then Governor of Colorado. He had recently created a Survey Committee on Migrant Labor to study conditions in the State and make recommendations to the Legislature. It was believed that an objective study by a national agency experienced in research in this field would be useful to the Committee.

June 1, 1960

WALTER W. JOHNSON  
Governor

Sincerely yours,

Your assistance in this study will be very advantageous to the State of Colorado, and I would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

When this Committee met with me last month, I was asked to write the National Child Labor Committee to do a field study in Colorado as soon as possible, to assist our local group. I am writing this letter to inquire if it will be possible for your National Committee to gather and tabulate up-to-date information on migratory workers in Colorado.

The members of this Committee are extremely enthusiastic in studying this problem, and I am sure that they will arrive at sincere and effective recommendations.

As you probably know the State of Colorado has a Governor's Survey Committee on Migrant Labor to study the tremendous and current problem of the migratory agricultural workers.

Dear Mrs. Zimand:

LETTER FROM GOVERNOR OF COLORADO REQUESTING NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE TO MAKE STUDY OF MIGRATORY WORKERS

GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND  
General Secretary

The report was prepared by Dr. Thomas and edited for publication by Mrs. Florence Taylor, of the National Child Labor Committee staff. The recommendations contained in the final chapter were formulated by the staff of the National Child Labor Committee in consultation with Dr. Thomas.

also indebted to many persons and agencies in Colorado who facilitated the study. These included, among others, officials of the State Department of Public Health, Education and Welfare, of the Colorado State Employment Service and of the Great Western Sugar Co. and the Holly Sugar Co. Though it is not possible to list by name the many individuals who assisted the field staff in making the study, the Committee is especially indebted to Mrs. Helen Peterson, Secretary of the Governor's Survey Committee on Migrant Labor, whose help in planning for the study and in making arrangements for carrying it out was invaluable.

## INTRODUCTION

This report is based on findings of a field survey conducted in Colorado between July and October 1950. The data presented in the report were obtained by interviewing male household heads or female homemakers in a sampling of 262 seasonal agricultural families found in the State at the time the survey was made.

The data were gathered from four sample areas. Area I included the general regions of Fort Collins, Loveland, Greeley, Fort Lupton, Fort Morgan and Brush; Area II, the Arkansas Valley from Pueblo through Rocky Ford, La Junta, Las Animas and beyond La Mar; Area III, the San Luis Valley including the towns of Center, Monte Vista and Alamosa; Area IV, the Palisade, Grand Junction, Delta and Montrose districts. These areas were determined by the types of agriculture which necessitated the use of seasonal agricultural workers. Before the selections were made final, each state agency involved with the general problem of migratory workers was consulted independently. With the one exception of an area using Reservation Indians, the areas recommended by these agencies were identical.

Under the sampling procedure, schedules were to be taken from every fifth household, with not more than one revisit in case of failure to contact the interviewee at the time of the first call. This was accomplished in the labor camps with little or no difficulty. Schedules taken in labor camps constituted slightly over 40% of all the schedules taken. When interviewing was begun in dispersed housing units, the difficulty of finding workers at home and the long distances involved in revisits made necessary a change in the sampling method for the rural hinterland. The procedure adopted was to interview all available seasonal labor households in the dispersed housing areas. Approximately 60% of the schedules were gathered in the dispersed areas using this plan. Persons consulted regarding the change in procedure predicted that no significant differences would be found to exist between residents in the camps and those living in dispersed housing units since the latter had lived or expected to live in camps during the spring or fall sugar beet work periods. The findings confirmed this prediction.

Of the 350 households visited, 25% were not available on two calls and 2% refused to answer questions. Interviewers traveled an average of 30.75 miles for each interview, or a total of 8,057 miles for 262 schedules.

Data provided by the enumerative schedules were supplemented by extensive interviews before and following the field work with State and local public health and welfare officials, educators, agricultural officials, police officers, sheriffs, officials of sugar beet companies, farmers' associations, farmers, labor unions, civic and religious organizations, and labor and agricultural economists in colleges and universities.

For the purpose of this study the term "migrant" is used to designate a person who follows crop operations continuously for several months over a wide area. "Home" to many of them has become a place to visit rather than live. Though mechanized farming has reduced the need for hand labor in some types of crops or certain crop operations, the seasonal demand for workers continues to exceed the supply of available local labor in many areas and for many crops where mechanization is incomplete or impractical.

Migrants with whom this study is concerned are primarily interstate migrants as only 15% of the sample were residents of Colorado. These migrants come into Colorado during May to weed onions and block and thin beets. Many of them turn to harvesting operations in vine crops (e.g., beans, peas, cantaloupe, cucumbers) from July to October. Some engage in the early potato harvest from mid-July to mid-August and others obtain employment in the tomato harvest during September and early October. An estimated 15% to 20% of those thinning beets in the spring remain for the beet harvesting period, October 1 to November 15.



## HIGHLIGHTS OF FINDINGS

(Based on a Study of 262 Families with 1,513 Members)

### Characteristics of the Families

Migrant families were large, averaging 5.7 members. Children 14 years and under constituted 44 percent of the total group.

They came from 11 States, nearly half from Texas.

Practically all were Spanish-American. Forty percent of those 16 years and over and 65 percent of the children 7 to 16 years spoke only Spanish. Sixty percent of the homemakers and nearly 80 percent of the male heads had 4 years or less of schooling. Nearly a third were illiterate.

### Employment and Income

Families migrated for seasonal farm work because of economic distress.

For 26 percent, this was their first season as migrants; 35 percent had been migrants for more than 5 years; 18 percent for more than 10 years. During the preceding 12 months, the majority of male heads had held 4 or more jobs. The average job lasted 4 to 8 weeks.

Annual cash income per family from all sources averaged \$1,424.

### Recruitment and Transportation

Migrants secured seasonal work in Colorado through recruiting agents of the beet sugar companies, independent contractors, or the Colorado State Employment Service. A very small number came "on their own."

Migrants are recruited in large numbers for spring and fall beet work but there is not enough work for them in summer crops between beet operations. Sugar beet growers and companies take no responsibility for their recruits during this slack period.

The State Employment Service was not used to the extent it should be due to ignorance as to its functions, deliberate misrepresentation of its services by independent contractors, and the desire of sugar beet growers, associations and companies to do their own recruiting.

One of the most vicious aspects of the migrant problem is the completely unscrupulous practices of the independent contractor. He is responsible to no one. Civic-minded groups in the State regard him as a "racketeer" and "an exploiter of human misfortune."

Only thirty workers had contracts with farmers or contractors and only five were written contracts.

The conditions under which interstate migrants were transported by truck were inhuman.

#### Housing and Sanitation

Nearly half the migrant families lived in growers' houses and most of the others in labor camps.

About half the families lived in one room.

The average sleeping room was about 162 square feet and was shared by 4.2 persons.

Although there were a few instances of good camps and good houses, the "average" living quarters were rural slums - badly over-crowded, dirty, unsanitary, dilapidated, poorly equipped makeshift quarters.

The "poor" ones defy description.

Ninety-two percent of the families had no means of refrigeration.

Only one-third could be sure their water supply was safe; for 13 percent it was obviously unsafe.

Facilities for garbage disposal were primitive.

Most families used "pit toilets", of which less than 1 in 4 would have passed elementary health inspection.

Sixty percent of the families had no bathing facilities.

#### Diet

The migrants lived chiefly on cheap, filling and starchy foods. Diet was affected by income, inadequate cooking facilities, lack of refrigeration and insufficient time for food preparation.

#### Medical and Health Care

The poverty of migrants, the crowded and unsanitary conditions under which they live and their inadequate diet make serious health problems inevitable.

Despite the great need, they have very little health care.

Eighty-five percent had no physical examination, other than for maternity reasons, for the past 5 years.

Eighty-six percent had not seen a doctor for 12 months and 87 percent had not seen a dentist.

Only 42 had had smallpox vaccination; 20 percent diphtheria immunization; 20 percent whooping cough immunization; and 10 percent tetanus immunization.

### Maternal and Infant Care

The infant mortality rate in migrant families was nearly twice as high as that for the State of Colorado.

Of 332 children born during the last 5 years, only 102 were born in hospitals, and for only 198 were doctors in attendance.

### Child Care

Two hundred mothers with children under 10 worked full or part time. Child care centers for their children were practically non-existent.

### Child Labor

More than 200 children 7 to 16 years were workers on the crops. The median age of the child worker was  $10\frac{1}{2}$  years.

Eighty-eight children began work before they were 10 years old, and twenty-five before they were 8 years old.

Nearly one-fourth began their working life by working full time during school hours.

Seventy-seven children worked more than 12 hours a day.

### Education

Thirty-five percent of the children of school age (7-16) had left school or had never been in school.

Nineteen children under 10 years had never been in school.

Most children who had left school, including the 14, 15 and 16 year olds, had not gone beyond the first or second grade.

Eighty-two percent of all school-age children were retarded from one to eight years. Practically all children 11 years of age and over were retarded three years or more.

### Social Participation and Community Attitudes

Migrants belonged to practically no organizations except the church. Church members were not encouraged to participate in church services or events in Colorado.

Discrimination against migrants was marked. It was evident in schools, commercial recreation facilities, restaurants, churches, law enforcement, and retail food stores which raised their prices for migrants.

Generally, the presence of children and other dependents should tend to restrict the mobility of families in adverse economic situations. However, the families who follow the crops do so because of adverse economic situations so acute they have no other alternative. "Migrants... are the rejects of those sectors of agriculture and of other industries undergoing change."\* Colorado was no exception to the well-known pattern of families with children migrating to eke out a living in seasonal crops. Large families were the rule. The average size was 5.7 persons in a range of 2 to 14 persons in the family group.

### Size of Families

Approximately 92% of the migrant families studied were normal family groups. The remaining were broken families (21). Of these, less than 2% were without male heads, whereas 8.8% were without mothers or wives. Twelve of the broken families had five or less members in them, while nine had six or more members. Of these nine, three had respectively ten, eleven and twelve members. About 9% of the marriages were childless at the time of the survey.

Migrant families were complete family groups in the great majority of cases. Not only were they complete in the sense that all the members usually a part of the group were present during migration, but also they were normal family groups (i.e., composed of husband and wife, or husband and wife and their children). Families composed of a man and his child or a woman and her children are referred to as "broken families." The terms "normal" and "broken" are used with these specific meanings in this study.

### The Family Group

The 262 families interviewed in Colorado comprised a random sample estimated to be approximately one-tenth of all migrant families in the state. The sample provided data on 1,513 adult workers and their children. Information was obtained on the characteristics of this representative group to show the composition of the families, where they were from, their nationality and language, the occupational and educational background of the parents. Wherever the totals reported in the findings include fewer than 262 families or 1,513 individuals, information was not obtained or was incomplete for purposes of tabulation.

## WHO THE MIGRANTS ARE

### CHAPTER I

Distribution of Migrant Families by Size of Family

Table 1

Age	Number of Members in Family	Number of Families	Percent
	2	28	11.1
	3	33	12.6
	4	30	11.5
	5	45	17.2
	6	38	14.6
	7	25	9.6
	8	23	8.8
	9	20	7.7
	10	6	2.3
	11	5	1.9
	12	6	2.3
	14	1	.4
Total	260		100.0

Youth was a definite characteristic of the economic heads of migrant families. Slightly over one-third of the male heads and over half of the female heads were under 25 years of age. About two-thirds of the male and four-fifths of the female heads were under 45 years of age. Not only were the economic heads of migrant families predominantly young, but youth was also a characteristic of most of the members of the family group. Nearly one-third of the children were under 10 years of age. About 44% were under 15 years of age and nearly 60% were under 20 years. Of all persons in the families studied, less than 10% were over 45 years of age.

Table 2

Age of Members of Migrant Families by Sex

Age	Total	Males	Females
Under 5	256	129	127
5-9	214	106	108
10-14	191	100	91
15-19	210	109	101
20-24	140	76	64
25-34	181	93	88
35-44	157	76	81
45-54	98	61	37
55 and over	45	32	13
Total 1492	100.0	782	710

Males and females were about equal in number among all migrants under 45 years of age. For the ages 45 and over, males outnumbered females nearly two to one (95 to 50). The actual ratio of all males to all females was 100 to 90.6.

Legal Residence and Nativity

The families came from legal residences in 11 different states and one came from Mexico. Almost one-half of them lived in Texas. Approximately one-fifth lived in New Mexico and 15% had established legal residence in Colorado. However, 40 of the fathers, 26 of the mothers and 6 children were born in Mexico. In addition, 15 other states were listed as the place of birth.

The great majority of families (219) were Spanish-American. The 36 Anglo and 6 Indian families in the sample were found in the Grand Junction-Palmsade area. Only one Negro family was found.

No attempt was made to distinguish between Mexican-American and Spanish-American families. The term Spanish-American will be used in this study to designate all persons of Mexican or Spanish ancestry.

Legal Residences of Male Family Heads

Legal Residence	Number Male Family Heads	Percent
Texas	126	48.5
New Mexico	57	22.0
Colorado	40	15.4
Arizona	11	4.2
Oklahoma	7	2.7
Wyoming	5	1.9
Missouri	4	1.5
Other (Ark., Cal., Kans., Mass., Mexico)		
<b>Total</b>	<b>260</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Language Used		7 Years of Age and Over		16 Years and Over	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
English	137	12.6	9	2.5	128
Spanish	520	47.8	233	64.9	287
English and Spanish	431	39.6	117	32.6	314
Total	1088	100.0	359	100.0	729

Table 5  
Languages Used by Members of Migrant Families

Nearly 40% of the migrant workers 16 or more years of age reported that they used only the Spanish language; 43% were conversant in either English or Spanish. About 16% used English or Spanish and an Indian language. The children between 7 and 16 had a language handicap greater than the older group since about 65% used only Spanish.

State or Country of Birth		Male Family Heads	
	Number	Percent	
Texas	105	40.2	
New Mexico	44	16.8	
Mexico	40	15.3	
Colorado	35	13.4	
Missouri	10	3.8	
Oklahoma	6	2.3	
Kansas	5	2.0	
Wyoming	5	2.0	
Arizona	3	1.1	
Arkansas	3	1.1	
California	1	.4	
Massachusetts	1	.4	
Montana	1	.4	
Nebraska	1	.4	
Tennessee	1	.4	
Total	261	100.0	

Table 4  
State or Country of Birth of Male Family Heads

Education of Household Heads

Almost 30% of the heads of migrant households were illiterate and this illiteracy was found exclusively in the Spanish-American group. Of all persons classified as household heads, over two-thirds had not completed more than the 4th grade of school and less than 7% had gone beyond the 8th grade. Female heads of households had definitely higher grade accomplishments than male heads. The average male head had achieved 1.8 grades, whereas the average homemaker had passed 4.1 grades. About 12% more male heads than homemakers had had no schooling. Four out of 5 male heads had completed less than 7 grades, and less than 3 in each 100 had gone beyond the 8th grade. Among the homemakers, who fared somewhat better, slightly less than three-fourths had completed less than 7 grades and about 10 in each 100 had better than an 8th grade education. One male had completed high school, while there were 6 females who had done so. The only person who had attended college was a female. No one had graduated from college, however. Younger heads of families were generally better educated than the older family heads, some of whom probably never had a chance to go to school at all while others doubtless left school for work at an early age and assumed family responsibility early.

Table 6

Years of School Completed by Male and Female Heads of Migrant Families

Grade Completed	Total Number Percent	Male Heads Number Percent	Female Heads Number Percent
None	137 29.5	78 36.4	59 23.6
1 through 4	174 37.5	86 40.2	88 35.2
5 through 6	39 8.4	7 3.2	32 12.8
7 grades	50 10.8	26 12.2	24 9.6
8 grades	33 7.1	12 5.6	21 8.4
9 through 11	23 5.0	4 1.9	19 7.6
12 grades	7 1.5	1 .5	6 2.4
1 through 3 years of college	1 0.2	--	1 .4
Total	464 100.0	214 100.0	250 100.0

This difference in grade achievement between male and female heads may account, to a considerable degree, for the concern expressed by mothers over the future of their children and for the fact that they were more insistent on school attendance than were fathers. Mothers generally felt that unless opportunities for school attendance were provided and used, there was little hope that the future of the children would be any better than their own present drab existence.



For as long a time as the media of communication are as weak as those found in Colorado in the summer of 1960, the Spanish-American migrant will be a problem. He will be an enigma to the community in spite of his own and the state's best efforts to make him an acceptable citizen. What he does, he does largely in ignorance, in frustration or in desperation. Until society has assured him the opportunity to learn what, how, and when to do, the blame lies with society and not with the migrant.

If people are to live up to what society expects of them and to benefit from programs to improve their status, somewhere along the process of maturing, education which includes teaching of the common language must be made available and its use assured. Incontrovertibly, this had not been done for the Spanish-American migrants studied in Colorado. Since the children were worse off than their parents in their knowledge of English, no sign of progress in improvement of educational opportunities for the younger generation was visible.

Field research demonstrated that many instances of apparent disinterest, rejection or disapproval of needed assistance by the migrants were nothing more or less than lack of understanding - the failure of the person introducing a subject to make himself understood. Impatience or insistence on the part of program personnel became embarrassing to the migrants. Security - or avoidance of unpleasantness - was then generally sought in total rejection of the would-be benefactor.

The magnitude and importance of the educational handicaps of migrant families are obvious in the above data. However, limited education is only part of the picture. For agency planners having to do with the migrant workers over 16 years of age, an even greater obstacle is the fact that nearly 40% can not be reached through the medium of the English language. For persons interested in promoting health, school attendance or programs of nutrition and wishing to work with persons 7 and more years of age, about half of the migrants are beyond reach unless communication can be in Spanish. How much should be expected of a group, half of whose members speak a different language and one-third of whose family heads are illiterate?

At the time of the interviewing, about 17% of the workers were temporarily unemployed, due to "between harvest" lulls. Two-thirds of the workers had been at their present jobs less than four weeks. Among the

### Present Jobs

Under present conditions both grower and laborer have minimum security and each tends to act in his own best interest, regardless of what happens to the other. It seemed obvious to the field staff that simple written contract agreements could be worked out which would eliminate much of the hostility between worker and employer and benefit both of them.

There is little basis for denying that many workers leave a grower in the midst of his most urgent need for extra hands. Nor can even the most casual observer deny that many growers are quick to release workers when unexpected developments make it profitable to do so.

The complaints of migrants over broken verbal agreements were frequent and vehement. These complaints, as far as the field staff could determine, arose mainly from misunderstanding at the time of employment. No instance of failure to pay wages was encountered, although several men reported full earnings were withheld for varying periods of time. Tension developed over the areas worked, the amount of work to be done, threats to withhold wages until work was completed, wage rates, hours and times at which work was to be started and carried on. Types of housing, transportation, credit, cash advances, rentals, schooling for children and medical care were other items around which antagonisms seemed to build up. The role of the labor contractor, crew leader and recruiter in this situation will be discussed later.

Two hundred fifty-five respondents provided information in regard to contracts. Only 30 had contracts with employers or contractors, of which 5 were written and 24 were oral. One worker was not certain whether his contract was written or oral for the present year. It had not been written previously, but in 1960 he had "signed something." Employers who were interviewed confirmed the fact that contracts with workers were usually verbal agreements.

### Contract Status

The size of the total work force reported in the 262 families was 735 persons which included 470 male and 265 female workers. Only a few male heads of households were engaged at any time during the year in other than seasonal agricultural work. Four were employed as farm hands, three others as mechanic, day laborer and millworker, and one was a prisoner.

## I. EMPLOYMENT

# EMPLOYMENT AND INCOME OF THE MIGRANTS

## CHAPTER II

one-third who had been employed for periods of one month or more, there were 17 persons (6%) who had been continuously engaged for over one year. These 17 persons were crew-leaders, labor contractors, their truck drivers and men who worked at maintenance tasks for labor contractors. Although included because they occurred in the sampling procedure used in the study, they are not typical of migrant farm workers. The range of work-ing periods was from less than one week to over three years. Within this range, 80% of all workers had been regularly employed at present jobs for periods of less than three months.

Table 7 Length of Time in Present Job of Male Household Heads

Male Heads		Total
Number	Percent	
45	17.4	Temporarily unemployed
49	19.0	Less than 1 week
16	5.8	1 to 2.9 weeks
66	25.2	3 to 3.9 weeks
33	12.8	1 to 2.9 months
32	12.4	3 to 4.9 months
2	0.8	5 to 8.9 months
0	--	9 to 11.9 months
3	1.2	1 to 2.9 years
14	5.4	3 years and over
100.0		258
		Total

Table 8 Expected Duration of Present Jobs of Male Household Heads

Male Heads		Total
Number	Percent	
62	29.2	1 week or less
79	37.3	1 to 2.9 weeks
15	7.1	3 to 3.9 weeks
61	24.1	1 to 2.9 months
4	1.8	3 to 3.9 months
1	.5	1 or more years
100.0		212
		Total

Of the 45 persons temporarily unemployed, 14 saw no work openings in the immediate future. An additional 13 were completing jobs on the day they were interviewed. About two-thirds of the remaining number of household heads anticipated completing their present work in less than three

Male Heads		Total	
Number	Percent	Number	Percent
2	0.8	259	100.0
7	2.7		
150	57.9		
63	24.3		
24	9.3		
1	0.4		
12	4.6		

Average Length of Jobs Held by Male Household Heads During Past 12 Months

Table 10

Male Heads		Total	
Number of Jobs	Male Heads	Number of Jobs	Male Heads
1 job	18	8 jobs	1
2 jobs	36	7 jobs	5
3 jobs	50	6 jobs	15
4 jobs	77	5 jobs	58
5 jobs	77	4 jobs	77
6 jobs	58	3 jobs	50
7 jobs	15	2 jobs	36
8 jobs	1	1 job	18

Number of Jobs Held by Male Household Heads During Past 12 Months

Table 9

When the number of jobs held during the preceding twelve months was listed, it was found that male heads of migrant households had held from one to eight different jobs. There was some confusion in the minds of the respondents, and serious question arose in the minds of the interviewers, as to whether wedding and topping bees should be classified as one job or two jobs. Arbitrarily, they were recorded as two jobs since the period between wedding and topping was of several months' duration and moving to work in other communities between the two processes was common. With this classification, three out of five male heads had held four or more different jobs during the year. The average length of employment per job was found to be between four and eight weeks. Over half of the households fell in this category.

Job Mobility

weeks. Slightly over one-quarter of the household heads expected their employment to continue for a month or more. The usual job expectation was between one and two weeks.

Number of Years		Male Heads	
	Number	Percent	
First season	68	26.2	
1 to 4.9 years	101	38.8	
5 to 9.9 years	43	16.5	
10 years and over	48	18.5	
Total		260	100.0

Years of Work in Seasonal Agriculture of Male Household Heads

Table 11

The relatively large proportion of "new comers" in the migrant force was explained in several ways by the migrants: Employers prefer Anglos for jobs so Spanish-Americans are released first whenever cut-backs are operative in an industry; also, after World War II Spanish-Americans lost jobs to Anglos who returned from profitable war industry jobs to reclaim former positions and to service men who returned to their former jobs. No resentment was voiced over the latter practice. These factors undoubtedly made jobless men of many family heads who had been able to obtain a foothold in industry during the war. However, many others, according to the reasons given for mobility, had never done anything but farm work and had found it increasingly difficult for one reason or another to make a living at it at home. Reports of work to be had in Colorado and glowing promises by labor contractors led them to think the problem of earning enough to live on could be solved there. Many found to their dismay that what they were told regarding work and earnings in Colorado crops bore little resemblance to the facts.

Over a quarter of the household heads were completing their first season as migrant farm workers. Nearly two-thirds had been engaged in seasonal agricultural work less than five years. Those persons with over 10 years experience (none had over 12 years), constituted about 18% of all workers.

What this kind of insecurity does to parents and children has yet to be studied. It was the opinion of investigators that much of the indifference, seeming lack of responsibility and abuse of property could be traced to the constantly changing character of relationships. The subject of hopelessness of constantly finishing one job and moving out to look for another was reflected in each interview. It made planning for children's schooling akin to wishful thinking. Even going to a physician for pre- or post-natal care did not make sense, as there would be a different doctor in attendance at a later date. Use of health facilities and social participation seemed similarly pointless when there could be no continuity in relationships. The difficult task facing private and public agencies engaged in assisting needy migrant families can be more readily appreciated when the constant job changes for short-term jobs and the effect of this on families is taken into consideration. It is time that a thorough study was made of what family life means to people forced, for any reason, to live in such circumstances of insecurity and instability in a country of opportunity and plenty.

Reasons Given for Mobility

There are numerous theories regarding the mobility of seasonal agricultural workers. A common one is that they are "deadbeats," "bums," a shiftless "no-count" type of people. According to another, the flow of migrants is stimulated by growers to assure surplus workers and force down labor prices. A third theory interprets the drifting as the result of moral incompetency to maintain stability - families leave home because they "would rather travel than face up to reality." The explanations of the problem, as related to the Colorado migrant families, were found to be starkly realistic, and gave little support to theories that migrant families were out to see the country or traveling to escape reality. By extreme generosity, only 12 of the 262 households (4.6%) could be said to move because they wanted to travel.

Economic urgency was by far the most important of the basic reasons for migration. About nine out of every ten families reporting were motivated primarily by economic distress. The size of this group is convincing evidence that the migrant flow is one of destitute families.

For every family which had migrated "for the fun of it," there were 19 which had done so to earn a living or to get adequate employment, and one which had been tempted by false or shadowy promises of labor contractors or crew leaders. Only two cases of economic distress due to farming failures were encountered.

It is significant that few health seekers were found in the labor force. Reports of migrant families with tuberculous members are verifiable in welfare case histories, and a limited number of cases were found and identified by doctors in the sample taken during the summer of 1960. Apparently few migrants come to Colorado because they have tuberculosis, but some of those whose cases have been detected and treated after they came to the state have taken up residence in Colorado's favorable climate areas, according to welfare records.

Table 12

Reasons for Migration

Families		Reasons
Number	Percent	
194	74.0	Inadequate employment opportunities at home
39	14.9	To earn a living
12	4.6	Recruiters' promises
12	4.6	"We like it"
5	1.9	Health
262	100.0	Total

1 "No other work"  
 1 "Only way we can make a living"  
 1 "Don't need men on the railroad where I worked  
 1 any more"  
 1 "I didn't have another job"  
 1 "Nothing to do in Texas"  
 1 "Nothing to do at home"  
 1 "Work gets slack around home"  
 1 "Isn't much work out there" (Texas)  
 1 "Nothing at home this year"  
 1 "We don't have work in Texas"  
 12 "Here the whole family can work; can't in Texas"  
 6 "No work at home"  
 90 "You have to take work where you can find it if  
 1 you are colored"  
 11 "To get work"  
 9 "Work at home is only temporary"  
 1 "To look for work"  
 1 "Where the company sends me"  
 1 "No work in Arizona. We want the family to be  
 1 together."  
 3 "Too many people around home for the small amount  
 3 of work"  
 8 "There isn't much work at home"  
 1 "No railroad work. I can't do any other"  
 4 "No steady work at home during the summer"  
 1 "To earn enough money to live during the winter"  
 5 "We have to"  
 2 "Only work I can do"  
 1 "At home we have to go too far to work"  
 1 "During the Depression we had to get whatever we  
 1 could do. Started working like this. Now  
 1 it is all we can do"  
 1 "Every place we have been on was sold out from  
 1 under us and we never did get enough money  
 1 to buy our own property"

I. Inadequate employment opportunities at home

"Why We Migrate"  
 The reasons for migration summarized in Table 12 are given below  
 in the migrants' own words because of the vivid picture they give of  
 the conditions which cause people to migrate.  
 While only primary reasons for migration were sought and tabulated,  
 three out of each four household heads mentioned the "wetback" (an il-  
 legal entrant from Mexico for seasonal farm work) as a secondary contrib-  
 utory cause of his movement. It was the "impression" of slightly over  
 one in every three household heads (95 or 36.3%) that labor contractors  
 encouraged the movement of "wetbacks." "They (wetbacks) force down  
 prices at home (Texas) so that we have to move up here." "They (the  
 labor contractors) help to get the wetbacks into Texas to make sure we  
 will not have work and will come here for sugar beets."

"They needed beet workers. They made big promises. This is my first and last year." "They told us we could make better money here. We were told lies about jobs and earnings." "We have to move to get work. The crew-boss lied about the work." "They told us we could earn more money up here." "Come because crew-leader promised medical care for wife and lots of work."

1  
1  
2  
7  
1

III. Recruiters' promises

"To earn enough money to live through the winter." "To earn money so that my family can some day own a farm." "Can't find work in construction." "Foolish idea I could make more money." "To make a better living." "I can make more money here." "To make more money." "They don't pay enough at home." "Wages are pretty cheap there. There are too many people and it is hard to find a job." "We just follow the work in season." "So we can get some more money." "Lack of money." "They went on strike at the brickyard." "Our farm didn't do any good this year." "We needed some money." "To try and make more money." "To get enough money to settle down." "Husband's job slackened. We thought we could make a bit ahead."

1  
1  
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4  
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1

II. To earn a living

"We can't make enough off our two acres. We have to go where there is work." "We haven't got no home and we have to go somewhere to make a living." "We don't have a house to live in. You have to pay rent and we didn't have enough money." "We have no home. So we just have to go where there is work." "To earn a living." "No water to irrigate farm. Couldn't make a living. Have to move to find work." "At home there is only work for adults. No work for a whole family until cotton."

1  
2  
4  
2  
1  
1  
1



In response to a direct question, three of each four heads of migrant households indicated they would consider accepting work in other states after completion of their Colorado jobs. The fourth household head replied negatively.

Future Plans		Male Heads	
	Number	Percent	
Return home	163	62.4	
Seek job in another state	54	20.7	
Seek more work in Colorado	24	9.2	
Don't know	14	5.4	
Other	6	2.3	
Total		261	100.0

Plans of Male Household Heads After Finishing Work in Colorado

Table 13

Heads of households were asked what they expected to do after work opportunities in Colorado came to an end. Nearly two of each three male heads planned to "return home." One household head in five was going to look for work in another state, whereas roughly one in ten still hoped to find more work in Colorado. The remaining number were uncertain or planned miscellaneous types of activities.

Future Plans of Migrants

"Because of ill health. Can't hold down a steady job."  
 "Health reasons"  
 1 4

V. Health

"I like it"  
 "As a miner I like to get out in the air and sunshine in the summer."  
 1 1  
 "It's my vacation. This is my first year."  
 1 1  
 "My brother was coming so we figured to come along and see what the place was like."  
 1 1  
 "Mostly to pay vacation expenses"  
 "We like it. Besides there are too many 'WHITBACKS' in Texas. They force the pay down."  
 1 1  
 "This is a vacation; also we get our fruit here."  
 2 1  
 "To see our son. We work to pay our way."  
 1 1  
 "We started on our vacation. Heard about peaches; so we decided to stop and work a while to help with expenses."  
 1 1

IV. We like it

In general, however, migrants were anxious to "get back home." Many feared cold weather and some had made commitments at home for winter jobs. A number were anxious to get their children home "so that they could get into school at the beginning." The urge to "get back home" was more pronounced among younger than among older heads of households and homemakers.

These findings approximate statements to interviewers by staff members of one of the sugar beet employment offices. Their estimate was "...about 80% to 85% of the migrants leave Colorado before beet harvest in the fall. I would estimate that between 60% and 70% go directly to their homes for early fall and winter work commitments. From the employers' point of view the best labor goes first. I say 'best' because they are mostly the younger ones."

## II. INCOME

### Average Annual Income

The average cash income from all sources, as estimated by the 252 migrant families providing complete data, totaled \$1,424 for the year 1949. This figure would be increased if such perquisites as housing, fuel and water received by some workers were included, though the "value" could not be rated very high in most cases considering the housing conditions described in a later chapter. Since the families averaged 5.7 persons, the average yearly income among the Colorado migrant families amounted to approximately \$250 per person in 1949.

The range of cash income was from less than \$500 to \$5,000. Forty percent (101) of all families earned less than \$1,000; 81% (204) earned less than \$2,000; 95% (239) earned less than \$3,000; only 12 families (4.8%) were in the "upper brackets" earning between \$3,000 and \$5,000. In other words, about 80 out of each 100 families had, somehow, to support themselves, travel from job location to job location on annual cash incomes of less than \$2,000 and 95 out of each 100 families on less than \$3,000.

Table 14  
Estimated Annual Cash Income of Migrant Families in 1949

Range of Income	Number	Percent
Under \$500	21	8.3
\$500-\$999	80	31.7
\$1000-\$1999	103	40.9
\$2000-\$2999	36	14.3
\$3000-\$4999	11	4.4
\$5000	1	0.4
<b>Total</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Generally, the families with the lowest incomes were those with only one or two wage earners. Other factors in low income were periodic unemployment, sickness in the family, and a limited use of the English language.

Income by Number of Workers in Families

\*One family in this group was composed of nine persons all of whom were working and its income was \$5,000. If this atypical family is omitted, average income is \$1,714 instead of \$1,864.

Size of Family	Distribution of Families	Average Income
	Number	Percent
2 members	24	9.6
3 members	30	11.9
4 members	26	10.3
5 members	45	17.9
6 members	40	15.9
7 members	21	8.4
8 members	23	9.2
9 members	22	8.8*
10 or more members	20	8.0
<b>Total</b>		<b>100.0</b>
		\$1072
		\$1175
		\$1260
		\$1317
		\$1030
		\$1571
		\$1324
		\$1864
		\$1550

Average Income of Migrant Families in 1949 by Size of Family

Table 15

Income varied according to the size of family and the number of workers. The larger the number of persons in the family, the greater the income was likely to be unless there were too many dependents in proportion to workers. This was probably the explanation of the two variations which were found: families of six members had incomes lower than any except families with two members, and families with 10 or more members had a lower income than families with seven or nine members. In 21 families with incomes of less than \$500, four with four members, three with six members, five with five members, four with four members, three with three members, one with seven and one with two members. None of the eight, nine and ten member families earned as little as \$500. The single family which earned \$5,000 was made up of nine members all of whom were workers.

Income by Size of Family

It was impossible to determine income by the source, although an effort was made to do so. Often fathers would undertake to do work with one grower. The job would then be done by other members of the family while the father worked for another operator and assisted his sons and daughters. Family early in the morning and late in the evening. Sons and daughters often worked at other jobs but gave their earnings to parents. Such earnings, when reported, were included in the total family income for the year.

Those unable, because of language difficulties to comprehend their rights to use legal machinery to protect themselves, to follow spoken directions efficiently and use community or state facilities available to them, suffered most at the hands of unscrupulous contractors, employers and others.

Only 236 families furnished complete data concerning both the approximate earnings for 1949 and the number of workers per family. From these data the range of earnings was found to be surprisingly narrow. At the bottom of the range were 52% (124) of all families who had one or two workers and estimated average earnings of from \$1,129 to \$1,162. The middle group included 24% (57) of the families and had three or four workers. They averaged between \$1,383 and \$1,667. Families of five or more workers, including about 23% (55) of all families, reported estimated annual earnings that averaged slightly less than \$2,000.

Table 16

Average Income of Migrant Families in 1949 by Number of Workers in Family

Number of Workers	Number	Percent	Average Income
1 worker	58	24.6	\$1129
2 workers	66	28.0	\$1162
3 workers	30	12.7	\$1383
4 workers	27	11.4	\$1667
5 or more workers	55	23.3	\$1913
Total	236		100.0

The few families high on the income scale were those of labor contractors and crew leaders, or those with large numbers of workers. An

example of the latter was the family, mentioned before, which consisted of nine persons 19 years of age and over, all of whom worked. The family worked beets in Colorado from October to November 15; about December 15 they began working cotton in Texas and continued into February; part of February and March the members worked at "odd jobs"; in April, they moved back to Colorado to thin beets for about two months; July through September the group worked in onions.

This family earned over \$5,000 in 1949 and estimated its 1950 income at the same figure. The family had two new cars and one new truck for transporting its members and recruits to and from places of established employment in four states. From the standpoint of earnings per worker, and per family, this group was far above the average. It was also far above the average in experience and "know how" in using resources and in getting - and giving - fair treatment in employment. Its young members, who had had military experience placed high value upon health services, adequate food, personal rights, saving money and honoring work agreements. They also insisted that their employers honor work agreements.

Incomes for 1950, as conservatively estimated by 249 families, averaged approximately \$1,352 or about \$75 less than the year preceding. Size of family and number of workers were again the dominating factors in the estimates of income.

Emergency Financial Needs

Only 37 (14%) of the migrant families reported having requested public assistance during the preceding 12 months. Twenty-two of the 37 requests were made in Colorado. The other 15 were distributed between New Mexico, Wyoming, Missouri, Texas and California.

Fifteen of the 22 applications in Colorado were for food, five for medical assistance, one for cash, and another for clothing. Nine of the requests were granted, eleven were denied, and two respondents did not remember.

This small amount of dependence upon public assistance was perhaps more a measure of reluctance to apply, except in cases of extreme emergency, than of need for help. That families often lacked money to buy food or other necessities was indicated by the fact that 176 families said they had run short of money and 176 of them borrowed or got credit at stores. The other family "went without food." Only 85 families reported no need to obtain credit. When they have work on crops, migrants can usually get credit from growers or contractors. It is "customary procedure" to tide themselves over this way, even though it often means little cash on hand after they have paid their debts, and hence a repetition of the procedure as soon as they start the next job. Applying for public assistance is not "customary procedure" for migrants. Language is one barrier because of the misunderstanding and confusion which result when a Spanish-speaking applicant tries to present his case to an English-speaking interviewer. The main barrier, of course, is the usual requirement in state laws that applicants must be legal residents to qualify for public assistance.

Table 17

Sources of Credit Used by 176\* Families for Emergency Needs During Last 12 Months

Source	Families	Number	Percent
Got credit at stores (on grower's bill)	132	75.0	
Borrowed	24	13.6	
Borrowed and got credit	19	10.8	
Went without food	1	.6	
Total	176	100.0	

\*85 families reported no need to obtain credit

RECRUITMENT, PLACEMENT AND TRANSPORTATION

CHAPTER III

Recruitment and Placement

The recruitment problem in Colorado is complicated. This is so primarily because of the nature of the labor needs of the sugar beet industry. Blooming and thinning require many hands during the period from about May 15 to July 15. These workers are then unemployed in November 15.

The requirements for beet labor are the foundation on which the system of labor recruitment is built. Between the peak periods of labor needs in the sugar beet industry, a variety of other crops need seasonal laborers but not in such great numbers as are brought in for beets.

Variations in weather, prices, and labor demand and supply directly influence recruitment policy. Three sources for obtaining labor prevail: the Colorado State Employment Service, private recruitment by sugar companies and by independent labor contractors and voluntary migration.

1. The Colorado State Employment Service\*

The recruitment and referral services of the State Employment Service are available to employers and workers without any charges or fees. Individual farmers or groups of farmers place orders for workers with the local Employment Service office. This order is prepared on a standard form which provides for the employer's name, address, directions to reach the farm, telephone number, number of workers needed, brief description of job, duration of job, wage scale, hours of work, age range preferred, sex preferred, explanation of transportation arrangements and housing accommodations, referral instructions and date needed.

Every attempt is then made by the local office to recruit the workers needed from the local area or nearby areas. If this supply is insufficient, the order is then submitted to the Clearance Officer in the State office of the Colorado State Employment Service who duplicates the order and sends it to other local offices in Colorado or, if necessary, to the Clearance Division of Employment Services in other States where such workers may be recruited.

When orders are placed in either intrastate or interstate clearance, referral of applicants is made by either of two methods. One method is for applicants to be referred to the local office in the locality of the jobs for direction to the specific employers. The other method is for the employer or his representative to be at the recruiting office and for applicants to be referred to him there. In

most cases this last method is used when transportation arrangements are being furnished.

After workers are referred on an order from outside the local office area, by either of the aforementioned methods, the employer is contacted by the local office in his area in order to verify if the workers arrived and were hired. No referrals are knowingly made during school terms of workers under 16 years of age.

In summary, recruitment efforts progress in the following order until the needed number of workers can be obtained: (1) local community; (2) adjoining areas; (3) statewide; (4) interstate (one or more states may be called on simultaneously).

As a last resort, it reports indicate that domestic labor will not be available, certification as to need for off-continent labor may be made by the local and State offices of the Colorado State Employment Service.

## 2. Private Recruitment

Private recruitment is done by individuals, groups of individuals, sugar beet companies and sugar beet growers associations. These latter, representing farmers, send recruiters into major areas of supply - Arizona, New Mexico and Texas - to recruit labor needed in sugar beet production. Recruitment in Texas normally supplies about 80% of the labor needs in Colorado.

Private recruitment is governed by law in Texas under which a recruiter has to pay a license fee of \$150 and post a surety bond of \$5,000 for each county in which he operates. In addition to the county licensing fee and bond requirements, a state assessment of \$600 is required of each recruiter. No licenses for recruitment are required in New Mexico; Arizona and California require recruiters to be licensed by the state. One sugar beet company reported fee payments for recruitment in 1960 totaling \$19,000.

Sugar companies generally start a recruiter on a per capita basis until, as one of them said, "he proves he will do a good day's work. When he does prove his reliability and worth, he is shifted to a salary status."

Recruitment by the sugar companies aims at screening out undesirable workers. To achieve this end, standards of work are set up, detailed records are kept and desirable persons encouraged and aided to return to Colorado year after year.

When the job for which the workers were specifically recruited and assigned has been completed, the employers and the processing companies endeavor to direct the workers to the Employment Service in order that local employment may be provided. "If nothing is available locally, the Employment Service recommends to workers areas where employment is available."

The Colorado State Employment Service provides no transportation for workers. Transportation is not a function of its service. It facilitates transportation, however, by providing meeting places and information relative to local labor needs.

### Transportation

However, "floaters" or "free-wheelers" - the people who come to localities where jobs are believed to exist - are also in this group. They usually move without work commitment, drive around trying to place themselves, and are generally without representation and in evident need of employment. Because of their disorganized, needful and destitute condition, they have little or no bargaining power.

The proportion of migrants who move with their families of their own volition, instead of being recruited by agents, is relatively small. In this group are those who return to employers for whom they have previously worked. This method of meeting seasonal labor needs is the product of good worker-farmer relations and was reported to be the most satisfactory by the Employment Service, sugar companies, farmers and men who practiced it.

### 3. Voluntary Migration

Labor contractors place workers through personal agreements with farmers. Neither the processing companies nor the Employment Service looked with favor upon the independent labor contractor because of the shifting base on which he operates.

The recruitment practices of labor contractors varied with the individual. Some operated only with the number of persons who could be loaded into one truck and worked on a "trucker-field supervisor" level. Others, with several trucks, could devote full time to "making contracts" and expanding operations. A small third group could operate from an office and expect farmers to seek them out. Generally, all labor contractors were identified in the public mind as representatives of the sugar companies. This was found not to be true in the great majority of cases.

This type of private recruitment, in which individual employers, groups or corporations - or their representatives - deal directly with possible employees needs to be distinguished from that done by the independent labor contractor. The labor contractor does not usually receive any pay from the employer for his services, but derives his income almost entirely as a private employment agent for the particular workers under contract to him. Generally, the contract is no more than a verbal agreement or common assent. He promises housing, makes loans, and in some cases feeds his crew. He obtains his payments from the workers by withholding a portion of their earnings either on a straight percentage basis or on a "unit of work" basis, such as a field, or so many bags or bushels. However, a number of instances were found in Colorado in which labor contractors were able to control the labor supply so effectively that producers had to pay a fee to have workers brought in.



A representative of one sugar beet company made the following statement regarding the transportation arrangements provided by the companies:

"The sugar beet companies and sugar beet associations provide transportation for workers by car, truck, bus or train. Workers moved by motor transportation are paid a rate of one cent per mile per worker, which is used to defray the expense incurred by the owner of the vehicle. There is no deduction for this transportation allowance in the event the worker completes harvest. In the event only the spring work is completed by the worker, 50% of this transportation allowance is deducted from the worker's earnings. Food allowances are granted to the workers and such amount is not deducted from the workers' earnings.

"Public liability and property damage insurance is carried on the automobiles and trucks at the expense of the processor."

Labor contractors make their agreements with workers. No two persons interviewed had the same agreement with their contractors. The field staff obtained the impression that the nature of an agreement tended to depend upon the amount of information the worker possessed regarding recruiting practices. Most agreements involved travel loans for food and free transportation in spring and fall work were completed. Cases were found where the cost of travel both ways was withheld by a contractor if workers left after spring work on beets instead of remaining for the harvest.

The larger the business of the contractor, the greater the probability that his vehicles would be covered by liability and property

damage insurance. However, having insurance on trucks does not mean that losses of riders will be paid out of collected claims. Interviews found four families who had been in accidents. Costs of medical treatment were met from the labor contractor's insurance, but no compensation for personal possessions or time lost was paid. One contractor stated to a staff member, "Suppose I did collect for damages to my truck, I can't be held for their personal losses and I'll be darned if I'll pay them."

"Voluntary migrants" who returned to previous places of employment usually had their transportation costs paid by employers. These costs were carried by the grower on a seasonal basis; for a full season's work, round trip expenses; for a half season, half expenses. Several workers said that growers had mailed advance travel allowances to them. "Free-wheelers" were on their own, traveling by car or truck. Few had any kind of insurance.

It has been estimated by men in recruiting jobs that 95% of the workers recruited are transported by truck, bus and private cars. Workers preferred to come in their own cars or trucks, if they had them, as this provides greater mobility between the periods of labor need in beet work and enables them to get to and from work in vine crops or fruit harvests when not employed in beets. Also workers who own cars or trucks can get to town with their families or go visiting more readily.

Interstate truck transportation is one of the most vicious aspects of the migrant labor situation and the field staff had plenty of opportunity to observe it as trucks arrived in Colorado. The distressing discovery to the staff was that the sight of these trucks had become so common in Colorado the public had apparently become immune to it. People crowded into trucks, in a manner which a good stockman would not allow for cattle, did not seem to shock any passerby. Between terminal points on long interstate hauls, these truckloads of migrants endure hours of standing with stops for gas, oil, and water at irregular intervals. Nights are spent by roadsides, under trees and trucks, and by ditches. As far as could be ascertained by the field staff, no rest camps were available to labor in transit to Colorado from any of the states from which they were transported.

In three months of study, only four trucks were seen with attached seats for workers. These seats did not provide space for as many as half the occupants. "Pick-up" trucks owned by migrant workers had adequate side-racks, i.e., at least three feet high and firmly attached, but few other trucks did. No trucks carrying passengers were observed with tailboards or endgates closed. Similar conditions of overcrowding and lack of protection prevailed when workers were being transported in trucks to and from the places of work in Colorado and distances on these daily trips were often very great. Trucks loaded with children were seen frequently going to and coming from fields; in few instances were children in trucks under the supervision of adults.

Newspaper items, like the following, which included a photograph of the injured worker, were seen several times by the staff: "Man Falls Off Truck. Seriously injured when he fell from a truck one mile south of Fountain yesterday, Jose Dominguez, 48, Mexican migratory worker, lies unconscious...." Rocky Mountain News.

Transportation on Job

After workers arrived at places of work, the majority of the male heads of households (53%) traveled to and from work in personal cars. About 23% walked to and from working areas. Eleven percent were transported by employers and 8% by crew leaders or contractors. Cars of fellow workers or relatives furnished transit for the rest. Those who used their own cars or shared private cars with others paid operating costs but very few cases were found where workers had to make cash outlays to employers or contractors for transportation to and from work. Nearly half of all male heads of migrant families were housed within two miles of their work areas at the time of interview. Thirty-one percent traveled less than one mile; about 21% went over two miles but less than five miles; and 29% went five or more miles. Eleven percent of all workers had to go over 10 miles to get to job locations and in this group were 18 men who reported they were compelled to ride round trip distances as great as 200 miles per day or lose their jobs. In some instances these workers would be on the road and in the fields as much as 16 hours per day. A number of children as young as 8 years were included in these trips. Interviewers talked with men and children on

Of approximately 200 automobiles owned by the 262 families, nearly

The most common carrier from job location to job location was the family car. Three-quarters of all families traveled by that means, either in their own cars or with fellow workers or relatives. Labor contractors transported one in each ten families from one job area to another.

Transportation from One Job Area to Another

\*Of the 26 traveling over 10 miles, 8 went distances not in excess of 12 miles; 18 reported having to travel as much as 100 miles to get to work areas.

Male Heads		Distances	
Number	Percent		
74	31.5	Less than 1 mile	
42	17.9	Over 1, less than 2	
17	7.2	Over 2, less than 3	
20	8.5	Over 3, less than 4	
13	5.5	Over 4, less than 5	
43	18.3	Over 5, less than 10	
26*	11.1	Over 10	
Total 235			
100.0			

Distances Traveled by Male Household Heads from Living Quarters to Work Areas

Table 19

Male Heads		Means	
Number	Percent		
134	52.1	Own car	
57	22.2	Walking	
28	10.9	Employer's truck	
21	8.2	Crew leader or contractor's truck	
17	6.6	Car of fellow worker or relative	
Total 257			
100.0			

Means Used by Male Household Heads to Get from Living Quarters to Work Areas

Table 18

two occasions as they got down from their trucks as late as 9 p.m. The facts about the distances, the hours and the children on these jobs were confirmed by Public Welfare and Employment Service personnel.

three-fourths were eight or more years old. Fourteen percent had been in operation since 1928. Late model cars and trucks tended to fall in the middle-priced range and were the property of labor contractors and crew leaders exclusively. Forty-eight of all automobiles were trucks.

Table 20

Automobiles Owned by Migrant Families

Families		Model (Year)	
Number	Percent		
28	14.2	1928 to 1935	
119	60.4	1936 to 1942	
50	25.4	1945 to 1950	
Total	197		100.0

AN EVALUATION OF RECRUITMENT

Public Recruitment

A great many different ideas existed concerning the role of the Colorado State Employment Service in the field of recruitment, transportation and placement of seasonal agricultural workers. Few people realized that the Employment Service is an educational and service agency, not an enforcement body. Consequently, it cannot compel the acceptance of its services by sugar beet companies, associations, or workers. Also, the Employment Service has no authority to transport or house workers brought into the State. Its job is to provide information concerning, and assistance in securing, satisfactory employment or workers to those requesting its services.

The field staff found ample evidence that sugar beet companies ignore the Employment Service in their own recruitment procedures, though they would send workers to the local branch office for placement in other jobs during the months between the thinning and harvesting of beets.

Misunderstanding or misinformation concerning the Employment Service was at the bottom of much of the criticism that it did not operate the farm labor program as the Extension Service had done during World War II. The fact that it is legally and organizationally impossible for it to operate as the Extension Service did has not been made sufficiently clear to the workers and the public.

Evidence was plentiful that contractors and crew leaders deliberately gave migrant workers false information about the Employment Service in order to discourage them from using it. The following is a typical example:

Mr. G. was met, walking into town one morning, by a member of the field staff who asked him about employment opportunities.

Mr. G. stated bitterly that he was unable to obtain work. As if to emphasize the extreme measures he was taking to secure employment, he said that he was going to the Employment Service. When asked why he put it that way, he was a bit surprised. "Don't you know that they (the Employment Service) will collect 25 cents from each \$1.00 we (the family) earn? Besides they charge a \$5 fee for each job they get for us. Also, they can send me anywhere in the United States they want after I once sign up. They won't send my family with me except if I go to a job back in Texas or to another job in Colorado." Mr. G. went on to add that if his labor contractor ever found out that he had gone to the Employment Service for work, "he will fire me. Then I will have to pay for our travel up. If the family gets sick, he (the contractor) won't help with medicines."

Estimates of the use made of the Employment Service by migrants varied with agencies and other groups involved in recruitment. "Guesses" ranged from "none of them (migrants) use it" to "about 20% get work through the Employment Service."

Eighty (81%) of the migrants interviewed indicated they had applied at some time to the Employment Service for placement, 44 of them during the current year. Thirty-five of those applying had been placed; 41 did not obtain work, and 4 did not recall whether work had been obtained. However, 18 of the 41 men who were not placed stated that jobs had been offered to them. They gave numerous reasons for not taking the work: "It was too far away;" "I did not want that kind of work;" "I did not take it because there was nothing for the kids to do;" "They (the Employment Service) would not haul me," or "give me a house," or "lend me any money" or "get me credit at the store" and other similar reasons.

An indication of the misinformation regarding the Service, and the part played by contractors in discrediting it, was the fact that 57 heads of households who had not used the Colorado State Employment Service gave, as the basis for their decisions, reasons which showed complete ignorance of the Service or fear of retaliation by labor contractors as in Mr. G.'s case.

In summary it may be stated that the Colorado Employment Service, in the opinion of the field staff, was doing a much less efficient job than it is capable of doing and prepared to do. If the Service would develop an adequate educational program, it could do much to remove misunderstanding of its function and of the limitations on its operating procedures (e.g., that it is not permitted to pay transportation or to provide credit as companies and contractors do), and to counteract the discrediting practices of vested interests. Employment of Spanish-speaking interviewers would greatly improve the efficiency and usefulness of the Service.

Private Recruitment

From the standpoint of the producer, effective recruitment and efficient placement determine to a great extent the width of the gap

between cost and volume of production and cash income. Most sugar beet companies believe their own system of recruitment is more productive than any other. They continue to use it.

The criticism against this method has been that growers or processing companies bring the migrants into the state and assume no responsibility for their housing, health, sanitation, general welfare or employment between the peak periods in beet production. This results in excessive costs to the taxpayer whenever state agencies must contribute to maintenance of indigent persons within the migrant force.

Furthermore, this type of recruitment has developed a method which works to the detriment of migrant, farmer and community. It is known as the "head-hunting" method and consists first, of posting and circulating fliers in areas of recruitment. These handbills are acceptable in most cases. The harm ensues when the prospective employee meets and talks with the recruiter, who is paid on a per capita basis for each person he delivers in Colorado and hence is tempted to make many false promises.

One of the many illustrations of this found in the study was a young man influenced by a recruiter to leave a maintenance job in a Texas city to come to Colorado for beet work. He and his wife had been promised factory work in Wyoming from the middle of July to the first of October, between the peak periods of beet work. His wife, who was expecting her first baby, had been assured that the State of Colorado provided full maternity care for wives of beet workers. The man got no factory work and his wife delivered her baby in a tent without any medical care. How he was going to make enough money to get home, find a new job in Texas, and keep himself and family alive in the interim period, were problems that were making him feel desperate at the time he was interviewed.

If a recruiter is unsuccessful in getting "good" farm workers, he will, as one Public Welfare official said, "go into congested urban areas and pick up anyone able to walk. Consequently, there is being brought into Colorado through this system numerous cases of unwell people. Eventually, they become the responsibility of the Welfare Department. Many people in the State are beginning to question why persons responsible for the presence of such people are not being held accountable for their well-being." The field staff found that the practice of recruiting "anyone able to walk" is more frequent among labor contractors than in the direct recruiting activities of growers or companies.

The recruitment policies of sugar beet companies also came under sharp public criticism because it was assumed that they recruited workers in excess of need and that this policy depressed labor prices locally and produced large scale unemployment.

Those who made this criticism lacked understanding of the fact that wages in sugar beets are determined by public hearings and then set by the Secretary of Agriculture. The basic trouble arises from the fact that ample labor for weeding, thinning and harvesting of sugar beets inevitably means a labor surplus between the peak periods of need. This labor surplus

can then be used to depress hourly or piece work wage rates in other crops where workers must find employment during the months between beet operations. The criticism appears valid that the sugar companies assume no responsibility for workers during such times. The migrants are without representation, bargaining power or counsel. Thus they become prey for the labor contractor.

The complex nature of the migrant labor market and the system of bidding for labor necessitated by the type of agriculture in the State have produced extensive operations by labor contractors and methods of exploiting labor which appeared beneath the dignity of anyone but a labor contractor. Among Catholic and Protestant clergymen, welfare workers, teachers, merchants, skilled and day laborers, he was a "racketeer," "an exploiter of human misfortunes," "a trafficker in personality," "a thief," "a robber baron" and a long list of other things. Migrants generally refrained from commenting on contractors. However, of those who spoke, about half had good reports to give, chiefly because of their dependence on them for whatever security they had.

Criticisms of recruitment by labor contractors expressed by representatives of State agencies condemned it as costly to both the grower and migrant because of extra charges and deductions from earnings, and as wasteful of labor because more workers were imported than were needed, causing men to lose work, time and money. Authorities cited situations known to them in which 20% more workers were available than could be continuously employed throughout the summer. Since the labor contractor was responsible to no one, nothing could control his operations.

The only threats to workers who talked with interviewers came from labor contractors. The only persons who refused to talk with interviewers were labor contractors.

A communication from a Public Welfare official gave the following information on contractor practices:

"But the thing that really caps the situation is the exploitation of the laborers by the crew leaders and contractors. For instance, many times in one day they will have to work in Otero County, Crowley County and Pueblo County. No consideration in wages is given for the time lost from going from job to job. And when the contractor is taking a cut of 20% to 25% of the wages paid, it certainly makes a tough situation. "This last year some of our laborers who live in Rocky Ford, worked at Granada which is somewhere about 90 miles from their home. They would get up at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning, be transported to their work and return home not earlier than 9 or 9:30 in the evening, but were paid only for the time spent on the job. "The solution to the labor recruiters and exploiters might be that all farm laborers would have to be handled through the Employment office. "Some of the crew leaders (actually a contractor in this case) are so shrewd that the union brokers and dealers are forced into signing a contract where the dealer and the farmer are tied up by the recruiter by

an arrangement where the farmer agrees to use the recruiter's (the same contractor) laborers, after a certain dealer contracts the purchase of the onions. No other laborers are permitted on the job.

"We can assure you that the plight of the agricultural workers, both resident and migratory, is the major problem facing Colorado at the present time. And to top it all off they are not covered by any unemployment compensation which makes a tough problem during the winter months."



Within the migrant agricultural labor force in Colorado, all the social organization which is usually found with poverty, and which is greatly aggravated when resident status is lacking, was abundantly evident. The housing was for the most part badly overcrowded and modern improvements were few and far between. Health conditions were unfavorable. Medical care was inadequate where it was not completely lacking. School attendance was poor and rarely enforced. Relief was not available to most of those who were unemployed or in need. The social life of the migrant was walled by economic and racial restrictions. Numerous incidents of discrimination by law-enforcing agencies were observed by and reported to the field staff.

I. HOUSING

General Conditions

Colorado migrant housing generally conforms to the standard rural slum pattern of migratory workers' camps. Most housing units - camps and individual quarters - were crowded, makeshift, filthy collections of shelters. Housing quarters on farms were generally located near cattle barns. In the good camps, sanitary facilities were inadequate. In the worst camps, they could hardly be said to exist. Few camps provided any social life, and most had no facilities for recreation. To visitors, life in migrant quarters appeared to be one long spell of privation and misery. The workers bitterly resented the living conditions but felt there was little they could do but accept them and most of them did so with a hopeless, pathetic sort of resignation.

Most of the migrant families (90%) lived in open country areas. The remaining 10% lived in towns or villages.

During the 1950 season, 42% of the migrant families were found in labor camps and nearly 50% in houses provided by growers.

Table 21

Housing Provided for Migrant Families

Type of Housing	Families	Number	Percent
Labor camp	109	42.1	
Grower's house	128	49.4	
Rented from private individual	17	6.6	
Lived with relatives	1	0.4	
Free camp ground	4	1.5	
<b>Total</b>	<b>259</b>		<b>100.0</b>

The wisdom of providing private kitchen facilities was well recognized by the growers. Only 19 families shared kitchen equipment with

### Cooking Facilities

In every 100 migrant families, 92 had no means of refrigeration, about 5 had access to mechanical refrigeration and about 3 had ice boxes. In hot, fly-infested, dusty shelters, food storage was a major problem for homemakers and the almost imperceptible per capita consumption of butter or margarine, milk, fresh vegetables and meat which was found as hardly surprising. Foods which were relatively easily stored, as well as filling and easily prepared, had to be used regardless of the results on health. Waste is a luxury that families of 5 or 6 persons with annual incomes of \$250 per person cannot afford.

### Refrigeration

Nearly three-fourths of the homemakers washed the family clothes by hand. About one-fourth, however, had power machines. Few had bought their machines new and 21 (8%) who owned power machines were unable to use them because of lack of electricity. One householder had a hand-operated machine and another had her washing done by a sister who owned a hand machine.

### Laundry Facilities

No bath tubs were found and nearly 60% of the migrants had no bathing facilities other than outdoor pumps or clothes tubs. About 13% had access to a shower and 27% were able to use a shower room in which lavatories were also available. Hands and faces were usually washed in basins filled from pails carried into the living unit. However, it was a common practice for men to wash their hands at outlets when returning from work, getting dirt on the outlets and frequently sending dirt into the wall with the runback down the pipes, thereby contaminating the water supply.

### Bathing Facilities

About one-third of all houses were adequately screened, although roughly one-half of these had screens in need of urgent repair. Of the remaining housing units, about one-third had screens on either doors or windows and the rest had no screening whatever.

Less than two-thirds of the families (62%) had electric lights. About a third lighted with oil lamps and 5% used candles. Two families had natural gas and two had no means of lighting.

Over half of the families lived in frame buildings, though only about a third of them were in frame buildings which had been "improved" with some paint. About two in ten families were housed in tents; approximately one in ten lived in adobe houses and an additional one in ten in units made of brick or burnt tile. Shacks made of slab siding, or of tarpaper wooden-lined, and structures of metal sheeting housed the remainder.

one or two other families.

Most kitchens had wood or coal burning stoves. Actually, of 217 such stoves, only 11 were coal burners. Oil or gas stoves were next in frequency of use, although the number was small when compared to wood. Two householders used electric plates. It should be pointed out that of the 217 stoves classified as wood or coal burners, 52 were oil stoves, buckets, wash tubs, or similar adaptations.

Table 22

Distribution of Migrant Families by Type of Housing Unit

Families		Type of Housing
Number	Percent	
91	34.9	Frame painted
61	19.5	Frame unpainted
48	18.4	Tent
30	11.6	Adobe
22	8.4	Brick (burnt tile included)
11	4.2	Slab siding or tarpaper
8	3.1	Metal sheeting
261	100.0	Total

In the two general categories of housing available to migratory workers in Colorado - camps and individual housing units on dispersed farmsteads - there were wide ranges of differences between the few that were good and the many that were bad.

Good Camps

There are a number of good camps in Colorado where migrant labor is housed. Two of the best camps are described here.

Fort Lupton Farm Labor Camp

The Fort Lupton Farm Labor Camp was built by the Farm Security Administration in 1942, for the primary purpose of housing agricultural laborers and their families needed to thin, hoe and top sugar beets, and to harvest handworked crops. The Lupton Farm Improvement Association, a non-profit association of farmers, has been operating the camps since September, 1947, under a thirty-day revocable lease. Since that time, the Kuner-Empson Canning Company, Great Western Food Products Company, and the Lupton Farm Improvement Association have underwritten any operating deficit which may be incurred.

Two types of housing are provided in the camp: permanent and temporary. For obvious reasons, the permanent type housing will not be discussed in a consideration of migrant housing.

For seasonal occupancy, there are 109 shelters 18 by 12 feet which are somewhat similar to housing in many tourist camps. Centrally located sanitary and washroom buildings provide toilets, washbasins, showers and twenty-four stationary laundry tubs. Hot water is available twenty-four hours of each day. Cabins are sprayed with DDT before occupancy and approximately every two weeks during the harvest season. Toilet rooms and modern concrete garbage disposal units are sprayed daily. Beds, stoves, tables and mattress pads are supplied to the migrants. There is a community center building which is used to provide recreational facilities. This camp is rented by the Great Western Sugar Company, at certain periods of the year, to provide temporary housing and processing quarters for sugar beet workers recruited from the Southwest states. When not leased to the Great Western, the shelters and facilities of the camp are available to migrant families on a rental basis of \$2.50 per week. An army 16' x 16' pyramidal type of tent may be rented for \$2.25 per week.

#### Pallsade Labor Camp

The labor camp at Pallsade, which has 200 living units, was built and run by the Farm Security Administration for the first few years. Later, the Board of Control of the United Peach Growers Association and the Cooperative Peach Growers Association bought the camp from the Federal Government. Each of the 200 cabins in the camp is 16 x 12 feet. Cabins have concrete floors and four foot wooden walls. The sides above the walls up to the canvas tops are screened. Each unit is provided with beds, stoves, table and chairs, which are of varying quality and condition. Electricity is also provided.

Throughout the camp, running water and fenced garbage disposal units are provided, the water installation consisting of a cold water tap and drain. These units run the gamut from good to bad in orderliness and cleanliness. However, almost without exception they provide ample attraction not only for flies and animals, but for children who like to scavenge interesting discarded objects. Many children spend hours water-fighting in these units, knocking over the garbage and soaking it into the surrounding area, clogging the drains.

Centrally located is the Community Center, in the rear of which are shower rooms for men and women and the laundry room. The shower rooms are equipped with shower, wash basins, flush toilets, and mirrors. The laundry room is equipped with tubs, supplied with hot and cold running water, and with drains connected with the sewer. The camp has a number of enclosed pit-type toilets located near the housing units which are used more often than the one or two flush toilets in the shower rooms.

Several good camps were also found in the Arkansas Valley. With proper management and more effective supervision by state agencies, most good camps could easily be made into excellent camps.

#### Average Camps

The above camps should not be considered typical. The average camp

The toilets were located as near tents as five paces (about 15 feet). All the toilets were open pit type of as simple structure as possible. Flies and other vermin had unhindered access to the pits, as well as to garbage heaps in the midst of the tents. From these filthy areas they had unhindered access to tables at meal times, unprotected sleepers, stored food and the open water tank.

Water for the occupants of this camp was hauled in an open tank unit and was drawn from the tank by consumers as needed. This open tank was left in the camp for days at a time, unprotected from children, flies and sun.

One camp visited had been erected in a field just over the city line. How it escaped the attention of the county health officer is inexplicable. The housing consisted of tents with earthen floors and the most respectable sort of semi-quinset structures imaginable. There was no visible screening in the entire camp and the number of windows was negligible. The coureways between the tents and frame structures were either filled with garbage, hopelessly deposited for collection, or with ruts in dry weather and mud puddles during rains. Needless to say, rain and surface water quickly flowed into the more solidly packed depressions of earthen tent floors. The roofs of tents and frame structures leaked - interweavers were in them during storms and speak with experience on this point. Four different families were sheltered in two of the tents. Cooking, eating, sleeping and living were done in these two tents by all members of the four families.

The poor camps defy description. They are smaller in size than the average or good camps and as bad as any squatter camps in their lack of conveniences and sanitary facilities. These camps are generally set up by labor contractors or by the smaller farmers and are simply collections of tents or hovels which provide nothing, or next to nothing.

### Poor Camps

The average camp was bedeviled by lack of grass, shrubs or shade trees - dust or mud were everywhere and clean places for children to play were nowhere. The average camp was smaller than the good camps, and people living in them were subjected to greater hostility from the community because migrant "differences" were more readily observable. Some community leaders freely expressed fears to interweavers that the migrants might "decide to settle here and create a slim problem for us."

The greatest discomfort to migrants in these camps came from overcrowding, flies, improper flooring, limited living equipment and poor garbage disposal. Almost everywhere, unpleasant odors resulting from congestion, lack of cleanliness, excess garbage accumulation and poor sewage disposal, permeated the dwelling units.

Housing was adobe or frame shacks with single walls between units. Some camps had additional tents erected over wooden boxes. Street lights, laundries and shower baths were not provided. Sanitary facilities were generally inadequate.

The worst of the houses were patchworks of scraps of lumber, old signboards, tarpaper and flattened oil cans or other metal sheeting. The buildings often had one room with a lean-to kitchen. Some of the occupants did not have stoves but cooked outside over open fires or in open washubs inside when the weather was wet or cold. Kitchen sewage and garbage disposal, sanitary facilities, grass, trees, safe play areas or fire protection were non-existent by even the lowest minimum standards of safety and decency. Fires and rodents molested workers and

#### Poor Houses

Few of these houses had shade trees or grass, or play space for children that was clean and safe. Often soil would be tilled to within a few yards of the living quarters so that keeping home and children clean was practically impossible no matter what effort were made to do so.

Fires, attracted by open toilets, piles of uncollected refuse or kitchen sewage thrown into the yards, found their way into the houses in droves.

More often than not, migrant families quartered in houses were living in frame buildings of one or two rooms - actually 81%. A few families were found in adobe huts, several of which had dirt floors. The roofs predominated, often with no ceiling below, so that the inside temperature rose to extremely uncomfortable levels in warm weather. Most of the buildings had two or more glass windows, or openings with cloth or paper serving in place of glass.

#### Average Houses

Like a few camp managers, some growers were convinced that good housing attracts and holds satisfactory laborers. Twelve such houses visited by interviewers were in excellent condition. One had five rooms, 11 had four rooms each, and all 12 were completely screened and nicely furnished. The growers who owned these houses said they had no difficulty with workers keeping the premises in order, nor in getting good workers to come back. As 12 of the 48 workers who had been in the migrant force for 10 or more years were in these 12 houses, the argument that good housing pays seemed to have some foundation. Also it was found that the families who returned regularly were well received by communities which had come to know them and respect them as stable, hard-working people. Their children attended school while they were in the state and the attitudes of growers, workers and communities seemed healthy and mutually satisfactory.

#### Good Houses

Admittedly such camps are of a temporary nature. They are built for use during an emergency period, torn down at the end of summer and replaced next year. Nonetheless, in the interest of public health as well as common humanity, their operation should be prohibited by law until minimum provisions for safe water supply and sewage disposal are assured. The above situation could have been cleaned up by the enforcement of existing legal authority to protect public health.

During an interview one rainy evening, a schedule was completed in a 10' by 12' by 7' hut. The roof leaked and rain splattered on the schedule as the interview progressed. A cold smoke from a fire built in a tub in the center of the small room to prepare supper bit into the nostrils and eyes of the interviewer. Around the walls of the room were two double-deck beds and one single iron bed in which the 11 members of the family slept. The only ventilation for these 11 people was through the door-way.

An example of overcrowding in a one-room unit will illustrate how some of these migrant families lived.

When data on living quarters of households living in one room or less were studied separately, it was found that these quarters had an average floor space of about 170 square feet. In addition to serving as a cooking area, each unit had an average of 2.1 beds. There were 4.7 persons in each room. Thus each occupant had an allotment of floor space equivalent to 36 square feet, which was shared with beds, stoves, tables and chairs. He also had to share one of the beds with 1.1 other persons in the room.

The average room where migrants slept had about 162 square feet of floor space. The average number of persons who shared this space was 4.19 and between them they had 1.8 beds to use in which 2.3 persons slept - or were expected to sleep. The space for each occupant in the average room was about 38 square feet, or an area less than four by ten feet.

About half of the households lived in one room, or less (four households shared two tents). About 52 percent lived in two room units and about 14 percent in three room units. Five percent of the households had four rooms (one family in this group had five rooms). The above data refer to all rooms. When the analysis is restricted to sleeping rooms, the breakdown shows that out of a total of 458 rooms, 347 were used for sleeping purposes. Only forty-five (17.2%) of the households had any room used solely for sleeping purposes.

The 262 households in the study, containing 1,513 persons, were living in a total of 458 rooms. The average amount of living space for a migrant and his family was therefore 1.76 rooms which had to be shared by 3.5 persons.

#### Persons and Rooms

Photographs of such housing taken by the field staff brought comments like the following from people to whom they were shown: "The strongest impression I get from looking at these pictures is that this is a farm yard for animals. It is unbelievable that humans live there." "Why, that looks like the hog pen we had at home." These typical remarks were made by people who had no idea of what the photograph was about other than that it was housing for humans.

their children without any material hindrances.

As a section of the meal was cooked, youngsters scampered over the interviewer with apologies, grabbed their share, and ate standing. After they had finished eating, they washed their hands and went outdoors to play. When they returned, they courtied past the interviewer, apologized, and went to bed.

Table 23

Number of Rooms, Beds and Sleepers by Size of Room

Size of Rooms (Square Feet)	Number of Rooms	Number of Beds	Number of Sleepers
Less 100	17	20	55
100-149	174	260	641
150-199	123	277	580
200-249	17	37	90
250-299	4	9	18
300 and over	12	33	75
<b>Total</b>	<b>347</b>	<b>636</b>	<b>1459*</b>

\*47 additional persons were listed as sleeping outside, in car or truck or under trees.

Several household heads living in the poorest type of housing told interviewers that they did not use the beds but slept on the floor or outside. When asked the reason, the explanation given was the quantity of bedbugs and lice that inhabited the quarters. This led the interviewers to make a check of the density of the bedbug population in 20 houses. In 10 houses mattresses were inspected and in 10 others wall space was examined. On the mattresses an area about 18 square inches at one corner was selected and the bugs collected and counted. The smallest count in the mattress test was 21 bugs and the largest was 37. On the wall areas of similar size from 3 to 18 bugs were caught.

The Furnishings with Which Migrants Lived

Anyone visiting an average migrant home would have been struck with the absence of furnishings - the bare essentials as well as a few things to brighten the drab interiors, such as rugs, curtains or pictures.

Each migrant family could possibly have provided 2.8 seating units from among the total of 640 chairs, 7 couches, 189 benches, boxes, kegs and stools. Four babies could have occupied high chairs. Seven families had linoleum rugs and 67 had what were meant to be curtains or drapes. Pictures and images graced the walls of 48 living quarters. One family had a desk and a bookcase. Fourteen families had lamps other than the electric bulb in the center of the room suspended from the ceiling socket or cord end.



A total of 112 mirrors, 13 dressers and 16 sewing machines was found in all households. Seven of the sewing machines were found in the San Luis Valley of the Paltisade area where the migrant force included many residents of Colorado and new Mexico. Since these workers moved short distances to work crops, they carried greater numbers of "luxury" items with them. They also owned 8 of the 13 dressers and half of the 112 mirrors. In other words, half or more of the sewing machines, dressers and mirrors were found in 60 homes in one sample segment.

Table 24

Furnishings Found in Migrant Housing for 262 Families with 1,613 Family Members

Items	Total
Chairs, straight	519
Chairs, arm or rocker	21
Couches	7
Rugs, small	2
Rugs, large	5
Tables	265
Pictures and images	48
Lamps	14
Curtain-drapes	67
Desks	1
Sewing machines	16**
Bookcases with books	1*
Dressers	13***
Mirrors	112****
Benches	144
Boxes	20
Keys	7
Stools	18
Highchairs	4*

\*In Paltisade Area  
 \*\*7 in Paltisade Area  
 \*\*\*8 in Paltisade Area  
 \*\*\*\*Half in Paltisade Area

Nearly half of all schedules were gathered during mealtimes. It was a common sight to see people standing or squatting to eat meals since there were not enough chairs or room for the family to sit down to eat together at a table. Nor was it unusual, during evening inter-views, to see people sleeping on dirt, board, or mortar floors, in cars or under trees because of lack of beds and space.

Communication and Transportation Facilities

About 62 percent of all migrants had no radios and 99 percent had no telephones. Approximately 96 percent took no newspapers and 88 percent had no magazines. One-quarter of the households depended upon others for transportation as they owned no automobiles or trucks.

These facts are of significance to persons or agencies endeavoring to carry on programs for migrants. Lack of the major media of communication - telephone, press and radio - is a handicap in any program to assist isolated groups. The failure to realize better returns on such efforts as have been made to improve health and social conditions among migrant workers can be at least partially attributed to the difficulty of reaching them through the usual channels of communication. The effect of lack of transportation on educational programs can not be dismissed lightly either. The people most likely to need information and help would be those without enough funds to purchase private means of transportation and they would be particularly handicapped in getting to public meetings, clinics, educational programs, etc., held in places other than their own camp because of dependence on others for transportation. Complaints most frequently heard from persons without private means of transportation concerned the indifference of those who "should have transported" them to church, to town for shopping or for similar errands.

II. SANITATION

Kitchen Sewage

Practically all kitchen sewage - dishwasher and garbage - was thrown into the outside yard. Few facilities were provided for doing anything else and 255 households, or 91%, disposed of it in this manner. Less than one in ten households disposed of sewage by means of trap drains or covered garbage cans, but since sinks with such drains were rarely found and overflowing cans of uncollected garbage were the rule rather than the exception, this figure is hardly surprising.

Table 25

Means Used by Migrant Families to Dispose of Kitchen Sewage

Means of Disposal	Number	Families	Percent
Sink drain piped into outside closed pit	2		0.8
Sink drain piped to open outside receptacle	2		0.8
Sewage carried outside to container	19		7.3
Sewage thrown into outside yard	235		91.1
<b>Total</b>	<b>258</b>		<b>100.0</b>

### Toilet Accommodations

Pit toilets predominated. Nearly three-quarters of all households used them. Approximately 85 percent of the pit toilets were adequately banked so as to prevent access to vermin. Few units had seat covers. Volume of the pit per seat was generally estimated to be inadequate, i.e., less than 25 cubic feet per seat. Few were lined far enough below the surface to prevent caving and most of them were unlined. Frequently pits were filled to the top, or within inches of it, and housing should long since have been moved to a place where new pits could be dug, or the old pits cleaned.

The field staff estimated that the proportion of toilets which would have passed elementary health inspections was less than 25%. Approximately 15% of all pit toilets should have been condemned by health inspection before they were put into use, for they were little more than open pits with partial shelter from public view for the user. In one camp mothers stated they had encouraged their children to use the ground outside instead of the toilets because of fear that they would fall through the floors or seats. Generally, where open pit toilets were found, camp occupants used vacant spaces around the camp or house. Flies, rats, and other vermin abounded in such conditions. Odors were persistent and widespread.

About 9% of the households had access to flush toilets, and an additional 18.2% had access to either flush toilets in washrooms or to outside pits. Where flush toilets were found in labor camps, they were ritidiously few in proportion to the number of users. Consequently, urinals and bowls were generally smelly, running over, out of order, or left unflushed because of unfilled tanks. The outside pits were kept in good condition by the management of the Fort Lupton Camp, although some users tended to defile facilities quickly. Many persons in the camp complained about the conduct of their camp members. Most of the difficulty seemed to be due to inadequate facilities or over-use. Dissatisfaction with insufficient space or units often expressed itself in destruction or defacement of the too few existing units. Many times the flooded facilities would overflow, cover the floors and drain off into the shower rooms. Using either toilets or showers in such conditions was, to say the least, unpleasant and unfortunately these conditions were more common than not.

### III. WATER SUPPLY

Water for drinking and household use was available to migrant consumers from three principal sources: piped outlets, cisterns, and wells or springs.

### Piped Outlets

Generally, piped outlets, available to about 30 percent of all households, provided "safe water", but not always. One alert public health nurse indicated an infected tank above a deep well from which water was pumped. This water supply had a 14 percent pollution as

shown by tests of samples. Several severe cases of dysentery, enteritis and typhoid in four families were directly traceable to this infected water supply. The nurse's reports and protests to public health authorities had produced no action to correct the condition. The water supply of eight other families, though "safe" at the original source, was very dubious for use because it was carried to them in a filthy trailer tank which was left open and unsheltered in the middle of the camp.

Most piped outlets were in large labor camps and furnished "city water." Other outlets were from closed deep wells supplying the houses of the owners. These were satisfactory sources of water up to the piped outlets but except in large camps, under the supervision of managers, such outlets were often far from clean and safe due to their location in unsuitable areas. For example, several "dipped outlets" were found in stock pens. Workers and others washing their hands would inevitably pick up on the feet of the worker or water carrier at the faucets and conveyed back into the houses. Yard manure, regardless of where it is found, draws flies. Outlets in or near stock corrals tended to be surrounded by muddy areas.

### Cisterns

The second greatest source of water was cisterns. They provided water for household uses to 50% of the families, and were found chiefly in individual grower housing. Cistern water was provided through a chain of "from city supply to tank truck to cistern" moves. Few cisterns were cleaned between fillings and several had not been emptied between seasons. Accumulations of moss, debris and drowned animals - with accompanying stenches - were frequently seen by the interviewers. Several cisterns were observed undergoing cleaning but in no case did disinfection of vats take place.

Some migrants stated they had cleaned the cistern themselves before water was hauled to fill the vat. Water was replenished at weekly intervals in some places and at longer periods in others. Size of family and habits of use had a great deal to do with the length of the interval.

The majority of cisterns were in need of repairs to prevent ground seepage and wind infiltration. Twenty of the vats were so dilapidated as to make discussing their condemnation silly; only 11 were readily acceptable as storage vats. Between these extremes, many of the cisterns were in urgent need of cleaning; most of them were in obvious need of mending. Deploable carelessness was frequently observed during the transportation of water from outlets to vats. Generally, the methods of obtaining water for household use from the storage vats were unsanitary, hence dangerous. Cisterns where a bucket and rope were used to dip water were particularly dangerous. The general attitude of growers toward cistern renovation was tersely put by one grower thus: "That cistern ain't too clean. I know that. I wouldn't drink out of the filthy thing, but mister, you gotta admit it is better'n they have at home."

Open Wells or Springs

The third major source of water was open wells and open springs used by about 15% of all households. These were in every instance likely to be polluted sources. Generally, open springs and wells were located so that surface drainage was toward them. Few had adequate protection against wind infestation and several were accessible to animals. Pitcher pumps, inadequate drainage away from well outlets, loose plank platforms for pumps or rope and bucket dippings, permitted easy defilement through run-backs, falling debris, contaminated buckets and ropes.

Health educators recommend a minimum distance between toilets and uncessed wells or springs of 100 feet and erection of toilets two feet above ground water level of dug wells. Growers and operators of housing for migrant workers interviewed professed no knowledge of these basic principles of sanitation and water supply.

To summarize, 33 households (12.6%) were using water which was hazardous to them and to the community. One hundred thirty-nine families were getting water from reserves likely to be infected through multiple handling, type of pump or dipper, or faulty vats and wind infestation, or from unprotected open wells and springs. This left only 89 households (34.1%) whose source of water supply seemed relatively safe.

Table 26  
Source and Safety of Water Supply Used by  
261 Families

Source	Good	Questionable	Dangerous
City systems or cased wells	78	8	4
Cisterns	11	101	20
Open wells and open springs	--	30	9
Total	89	139	33

\*Food for Millions, final report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Nutrition 1947, Document #61, 94 Broadway, Newburgh, N. Y.  
\*\*The data given here from this study were published in Food for Millions.

Health authorities were particularly disturbed by the lack of milk for the children of migrants. One public health nurse remarked that she "would be surprised if they have a word for it [milk]." The nurse

The diet of migrants and their families corresponded closely to poverty diet. It consisted almost entirely of cheap, filling, starchy foods. Meat, except for an occasional "hunk" of fowl bacon, cheek of hogs, or "fat back," and fresh vegetables were rarely seen. The mitting "greens" of the typical southern farm diet was nearly always absent.

### The Migrant Diet

It has been repeatedly demonstrated that low income groups in America suffer disproportionately from sickness and have generally unfavorable death rates. A comprehensive health study made by the Government in 1935\*\* showed that, compared with families with moderate or high income, families on relief had 57% more illness, disabling them for a week or longer, and families with incomes just above the relief level had 17% more. Also the duration of illness was 63% longer in the first group and 20% longer in the second than among families with moderate or high incomes. Infant mortality and tuberculosis death rates among migrants furnish strong evidence of the disadvantages under which they live. Bringing the diets of migrant families up to the minimum requirements will greatly assist in wiping out susceptibility to these health hazards. In addition, their health has a great influence on the behavior of migrants in the community. This is particularly true where the mother is concerned. Her health greatly affects the mental well-being and behavior of the entire family.

If "the health of the people is really the foundation upon which our happiness and all our powers as a state depend,"\* the nutritional needs of seasonal agricultural workers cannot be neglected. And the fact must not be overlooked that even the best food, containing the elements essential to health, will hardly produce the expected results when prepared and eaten in slums or in unsanitary, unattractive surroundings. No food is better than the surroundings in which it is eaten and the migrants have neither good food nor good surroundings. In building a more healthy community for all, communities, states and the Nation will have to recognize the effect of poor food and poor housing on the physical and mental health of families.

Food and Health

WHAT THE MIGRANTS EAT

CHAPTER V

It is recognized that "the last three meals" is a short period on

The information relative to food consumption of migrants was derived from responses to questions, interviews, and observations. The questions pertained to food eaten during "the last three meals." Between-meal snacks were not a significant part of the eating habits of migratory workers.

### Consumption of Basic Foods

Lack of refrigeration also influenced the kinds of foods used. In order to make maximum use of minimum budgets, starchy, easy to keep foods which were filling predominated.

The "poverty diet" on which Colorado migrants were forced to live was not exclusively a financial matter. Transporting adequate cooking equipment to prepare balanced meals is a problem for persons moving from place to place in trucks or family cars with little space to spare. This problem was visible in the kitchens; the few utensils seen meant menus that could be easily and quickly prepared in them. Foods which could be eaten with the fewest possible dishes and which required as little after-meal cleaning up as possible were preferred since this made for a minimum loss of field time.

### Factors Affecting Type of Diet

While an adequate supply of food is essential for the health and well-being of man, food can also be a cause of disease as a result of bacterial contamination or parasitic infestation. In studying the situation in which migrant people live, one cannot help but shudder at the many possibilities for both bacterial and parasitic infestation. It is not so amazing that so many of them are ill, as that so many of them are not ill or that more of them do not die.

It was found that most of the families ate one real meal a day. The main meal was at noon, and consisted of a vegetable stew made of some combination of lentils, tomatoes, onions, garlic, noodles, cabbage and turnips. Meat, when served, was usually in a stew. Vegetables as such appeared on the menu only once or twice a week. Breakfast and supper consisted generally of a beverage and tortillas. The beverage was coffee with a great deal of sugar and occasionally a small amount of milk from cans. Tortillas, made with ground whole corn, are generally soaked in lime water when prepared at home and this provides some calcium which otherwise would be almost lacking in a diet which does not usually contain milk or cheese. But the migrants use prepared tortillas and they do not have the same lime content.

had seldom seen even canned milk in her visits to camps. This observation was similar to that of the interviewers. Butter, jams and sweets were luxuries. These items were so scarce during the summer that when the fall pay-offs furnished enough money to splurge, the volume of buying in these items led many townspeople to cry, "Extravagant," "Wasters" or "Fools." Not understanding why people do as they do makes ridicule easy.

which to base a statement concerning the diet of a people. However, in the process of interviewing the 262 families, three meals - breakfast, lunch, dinner - were observed daily for a period of approximately 90 days. The evidence clearly showed that the food intake for this period was definitely of a low protein, high starch type. The exceptions to this pattern were found only among Anglo and Indian families. Since diets were nearly identical in each segment and throughout the period of interviewing, it is believed that what is presented below represents an accurate profile of the food habits of the people under study for a period of at least 90 days. Actually, many homemakers stated that the same food patterns existed throughout the year, though others said "only while away from home," mentioning some of the food problems while on the road noted above.

Generally, the volume of food on the tables observed was estimated to be insufficient. Heads of households and homemakers frequently stated voluntarily that they often did not have all the food they wanted.

It has been pointed out elsewhere that the population under study was a "young" one; 58% were under 20 years of age and 16% were women between 20 and 45 years. This means that three-quarters of the population were definitely in the growing or child-producing stages of life. The foods eaten inevitably raise the question, "What kinds of babies can be produced and nurtured on the diets they have?"

The questionnaire relative to foods eaten was an adaptation of the "Seven Basic Foods" chart used by nutritionists at Colorado A. & M. College, Fort Collins. The scale for determining adequacy was adapted and used with their consent.

#### Milk and Milk Products

Adequacy of milk consumption was determined on the broad base of a pint per day per person, though it was recognized that this does not meet the recommended three cups per day for a pre-school child or the quart for the adolescent and the adult.

Twenty-four percent of the households had consumed no milk during the preceding week. Under the scale used, any quantity of milk less than a daily per capita consumption of one pint was entered as low. About 67% of the households were found low in consumption on this basis. Less than one family in ten (9.5) indicated a daily per capita consumption of a pint or more. No consumption of milk products, such as cheese, was found.

#### Meat - Poultry - Fish

Adequacy of meat, poultry and fish was determined by a daily serving on an individual basis. Only slightly over one-third of the families reported - or were seen to have - adequate servings. Eighteen percent had had no food of this type in the three previous meals, and 46% were rated as low in its consumption.



Dried beans were separated from meat-poultry-fish because of the difference in their cost. Adequacy was established on the basis of one serving. Nearly half of the families recorded very high use and another

#### Dried Beans

One large serving daily, or two small ones, was thought to be "adequate." About 8% of the families indicated adequacy or better. More families had an inadequate intake of vegetables than was found even for fruits.

#### Vegetables - Green - Yellow

Potatoes are usually grouped with fruits in the Seven Basic Foods chart. This was not done here since potatoes were eaten at a much greater frequency than fruits. The families who had no potatoes were about as few as those who had any fruit. Conversely, the proportion of families with no fruit approximated the proportion having adequate (one or more potatoes) or very high potato consumption. Briefly, migrant families ate little fruit, but a great deal of potatoes.

#### Potatoes

Two servings of fruit were thought to be necessary to meet adequately the daily needs. Six percent of the families were obtaining that volume. These families were in the Western Slope peach areas. About nine out of ten families were using no fruit at the time of interview. Three percent of the families had a "low" rating. A "low" rating was assigned, for example, to the father who brought home and divided six bananas among his family of eight children.

#### Fruits: Others

Adequacy was determined by one serving daily. Less than 2% of all families were consuming adequate citrus fruits or tomatoes. Where tomatoes were served in chili or macaroni dishes twice, the intake was rated adequate. If tomatoes were eaten only once in chili, the rating given was "low." Roughly 88% lacked this item of food entirely, and another 11% were low. At first the field staff was doubtful about the low volume of tomato consumption reported by homemakers. An examination of charts readily demonstrated that homemakers evidently knew what was going into their cooking pots and that their reports were made on the basis of that knowledge.

#### Fruits: Citrus and Tomatoes

This item belongs with the above group, but since eggs can be stored for greater periods and are easily prepared on the top of a stove or over open fires, it was considered independently. The families serving no eggs were few in number, as were those with a low use. The proportion of all families serving each member one or more eggs daily was extremely high - 76% had an adequate or very high egg intake.

#### Eggs

one-third consumed adequate quantities. About 6% were low in volume of consumption. Only a little more than one in ten families had eaten none during the past three meals.

Cereals-Bread

The bread used was a commercial white product and was described by a health authority as "practically worthless from a nutritional point of view. It would probably rate high as a source of carbohydrate." Yet 76.6% of the families were found to be using it in large quantities. Only one in five families had less than two slices, or the equivalent, per member each day. Very few (2.3%) families were without it. Dry breakfast cereals eaten without milk, and macaroni and vermicelli were also enumerated in this category.

Butter or Fortified Margarine

Two level tablespoons per day were set as a measure of adequacy but less than 1% of the families used enough to qualify. Actually, butter or margarine in any amount was found in less than 5% of the households. Fats were lacking through the usual meat sources also.

Table 27

How 261 Migrant Families Used Basic Foods

Basic Foods	Family Consumption		
	None	Low	Adequate
Milk or milk products	24.0	66.6	8.0
Meats-poultry-fish	18.0	45.6	28.7
Eggs	13.8	10.3	74.0
Fruits: citrus-tomatoes	87.8	10.7	1.5
Fruits: other	90.8	3.1	5.7
Vegetables: green-yellow	72.0	20.3	7.7
Potatoes	10.3	20.7	60.2
Dried beans	11.1	5.7	36.1
Cereals-bread	2.3	21.1	47.1
Butter or fortified margarine	95.4	3.8	0.8

Doctors should be able to testify regarding the effects of the type of diet described above on school work and on the capacity for learning. Moreover, the behavior of tired, undernourished children adversely affects the mental health and emotional balance of the family. The problem is intensified in quarters which are overcrowded, insect-infested, hot, and ill-ventilated.

Is it reasonable to expect that drains on welfare and public health budgets can be avoided until diets contribute more adequately to health and working efficiency? In a radio discussion broadcast from Denver, James H. Moberney stated, "...Generally speaking, the (migrant) laborer's

\* "The Social Consequences of Migratory Labor," Northwestern University  
on the Air, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill., Vol. 7, No. 16,  
Sept. 22, 1946, p. 4.

If "the health of the people is really the foundation upon which  
our happiness and all our powers as a state depend," how much longer  
can the nutritional needs of seasonal agricultural workers be ignored  
in the programs of our health, welfare and educational institutions?  
Family and children are underfed and in ill health, ravaged by tubercu-  
losis and 23% die of diseases of malnutrition before they are 18."\*

"They seem to die fastest in areas of greatest agricultural productivity. The Colorado county leading in production of potatoes also leads in death rate from typhoid, diarrhea and enteritis. In one county in the state where the value of agricultural products exceeds all others, they die at the rate of more than 46 per 100,000. At points of greatest labor need and, therefore, greatest concentration, 73 out of every 100

Evidence on the amount of illness and the number of deaths among migrants in this section of the country is incomplete, but it is admittedly high. "In areas where these people/migrants live and work in greatest numbers they die at the rate of from 5 to 29 per 100,000 from typhoid fever....the national average is less than 4 per 100,000. Diarrhea and enteritis kill from 21 to 75 per 100,000 who work in these areas/Colorado, Wyoming and Montana/. The national average is less than 15 for each 100,000.

### Evidence of Illness Among Migrants

Obviously it was not possible to relate use of health facilities outside of Colorado to availability of services. Inside of Colorado, such specific indices as the ratio of physicians to the population generally, the number of hospital beds per 1,000 persons, or dentists per 1,000 persons, or the ratio of registered nurses to the population, or the proportion of births delivered in hospitals, would have been extremely difficult to weigh properly for the migrant population. It was felt that weighing of such items should be done by physicians in Colorado, either in private practice or members of the State Health Department. The Colorado Medical Society undoubtedly has on file data from which an inventory of the personnel and facilities for health care could be made, the health resources in communities in which migrants work could be mapped, and the relation of resources to need could be readily determined.

The primary purpose of this aspect of the study was to find out the extent to which migrant families had used medical and health care facilities during the past 12 months and the source from which care was obtained (e.g., private doctors, public health services, hospitals, etc.). The information was obtained from the workers themselves, since only they would know what health care they had had outside of Colorado, and no information was available from any other source in Colorado which would provide a record of health care of migrants while in the State. The data pertaining to health services and their use - or disuse - are therefore based on information furnished by about 1,100 persons 7 years of age and over in the migrant families. School age children, it was found, often knew more about immunizations received in school than their parents did. Data on the use of maternal and infant facilities were obtained separately and the findings are reported in the chapter, "The Children of Migrant Families."

### Method of Inquiry

## MEDICAL AND HEALTH CARE

### CHAPTER VI

of them use water from ditches or other questionable sources. Ninety-two of every 100 of them have no facilities for proper sewage disposal. More than 96 of every 100 of them have no modern bathing facilities.\*"

One Colorado physician stated to the field staff: "We know that communicable diseases are present among the migrants. The fatalistic acceptance of the situation, plus their poverty, makes the problem of medical care a critical one. Tuberculosis, enteritis, smallpox, typhoid fever, dysentery and venereal diseases have been more often detected by accident or search by public health officials than by patients voluntarily seeking medical assistance. Welfare officers also bring many applicants for aid to medical officials for care."

A health problem in one district involved treatment of over 150 patients by local doctors. The medical informant estimated that "only a part of those obviously ill were treated." The doctor stated that he and his colleagues attributed the illness to malnutrition, overcrowded housing and lack of adequate sanitation.

The health needs of seasonal agricultural workers, or the importance they placed on health care service, cannot be accurately deduced from the incidence of use reported in answer to questions. Frequency of use could have been - and undoubtedly often was - adversely affected by such factors as low income, lack of education, community attitudes toward use of existing facilities and toward doctors treating migrants, and attitudes of doctors toward migrants as patients. That adverse community pressures have been brought to bear on doctors who treated migrants, and that treatment has been denied migrants by doctors for numerous reasons is a matter of record.

One doctor reported to the field staff that several of his patients had demanded that he assure them they were not being treated with the same instruments he might have used in treating migrant people. In another community, a nurse said: "The doctors around here are battling for good obstetrical records. They don't want to deliver a baby if any unusual risk is involved. I know of one doctor who refused to deliver a woman because she was living in a tent at the time. He informed the husband that if he took his wife to a house or into the hospital that he (the doctor) would take care of her, but that he could not come to a tent.

#### Use of Health Facilities

Lack of use of health care services - for whatever reason - was the most conspicuous finding. The only health services reported were: X-ray ("because it was free") by 13.8%; doctors, 13.7%; dentists, 13.1%; hospital, 12.1%; public health services, 1.2%; and public health nurses, 1.1%.

Mention has been made elsewhere that many migrants received assistance from the public health services (frequently X-ray) under the mistaken idea that the service was from the public welfare department. Migrants lacking funds, whose cases were referred by welfare to medical resources, thought of the medical care as a welfare service and the doctor as a welfare agent. Unfortunately no data are obtainable on the number of cases in which this confusion existed. At least 20 persons in the sample are known to have attributed medical care to welfare in answering the questions.

Table 28

Health Care Services Used by Migrants During Last 12 Months

Service Used	Percent of Migrants	
	Using	Not Using
X-rays	13.8	86.2
Doctors (private practitioners)	13.7	86.3
Dentists	13.2	86.8
Hospitals	12.1	87.9
Public Health Services	1.2	98.8
Public Health Nurses	1.1	98.9

Care by Doctors

The great majority of the migrants had had no health care by a doctor during the last 12 months. There were 947 out of 1,098 persons, for whom information was available, who had not seen a doctor during the entire year for reasons other than maternity. The average number of visits during the past 12 months for the 151 persons using a physician was four, in a range of from one to 13 visits. In terms of probable health needs, it is the figure of 947 who did not see a doctor at all which is significant.

Care by Dentists

The pattern for visits to dentists was similar to that for doctors - out of 1,101 persons for whom data were obtained, 955 had not seen a dentist during the past 12 months. Of the 146 persons who had visited a dentist, 103 made only one visit. The average number of calls for the 146 persons was 1.4.

Table 29

Visits to Doctors and Dentists by Migrants 7 Years and Over During Past 12 Months

Total Reporting	No Visits		Visits
	Doctors	Dentists	
1098	947	955	151
1101	947	955	146

A great deal of light is shed on the use of dentists by seasonal agricultural workers when the reasons for visits are considered. Nearly three-fourths of all visits to dentists were for extractions and resulted in loss of teeth. This suggests that dental care had been postponed. Sixteen percent went because of "tooth ache." Seven percent wanted check-ups; significantly, they had all had army experience, or were from households in which there were ex-army personnel. Only six percent of the patients had fillings or denture work.

#### Care by Public Health Nurses

The statistical data obtained on care by public health nurses are unreliable. Ninety-nine percent of the sample reported that they had not visited or been visited by a public health nurse. Four persons said they had seen a nurse once, three persons twice, two persons three times and two persons four or more times. But that this is not the whole picture can be illustrated by an interview with one mother. A public health nurse had driven the field worker to a camp for the interview and went in to see the mother before the field worker did. When the mother was interviewed, she said that no nurse had been to see her or been visited by any member of her family. At the end of the interview, the mother was asked about the lady who had left before the field worker came in. The reply was, "Oh, she is the lady who looks after the babies and she is such a fine lady." There was certainly no connection in the mind of that mother between the "fine lady" and the Public Health Nursing Service.

However, granting that public health nursing care was greater than reported by the migrants, it is clear that it was not on a large scale nor an important factor in promoting sound health.

#### Care by Public Health Services

Only 13 members of the 262 households had knowingly obtained assistance from the public health services. For Colorado, the important implication of this situation is not so much the small degree of use reported, as its indication of the extent of misinformation or lack of knowledge of the State Health Department and its obligations and services to persons in need of health care. Data on the uses made of such public health resources as X-ray and immunizations show general confusion on the part of many migrants as to the source of the services. Consequently, it was the opinion of the interviewers that public health services were much more likely to have been under-enumerated than other services.

#### X-Rays

There were 313 individuals who had had chest X-rays during the preceding five years (1945-1949) or 28% of the 1,120 individuals for whom this information was obtained. The remaining 807 or 72% had not been so fortunate.

That the need for tuberculosis detection clinics is real among Colorado's most mobile and infected group - migrant laborers - is pointed up in the following letter from a Welfare Department official:

"In a survey of Otero County, which is one of Colorado's chief agricultural areas, during 1946 the following was shown: that Otero County ranks as one of the leading counties in Colorado in infant mortality from enteritis and diarrhea /this same county ranked second during the period 1929 to 1938/, that it is a hotbed for tuberculosis and that in five years - April 1941 to May 1946 - the local Welfare Department spent over \$65,000 for hospital care for tuberculosis patients alone. About the same amount was spent for food, fuel and shelter for the families of those hospitalized. Between 50% and 60% of the cases hospitalized for tuberculosis came from the sub-standard slum type of housing in which Spanish-American agricultural workers live."

The reasons given by the 313 persons who had had chest X-rays were encouraging. Slightly over half had done so because the service provided was "free." About one in each four persons had accepted the service to protect members of his immediate family. Slightly over one in ten patients had been X-rayed because he was "sick." Just under 2% were involved in accidents and 5% stated it was compulsory for the work they were doing and "free." The Army gave 3.5% of the total number of X-rays and about 3% were for general check-ups.

The agencies which provided X-ray service to migrants were varied. Again, it should be pointed out that these agencies might have been in states other than Colorado. Nearly three-fourths of all persons having had chest X-rays during the past five years had obtained them through county mobile units. About 15% had been given by private doctors, 5.8% in hospitals and 5.5% in the Army. The remainder were made available through employers, clinics and schools.

About half of the 313 X-rays had been taken within the past 12 months. Slightly over half, 50.5%, had been taken at a less recent period.

These data support the premise that if the service were available and within their financial reach, more migrants would take advantage of it. This would be especially true if it were preceded by an effective educational program. This was shown by the insistence of servicemen that members of their families be X-rayed and the evidence that detection clinics were used as a result of school influence. About 10% of the X-rays were traceable to these two sources.



Reasons Why Migrants 7 Years of Age and Over Had Chest X-Rays  
in Last Five Years, 1945-1949

Reasons for Being X-Rayed	Number	Percent
Total	1,120	100.0
Not X-rayed	807	72.0
X-rayed	313	28.0
Reasons for Being X-Rayed		
"It was free"	158	50.5
To protect family	78	25.0
Was sick	34	10.8
Accident	6	1.9
Required for work	17	5.4
Army	11	3.5
General check-up	9	2.9

Table 30

Agency Providing Chest X-Rays to Migrants 7 Years of  
Age and Over in Last Five Years, 1945-1949

Agency	Number	Percent
County Mobile Units	230	73.6
Doctor	46	14.7
Hospital	18	5.8
Army	11	3.5
Other (Employer, School, Clinic)	8	2.4
Total	313	100.0

Table 31

The age breakdown showed that less than a third of the children under 7 years of age had been vaccinated. The highest proportion was

Information given on vaccination by 1,484 persons indicated that 631 had been vaccinated, 828 had not, and 25 did not know. In other words, considerably less than half could reasonably be presumed to have some immunity to smallpox.

Smallpox

The findings were tabulated by age groups (under 7 years, 7 to 16 years and 16 years and over), both because some immunizations are more important for children than for adults, and also to see if there were an increasing use of this form of health protection for the younger generation.

Some adults mentioned having had recent immunizations, which interviewers were inclined to question. However, several produced certificates, with recent dates, for whooping cough, diphtheria and smallpox inoculations. Many other heads of households reported that they were informed that it would be impossible for them to get into Colorado if they had not been inoculated. One physician informed a member of the field staff that he and others of his colleagues sometimes wondered if this "business of inoculations was not a racket in the hands of a few smooth operators."

Type of Immunization	Number Reporting	Having Not Having	Did Not Know	Total
		Percent		
Smallpox	1,484	42.5	55.8	1.7
Whooping Cough	1,484	20.7	76.7	2.6
Diphtheria	1,478	19.6	76.7	3.7
Tetanus	1,478	3.1	94.5	2.4

Immunization Records of Migrants

Table 32

Data were obtained for a large proportion of the 1,513 migrants on four major types of immunization: smallpox, diphtheria, whooping cough and tetanus. The number and proportion having these immunizations are given in the following table.

Data on the immunization records of migrants were secured. The significance of this to the health of the people of Colorado can be pointed up only by specialists whose knowledge of measures to facilitate or retard the transmission of disease makes such observations pertinent.

Immunization

Age	Having	Not Having	Did Not Know	Total
No.	%	No.	%	No.
Under 7 years	80	22.8	74.6	262
7 to 16 years	130	38.7	59.5	200
16 years and over	97	12.2	84.8	676
Total	307	20.7	76.7	1138
			39	2.6
				1484
				100

Whooping Cough Immunization of Migrants, By Age

Table 34

About half as many persons had been immunized against whooping cough as against smallpox - about one in every five persons. The proportion of those immunized was highest for the school-age group, of whom more than a third had received protection.

Less than one in four of the children under 7 years had been immunized, although the disease is most serious in the case of very young children.

Whooping Cough

Attempts made by interviewers to fix the age at the time of the first vaccination were frustrated by vagueness. Parents of 16 children under 16 years stated that they had been vaccinated at the time they entered school and the same was reported for 9 persons over 16 years of age. Lack of specific knowledge about earlier vaccinations, plus the small percentage of children under 7 years who had been vaccinated, make it reasonable to conclude that children are more apt to be given this protection after starting school than before.

Age	Having	Not Having	Did Not Know	Total
No.	%	No.	%	No.
Under 7 years	109	31.0	68.1	239
7 to 16 years	228	67.9	31.5	106
16 years and over	294	36.9	60.6	483
Total	631	42.5	55.8	828
			25	1.7
				1484
				100

Smallpox Immunization of Migrants, By Age

Table 33

found in the school-age group, 7 to 16 years, of whom more than two-thirds were vaccinated. Of those over 16 years, slightly over a third had been vaccinated - though whether recently enough to give protection is not known. A striking fact is that the percentage of children under 7 years who had been vaccinated was lower than for any other age group, although modern practice is to give smallpox vaccination in infancy.

Diphtheria

The picture for diphtheria was strikingly similar to that for whooping cough, both as to the total number immunized and the proportion of those in each group who had been immunized. Again, the striking figure is the 76% under 7 years who had not been immunized since this protection is important in infancy.

Table 35

Diphtheria Immunization of Migrants, By Age

Age	Having	Not Having	Did Not Know	Total
No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
Under 7 years	76 21.7	268 76.4	7 1.9	351 100
7 to 16 years	116 34.8	199 59.8	18 5.4	333 100
16 years and over	98 12.3	666 83.9	30 3.8	794 100
Total	290 19.6	1133 76.7	55 3.7	1478 100

Tetanus

Although a very small number of migrants had received tetanus immunization - 46 out of 1,478 - its use was somewhat more frequent than might have been expected. One in every 30 persons had received tetanus serum. Here again, the proportion of school-age children protected was higher than for the other age groups. However, only three children under 7 years had received tetanus serum and in these three cases it had been administered in a multiple infection: whooping cough, diphtheria and tetanus. The 16 persons between 7 and 16 years of age who had received it, as well as those over 16 years, had done so because of accidents. This additional information was brought out in "after schedule interviewing." Thus, tetanus immunization seems to be administered rarely, except in case of accident.

Table 36

Tetanus Immunization of Migrants, By Age

Age	Having	Not Having	Did Not Know	Total
No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %	No. %
Under 7 years	3 0.85	345 98.3	3 0.85	351 100
7 to 16 years	18 5.4	309 92.8	6 1.8	333 100
16 years and over	25 3.1	743 93.6	26 3.3	794 100
Total	46 3.1	1397 94.5	35 2.4	1478 100

Records were taken for 1,114 migrants 7 years or older to determine the extent of use of hospitals (for other than maternity care) over the five year period, 1945-1949. About 88% (979) had not used a hospital. For the 135 migrants who were hospitalized, the average number of days was 11.6.

Hospital Care

Number of Migrants 7 Years of Age and Over Hospitalized in Last Five Years, 1945-1949

<u>Number</u>		<u>Percent</u>	
<hr/>			
Total Reporting	1,114	100.0	
Not hospitalized	979	87.9	
Hospitalized	135	12.1	

Care for Accidents

Replies to questions pertaining to care for accidents or injuries indicated that only about half of the persons responding had had no injuries during the preceding 12 months. Of those injured, 9.6% had been treated by a doctor, 55.6% resorted to home remedies, less than 4% reported care from public health personnel, and 31.1% indicated that no treatment had been administered.

While the lack of treatment in case of injury or accident seems appalling, the basic reasons do not appear since available medical resources for care were not evaluated, nor are the nature and gravity of the injuries known. It is the opinion of the field staff that much of the disease, as in other types of health care, can be attributed to a breakdown in communications between resource persons and agencies and persons in need. Many persons who needed aid simply did not know how to go about getting it from welfare or medical sources. Instances were found where wounds had become infected due to lack of prompt first aid measures or treatment.

Physical Examinations

Migrants were asked about the number of physical examinations they had had during the past five years, both to supplement other health care data and also to test their appreciation of preventive medicine. The results were similar to other health findings - 15% (170) had had physical examinations and 85% (951) had not.

The reasons given for examinations (expectant mothers excepted) were: 42.4%, illness; 12.9%, check-ups; 12.4%, military service; 8.8% "took them at school." An additional 23.6% had had examinations for

From the reactions, the field staff were convinced that a larger number of families would have obtained sickness and health insurance if

In order to obtain some understanding of the planning done by heads of Colorado migrant households for emergency medical needs, the use of sickness and accident insurance was determined. About seven in each 100 families (a total of 18 out of 261 reporting) had some form of sickness or accident insurance. However, two out of three families without insurance voluntarily protested against economic conditions which made it impossible for them "to feed the children and buy insurance." Thirty-three discontinued policies were reported.

Insurance

About 10% of the migrants studied wore glasses. Of the 111 people having glasses, nine in ten obtained them by prescription; the others from mall order houses or stores.

Eye Care

Reasons for Physical Examination	
Number	Percent
Total Reporting	1,121
No physical examination	951
Physical examination	170
III	72
For work	40
Wanted check-up	22
Military service	21
For school	15
	42.4
	23.5
	12.9
	12.4
	8.8

Reasons Why Migrants 7 Years of Age and Over Had Physical Examinations in Last Five Years, 1945-1949

Table 38

One doctor reacted to the need for medical care among migrant workers by saying, "It is a bad show. In many respects it is shameful. If anything good can be said about the situation, it is that fortunately so few of them know about the seriousness of their own health conditions that the hazards to mental health are somewhat reduced."

Reasons connected with jobs or applications for positions. No distinction was made between an examination and inspection in recording the answers. If the work was done by a physician, it was listed as an examination.

it had been financially possible for them to do so. Obviously, their irregular earning periods and low annual incomes did not permit the costly and regular payments required to carry sickness and accident insurance.

Of the families carrying insurance, five had hospitalization only, eight had hospitalization and doctors' fees and five did not know what kind or extent of coverage their policies provided.

Four policy holders were asked how they would go about reporting claims. None had any comprehension of what, where or to whom claims should be reported. This is another illustration of the difficulties to be overcome in reaching migrants with practical instructions regarding claims, adjustments, health practices, education and labor laws, which are only a few of the important areas in which information and assistance is needed.

#### Sources of Health Services in Colorado

It was reported to the President in 1940 that "Migratory workers and their families have more illness and less medical care than the rest of the community. The health hazards to which they are exposed are a menace not only to themselves and to their children, but also to the people and families with whom they come in contact all along the march. The human waste resulting from this lack of health protection can and must be stopped." The Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor made a similar statement in 1950 showing little change during this decade:

Although migratory farm laborers have more need for medical and hospital care than most other segments of the population, the evidence shows - with some exceptions - that they get the least attention. The fact that migrants, by the nature of their occupation, cannot meet residence requirements, imposed by law or regulation, combines with their poverty to deny them care.

A survey made a decade ago disclosed that only about one-sixth of State and local agencies providing free medical care to destitute persons did so without regard to residence status. Similarly, about one-third of the private agencies imposed no residence restrictions. Except for emergency measures during World War II, we have found no evidence that medical services for nonresidents have significantly improved in the past decade in most parts of the Nation.

1. A Report to the President by the U. S. Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, July 1940, printed in Migrant Labor... A Human Problem, Federal Inter-agency Committee on Migrant Labor, U. S. Department of Labor, Retraining and Re-employment Administration, March 1947, pp. 28-29.
2. Migratory Labor in American Agriculture. Report of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, 1951. Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. Price 75 cents.

Public health clinics were open to migrants, according to information given to the field staff. However, the attitude of clinic personnel varied greatly regarding obligations to migrants. A nurse in one clinic reported: "We have been instructed by the doctors not to treat these people (migrants) too well because they will remain here if we do." In another clinic a doctor bluntly informed a member of the field staff that he had enough to do without digging up work among the migrant workers. In contrast to this, a public health nurse in another clinic did everything possible to assist interviewers to find camps and to observe the clinic in operation. The excellent relations between patients and staff in that clinic were conclusive evidence of the effectiveness of the public health program in that community.

Evidence like the last, convinced the field staff that much of the criticism directed against the Public Health Service of Colorado for lack of services to migrants is unjustified. Much of the disuse of existing clinical facilities was clearly attributable to misunderstandings about the kinds and costs of services available. An example of this was the

### Public Health Clinics

Generally, private physicians did not withhold care to any migrant where families reported they had been refused treatment by private physicians because they could not afford the fees. Other families told of physicians treating them without mentioning fees. Some families had been visited by doctors in remote places and in crowded labor camps at all hours of the day and night. Other families reported refusals by doctors to provide medical services in the conditions surrounding the patient. In one such case, previously mentioned, the doctor promised aid for an expectant mother only if she was "moved from a tent to a house." This particular case illustrates the confusion and "run around" to which migrants may be subjected, resulting in no care even in an emergency case. The expectant mother was an extremely obese person. The doctor called by the family referred the case to Welfare. The family was advised by Welfare to report to the hospital in \_\_\_\_\_ for care. When the mother was taken to the hospital, she was informed that the hospital could not accept the case and that Welfare had been notified of this decision. The family returned home and the husband again called upon the doctor for assistance. He refused aid unless the mother was moved to a house and the outcome was that the mother was delivered of a baby without medical care - in a tent.

### Private Physicians

Migrant families found in Colorado during 1950 are no exception to the above statements in official national reports. Involving Colorado annually, migrants bring with them all the diseases fostered by their environments; diseases aggravated by the hardships of migration, unsanitary housing, and pathogenic social conditions. In observing the efforts within the State and Colorado to meet the threat to public health, to relieve the potential spread of infection, and to meet the obvious need for medical care among migrants, the field staff found evidence of "diversified effort" - diversified both in kinds and amounts.



case of a mother who brought a dead infant to a clinic one morning for burial. When the nurse asked why the child had not been brought before it died, the reply was, "But I did not know. I was told only that you buried children when they had died."

Breakdown in communication between the receptionist and the migrant patient was responsible for turning patients away without assistance in specific cases reported to the field staff. In some of these cases, the receptionist did not understand the patient; in others, the patient could not comprehend the instructions given her. Efforts by visiting nurses to direct patients to clinics sometimes failed for the same reason. Also, appointments were a new idea to migrants who had not previously sought help and difficult for them to keep when they often did not own clocks. The attitudes which developed because of misunderstanding or lack of familiarity with procedures were harmful to the Public Health Service and to patients. Clinics and welfare personnel in the areas visited stated that some people visited the public health clinics only after welfare had made clear to them that medical aid was not available elsewhere.

### Health Services in Farm Labor Camps

The farm labor camps of Fort Lupton and Fallsade sponsored health programs. In the Fort Lupton Camp, a six-room clinic was operated under the sponsorship of the Weld County Health Department on a 12 months' basis. The Health Department moved into the camp because it "was able to obtain more space at a lower rent," from the Lupton Farm Improvement Association.

As the County Health Department was set up, all services available to people of the County were extended to migrants. This program of the Health Department was educational with an emphasis on disease prevention. No medicine was practiced in the camp clinic although first aid was administered. The program provided the services of an orthopedist once every three months; a physical therapist one day each week; a maternity clinic once a month; a well-baby clinic once a month. While these services were available to migrants, their working hours did not "permit any frequent use by migrants because they were not here to sign up in time," according to a member of the clinic staff.

Little effort was made to help migrants understand that what the clinic offered was health education, not treatment. To most individuals the clinic looked like a doctor's office and since medicine is practiced in doctors' offices, why not here? Migrants were further confused by the fact that during the period of the year when the Great Western Sugar Company rented the camp as a processing center, treatment services were provided at the clinic by agreement with the County Health Department. They could not understand why, on a certain date, that program ceased. This agreement for medical services to approximately 12,500 workers cost the Great Western Sugar Company in 1950 "about \$2,500 in addition to medicines, nurses, salaries, rent, heat, light and water, etc....an additional \$1,850 was expended in paying for doctor and hospital bills of

workers who were unable to pay their own."\*

The Fort Lupton program is further described in a report\*\* of Dr. Charles H. Dowling, Jr., as follows:

"During the migratory period of April 1st to May 31, 1949 at the Fort Lupton Farm Labor Camp, approximately 12,500 migratory laborers were processed by the Great Western Sugar Company.

"The laborers were recruited from Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. Following processing at Fort Lupton Camp, the laborers were distributed to Colorado, Nebraska, Wyoming and Montana agricultural areas with approximately 50% being distributed to Colorado.

"The clinic nurse was employed by the Great Western Sugar Company from April 1st to June 1, 1949. The Colorado State Department of Health furnished a portable X-ray unit and two X-ray technicians. The clerical personnel and two Spanish-American interpreters were provided by Colorado and Weld County Tuberculosis Associations.

"During the migratory period, motion pictures of health subjects provided through the State Health Department, Colorado State and Weld County Tuberculosis Associations and the Office of Inter-American Affairs, Washington, D. C., were shown to the Spanish-American groups in the early evenings.

"A DDT spraying program for all migratory temporary houses and mattresses was also accomplished through Region IX U. S. Public Health Service, and Great Western Sugar Company. During the migratory period of April and May, 1949, a total of 2,800 chest X-rays and 1,750 smallpox vaccinations were accomplished. A great portion of migratory laborers were found to have certificates of X-rays taken in Texas and a great number showed scars of active vaccination at the time of inspection. Approximately 2% chest pathology was found in the survey of X-rays taken.

"A total of 182 patients were examined at the clinic of which 25 were referred to local physicians for acute medical and hospital care." The cost of referrals was financed by the Great Western Sugar Company.

After the clinic operated by the Great Western Sugar Company was closed, no medical services were available at the Fort Lupton Camp except the educational and preventive program provided by the County Health Department for residents of the County at large.

At the Fallsade Camp, a clinic was operated to give first aid treatment which was provided free. The nurse's salary and medication were paid

\*Letter to field staff member from the Great Western Sugar Company, October 23, 1950.

\*\*Migratory Labor Health Program in Colorado. Dowling, Dr. Charles H. Assistant Health Officer, Weld County Health Department, Greeley, Colo. 1949.

for by the Fruit Growers Association. Some arrangement existed with a doctor in the town of Palisade to cooperate in a limited manner without charge. The exact nature of this arrangement between the doctor and the Fruit Growers Association did not appear to be clearly determined.

During the first few days of the peach harvest in 1950, several cases of mumps broke out in this camp. The number of cases increased for several days. However, with the help of the County Health Nurse, the disease was brought under control despite the fact that it was difficult to keep the patients and their families from mingling with others throughout the camp. One case, a young man, developed rather serious complications. However, he was treated by a doctor and at last report he was making a successful recovery. It was reported to the field staff, in connection with this outbreak of mumps, that the managers of the camp did not like to have the public health people and the doctors come to the camp "because they always call them down on something."

### Public Welfare Services

The single greatest source of medical assistance to migrants found in Colorado was through the services of the Public Welfare Department. The extent of this was particularly striking in Otero County, as described on page 58, and in Larimer County.

In Larimer County, according to information supplied by the Department of Public Welfare, a bill of nearly \$5,000 was paid by the County in 1950 for 19 migrant families "...there were four cases of pregnancy in the group, and 5 cases (1 each) of malnutrition, blood disorder and panorectic deficiency." These cases represented about 200 hospital days of care.

Nothing comparable to the assistance given in Otero and Larimer Counties was found in other counties.

CHAPTER VII

THE CHILDREN OF MIGRANT FAMILIES

I. MATERNAL AND INFANT CARE

Information on the use made of maternal and infant care facilities was obtained through questions to mothers who had children born within the five year period ending in 1950. The degree to which income, education, and general social practice affected use of medical facilities was not determined directly.

Attendance at Birth

During this five year period, 332 children were born in 165 of the 262 households. Of these children, 102 - less than 1 in 3 - were born in hospitals. Doctors attended 198 of the total number of births. Midwives were in attendance at 102 births and 32 children were welcomed by friends or relatives of the mother, including four husbands and three daughters.

One of the daughters welcoming the latest arrival was a 15 year old girl who had been her mother's only attendant during two previous births. This girl, who was interviewed by a member of the field staff, said her one ambition in life was to become a nurse but that she saw no chance of ever being able to take the training, as she had already had to drop out of school to help her family earn a living. She had not become resigned to the hopelessness of her future as she cried when she told about it.

It was decided, in recording the answers, that the term "midwife" as used by migrant mothers did not mean a qualified midwife. The Spanish-American members of the field staff agreed that to mothers of migrant families, a "midwife" would be "any non-professional person who assisted at birth and who by virtue of wide practice came to be relied upon for assistance during the crisis of child birth." A qualified midwife, in migrant terminology, would be called a "nurse." The techniques of the midwives who attended migrant mothers were as crude and unsterile as is generally the case when ignorant and untrained people perform this function. Members of the field staff had occasion to observe the hurried preparations for one delivery and they were extremely primitive. Another sample of practice was observed when a midwife rushed from a "delivery room" to gather up some old cloth to "stop a bleedin'." The practices of these persons, as observed, were a menace to mother and child. It must be granted, however, that many mothers would have been infinitely worse off without their attention under existing circumstances of child birth in migrant camps.

Pre-Natal and Post-Natal Care

Mothers had pre-natal attention during 174 of the 232 pregnancies. In 168 cases, the pre-natal care was obtained from physicians. Six

1. United States Summary of Vital Statistics, 1948. Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, National Office of Vital Statistics, Vol. 34, No. 50, pp. 887, 890, 897.
2. Infant Mortality by Race and by Urban and Rural Areas. Federal Security Agency, Public Health Service, National Office of Vital Statistics, Vol. 35, No. 17, October 16, 1950, p. 307.

It has been pointed out many times that the infant mortality rate is one of the most sensitive indices available of the health and welfare conditions of any population group. The extensive use made of the infant mortality rate by public health and welfare agencies testifies to its value in program planning. The infant mortality rate is derived simply by dividing the number of children dying before reaching the age of one year by the total of births registered in the same year, multiplied by 1,000. For example, the 113,169 infant deaths in the United States in 1948, divided by the 5,535,068 live births and the result multiplied by 1,000, provides the infant mortality rate in the country as a whole for that year: 32.0. Or for the five year period, 1944 to 1948, the 559,212 infant deaths before one year of age, divided by the 16,053,936 live births, provides the infant mortality rate for this period of 34.8. The Colorado rate for 1948 was found to be 38.4<sup>2</sup>.

#### Infant Mortality Rate

Twenty of the children under one year of age had been taken to, or were called on by, professional medical persons for check-ups. Again, private doctors were in the majority for this care, as they saw 16 children compared with two seen by physicians in public clinics and two by nurses.

Of the 232 births during the past five years, 75 occurred during the previous 12 months. The number of these children who had been taken to a doctor because of illness totaled 34. The average number of visits was two per child and most of the services were requested from private practitioners. Only five were treated by doctors in public clinics and one had been hospitalized.

#### Infant Care

There were 50 less cases of post-natal than of pre-natal care. Percentage-wise, about the same proportion of doctors were called for post-natal care as had provided pre-natal services. However, there was some use of public health nurses, which was not the case in pre-natal care, and one patient went to a public health clinic in a hospital unit. The same number of patients received attention from public school and mission hospital nurses.

Other mothers had been advised by nurses from public school systems and mission hospitals. The average number of visits to a doctor for pre-natal care for the first child was five; for a second and a third child it was six and a fourth child it was ten, but the number of mothers making any visits fell off sharply after the first pregnancy.

Few migrant children get a good start according to modern standards of obstetrics and pediatrics, but even if they did their chances of healthy, normal development under conditions of migrant life would be anything but favorable. Children of urban low income families are well off compared with migrant children. There are more health, welfare and recreational resources for them, they can go to school regularly and

II. CHILD CARE

165	Number Households with Children Born in Past 5 Years	
332	Number Children Born in Past 5 Years	
102	Number Children Born in Hospital	
198	Number Children Born with Attendance of:	(1) Doctors
102		(2) Midwives
32		(3) Others
174	Number Children Born with Pre-natal Care	(1) Doctors
		(2) School or Mission Nurses
23	Number Children Died Under 12 Months	6
124	Number Children for Whom Mother Had Post-natal Care	168
		114
		1
		3
		6
75	Number Children Under 12 Months Seen by Physician Because	
34	of Illness	
20	Number Children Under 12 Months Seen by Physician for Check-ups	

Maternal and Infant Care in Migrant Families

Table 39

Since it has been demonstrated that the infant death rate is greatly influenced by conditions of the environment, improvements in sanitation and medical practices, as they relate to migrant children, would bring about a corresponding decline in the infant mortality rate. One public health nurse stated that the infant mortality rate among migrants in Colorado could be "cut in half if dysentery and malnutrition could be whipped."

An infant mortality rate among migrant families for 1950 could not be derived from the data in the study, but the data did provide an index for the five year period, 1946-1950. The total live births for the five year period was 332; the total number of indicated deaths under one year of age was 23. These totals indicate an infant mortality rate for the period of 69.3. In other words, the infant mortality rate among the migrant families studied in Colorado was over twice as large as that of the United States as a whole and nearly twice as large as that of Colorado.

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II. CHILD CARE

166	Number Households with Children Born in Past 5 Years	
332	Number Children Born in Past 5 Years	
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198	Number Children Born with Attendance of:	(1) Doctors
102		(2) Midwives
32		(3) Others
174	Number Children Born with Pre-natal Care	(1) Doctors
		(2) School or Mission Nurses
23	Number Children Died Under 12 Months	6
124	Number Children for Whom Mother Had Post-natal Care	114
		(1) Hospital
		(2) Public Health Nurse
		(3) Public Health Nurse
		(4) Other Nurses
75	Number Children Under 12 Months Seen by Physician because	3
		6
34	Number Children Under 12 Months Seen by Physician for Check-ups	
20		

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there are usually some child care centers, public or private, where mothers who must work can leave their young children.

Many migrant mothers in Colorado, as elsewhere, had to work in order to help purchase a semblance of security; in fact entire families had to expend a maximum of effort on earning money during the periods when employment was available. Older children worked and younger children had to be taken care of in whatever manner working mothers could devise. Over half of all mothers (133) worked full or part time. One hundred and two of these working mothers had children under 10 years of age who had to be cared for in some manner. Among the 100 mothers who provided complete data, there were 63 who worked full time and 37 who worked part time.

When they were away working, two in five of these mothers took children to fields and left them in sheltered areas - "sheltered" in some cases being the shaded side of an onion sack. One in four mothers left the care of her young children to one of her older children. Approximately one mother in ten had "old people" care for her child or children and another one in ten left her children in the care of neighbors or relatives. Two mothers were able to leave their children in day nurseries but eight mothers had to leave children under 10 entirely unattended. Some of the unattended children were left looked in cars. This was not hearsay - the field staff saw several instances of this extreme measure parents resorted to in order to keep the children "safe."

Table 40

Care of Children Under 10 Whose Mothers Worked

Type of Care	Number	Percent
Taken to fields and left in sheltered areas	41	41.0
Cared for by older children	26	26.0
Cared for by elderly people	12	12.0
Cared for by neighbors or relatives	11	11.0
Left at home unattended	8	8.0
Cared for in day nurseries	2	2.0
	100*	100.0

\*160 households had no children under 10

No provision was made anywhere, so far as the study disclosed, for the daytime care of young children or for recreational or social activities for migrants of any age, except at the labor camps in Palisade and Fort Lupton. Since these former Federal camps had Community Center buildings, facilities were available for child care and recreational programs and the Home Missions Council was permitted to operate programs at both camps. The activities at the Palisade Camp included a day nursery, Bible School, Games, dancing, movies, and an occasional religious service.



directed by a minister from a neighboring town. Alongside the building was a playground with a sliding shoot, swings, and a sand pile. In another location in the camp, basketball rings and backboards had been erected where the young people often got together to play basketball. This was usually spontaneous activity with little or no direction or organization.

The Spanish-American and Indian workers were separated from white workers in this camp in the living units. The Home Missions Council encouraged all groups to participate together at the Palisade Community Center but many white family heads neither participated nor allowed their children to participate because there was no segregation in activities at the Center.

The child care, educational and recreational program carried on by the Home Missions Council at the Fort Lupton Camp, was described as follows by the camp manager: "A nursery and elementary program, attended by fifty to two hundred children, is held daily. The three "R's," special skills and crafts are taught. Church services and Sunday School are provided on Sundays. Any recognized church group pastor is given the privilege of cooperation. Something is planned for the camp occupants every night. One evening is devoted to a special "Teenage" program, another to a dance, others to movies, game nights, etc."

These programs of the Home Missions Council in migrant camps do more to alleviate dreary camp life and to provide supervised activities for young children than anything else that is being done in Colorado.

Certainly the very least that states and communities owe to the migrant families they use to produce their agricultural wealth is adequate provision for the care of children of working mothers. Beyond that, families who work in a state from six to eight months are entitled to some of the educational programs available to residents to help them learn to take care of their children - such as instruction in nutrition, home economics, health care and child development. The pattern of migrant family life - poverty, malnutrition, disease and lack of education - will be perpetuated as long as the children continue to grow up under conditions which leave them no better equipped than their parents to attain a regular and stable way of life in this "land of opportunity."

\*Under the provisions of this Act, growers who receive Federal Government subsidies may not employ children under 14 years of age nor children 14 to 16 years of age for more than 8 hours a day, except when the parents of the children own at least 40% of the crop harvested by the family.

Information obtained on the persons with whom 197 of these children began working showed that practically all of them (97%) began working alongside parents. In spite of the Sugar Act (1937\*), beet growers prefer multiworker families to small family groups or single men. Labor contractors openly stated that they try to get families of three or more

Most of the 205 children who were wage workers had started between the ages of 10 and 12 years. The median age was 10.5 years. There were 25 who began work before they were 8 and 3 of these were reported as having first worked at 5 years or less. About one-third had commenced work at more than 8 but under 10 years. Nearly 3 out of 4 had worked before reaching the age of 12, and about 92 in each 100 were working by the time they were 14 years of age.

The inquiry into the work patterns of the 336 children 7 to 16 years of age showed that 205 of these children - nearly two-thirds - worked on crops. The other 131 children, according to the replies had never done any crop work.

#### When and How Children Began Work

In these two areas widespread evidence was found of "coaching" of migrants as to how to answer questions about the ages of children found in the fields during school hours. Regardless of size, birth date, or other factors, children at work who were asked their ages tended consistently to be "16 years old my last birthday."

In some instances complete data would be provided regarding school attendance, but no reply could be secured pertaining to work by children. In other situations the responses varied, depending on the degree of understanding of the purpose of the inquiry or on threats of retaliation for giving information. In two areas, families had been threatened with loss of work if data were given to the interviewers. The family members reporting these pressures were visibly afraid. One homemaker broke into tears as she pled with the Spanish-American staff member to leave before Mr. N saw her talking with him.

The field staff discovered, early in the interviewing process, that the first sign of fear or resentment of questioning was likely to show up when questions were asked concerning the work or education of children. Consequently, these subjects were the last touched upon in the interview.

### III. CHILD LABOR

workers because the cost per worker of transporting and housing such families is relatively low. Hence, the work pattern of Colorado migrant families tended to be the "family group" type. Only six children began working with persons other than their parents, including two who began working "on his own."

Table 41  
Ages at Which Migrant Children First Began Working

Age	Number	Percent
Under 5 years	3	1.4
5 to 8 years	22	10.7
8 to 10 years	63	30.8
10 to 12 years	62	30.3
12 to 14 years	38	18.5
14 to 16 years	17	8.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>100.0</b>

The largest group of working children (44%) were those who began by doing full-time work during the summer only, but 22% had begun working full time during school hours - a significant but not surprising finding. In view of the data on school attendance in the following section. Those who began by working part time after school were 31% of the working group.

Table 42  
Periods of Time During Which Children First Began Working

Time Periods	Number	Percent
Full-time during school hours	46	22.4
Part-time after school hours	64	31.2
Full-time during summer only	91	44.4
Part-time during summer	4	2.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Seven percent of the children had worked at one job only during their "working life," 27.5% had had two jobs, 32% had held three jobs, about 30% had had four, and about 4% had had five. The average number per child was three jobs.

Crops Worked in 1950

The two crops in which the largest number of children worked during the 1950 season were beets and onions (20% in each crop). It is estimated that the proportion would be higher for beets if interviewing had been carried on during the entire beet topping period. Pickles provided work for about 19% of the children, beans for 11% and potatoes for 10%. Other crops in order of their importance as sources of employment are shown in Table 43.

At the time of the interviews, which extended from early July to November, about 60% of the children were harvesting beans, peas, pickles, onions, tomatoes, and potatoes. Nearly 30% were topping beets and the remainder were thinning or weeding onions, doing hoeing or cutting broom corn.

Table 43

Crops in Which Children Were Working When Interviewed

Crops Worked	Children	
	Number	Percent
Beans	24	11.5
Beets	42	20.2
Broom corn	6	3.0
Fruit	8	3.8
Onions	42	20.2
Peas	8	3.8
Pickles	39	18.8
Potatoes	21	10.1
Tomatoes	13	6.2
Other	2	2.4
	Total	100.0

Days Worked in 1950

Information on the total number of days children had worked in 1950 revealed that 9% had worked less than two weeks. About 5% had worked over two weeks, but less than one month. One in five children, 20%, had already worked from one to two months and 25% had worked from two to three months. Nearly 2 in each 5 children had worked over 90 days at the time of interview. Though the work of some children was concentrated in one period of two to four months (July-August, May-August, July-October, for example) the work periods of the majority of children were spread over seven months. Seven months out of the year for work in seasonal crops over widespread areas leaves only 5 months for school. What can be the future of children with this handicap except the usual vicious circle of retardation, early school leaving, poor earning ability, poor health, poverty and dependency?

When the work of children was studied to determine the approximate number of hours each was working per day, it was found that 5% worked less than 5 hours, 33% worked 5 to 8 hours, 25% worked 8 to 10 hours, and 32% worked between 10 and 12 hours. More boys and girls worked for 12 hours or more than for periods of less than 5 hours. Nearly two-thirds of all children worked days of more than 8 hours. The average (mean) day was between 8 and 9 hours. Rather a long day for an 11 year old (average age of the group between 7 and 16 years)! The long hours were not confined to the older children.

Table 44

Hours Per Day Worked by Children

Hours Per Day		Children	
		Number	Percent
Less than 5	9	4.9	
Over 5 but less than 7	40	19.4	
Over 7 but less than 8	28	13.6	
Over 8 but less than 9	37	18.0	
Over 9 but less than 10	14	6.8	
Over 10 but less than 12	66	32.0	
Over 12	11	5.3	
Total		205	100.0

Starting and Stopping Time

Nearly three-quarters of the migrant child workers began their working day before 8 a.m., and 18% started before 7 a.m. The rest, about 29%, started work between 8 and 9 a.m.

The average migrant child laborer ended his working day between 5 and 6 p.m. Slightly less than one in 10 children stopped work before 3 p.m. and about 14% between 3 and 5 p.m. Three out of every four children had to work until after 5 and the quitting time for two children in five was between 6 and 7 p.m. About 4% of the children did not stop work until after 7 p.m.

About 95% of the children worked on a piece work basis. This "piece" may have been the "field" in beets, "100 pounds" of onions, or "sacks" of potatoes, for which the family head would be paid in the final settlement. The wages and the earnings of children therefore could not be separately determined.

Wage Payments

Stopping Time		Number	Percent
Before 3 p.m.	20	9.7	
After 3 but before 4 p.m.	15	7.3	
After 4 but before 5 p.m.	14	6.8	
After 5 but before 6 p.m.	62	30.2	
After 6 but before 7 p.m.	86	42.0	
After 7 but before 8 p.m.	7	3.4	
After 8 p.m.	1	0.5	
<b>Total</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

Approximate Hours at Which Children Stopped Work

Table 46

Starting Time		Number	Percent
Before 7 a.m.	38	18.5	
After 7 but before 8 a.m.	108	52.7	
After 8 but before 9 a.m.	59	28.8	
<b>Total</b>	<b>205</b>	<b>100.0</b>	

Approximate Hours at Which Children Began Work

Table 45

IV. SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AND EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

School Attendance

There were 336 children of legal school age, i.e., between the ages of 7 and 16 years, in the 262 families interviewed. The distribution by age was remarkably uniform. Distribution by sex showed a majority of males; 90 females for each 100 males.

Since some of the information sought - such as school attendance, school leaving and grade achievement - would be pertinent to the 16 year olds, some of whom had been under 16 years during the school year just completed, it was decided to include them in the analysis of these factors. This added 41 children making a total of 377 children 7 through 16 years of age.

Information on how many of these children were attending school was obtained by age for 354 of the 377 children. It was found that 236 were attending school and that 118 had left, or had never attended school. Among the 118 children out of school, there were 27 who had NEVER been in school. These 27 children included 19 under 10 years of age and 8 who were 10 years of age or over. The 19 children under 10 years of age indicated they would like to go to school as did 21 others among the non-attenders. Twenty-three of the 41 children in the 16 year age group were out of school. Twenty-two of the 23 had gone no farther than the 2nd grade.

Table 47

School Attendance by Age of Children 7 Through 16 Years

Age	Children		
	Total	Attending School	Not Attending School
7	37	29	8
8	33	26	7
9	30	26	4
10	33	26	7
11	30	22	8
12	38	26	12
13	30	20	10
14	51	30	21
15	34	16	18
16	38	16	23
	354	236	118

Data regarding ages at which children had first entered school were available for 354 children. These showed that about 75% had entered school before their 8th birthday. Fifteen percent of the youngsters did not enter until they were 8 or 9 years of age and about 2% were 10 or 11

All the remaining children, except for 17 seven year olds who had either not entered school, or had not completed the 1st grade, were

Table 49 indicates that of 372 children 7 through 16 years of age, only 46 seven and eight year olds, 2 nine year olds and one ten year old, had completed the grades normal for their age. One child - one in 372 - was advanced beyond his years by one grade. This child was from an Anglo family which happened to be found in the sampling because his parents started "on our vacation. We heard about peaches; so we decided to stop and work a while to help with expenses and to get fruit for canning."

In determining how many of these children of migrant families were of normal academic age and the extent of retardation among the remainder, a slight modification was made in the usual standard of measurement which assumes entry in the first grade at 7 years of age with promotion each year. Some states (including Colorado) do not require school attendance under 8 years and where the required or permitted age is 7 years, children frequently reach their 7th birthday too late in the school year for admission. Therefore, to allow for these factors, both 7 and 8 years were considered normal for the 1st grade, both 8 and 9 years for the 2nd grade, and so on.

When the data for 372 children 7 through 16 years of age were analyzed by age and last grade completed (Table 49), it was found that none of them, regardless of age, had gone beyond the 5th grade, that only 8 had completed the 5th grade, 9 the 4th grade and 24 the 3rd grade. The great majority of children 10 through 16 years had not gone farther than the 1st or 2nd grade and there were 24 children 8 years and over who had completed no grades.

Extent of Retardation

Children		Age at Beginning School	
Number	Percent		
27	7.6	Never attended	
90	25.4	6 years	
175	49.4	7 years	
42	11.9	8 years	
12	3.4	9 years	
7	2.0	10 years	
1	0.3	11 years	
354	100.0	Total	

Ages at Which Children 7 Through 16 Years Began Attending School

Table 48

Seventy-five of the children interviewed reported that they were not allowed in Texas schools under 8 years of age.



retarded academically from one to eight years - a total of 306 retarded children or 82%. Retardation started with the 9 year olds and became more marked in each higher age group as the years of retardation accumulated for the large majority who failed to progress beyond the 1st or 2nd grade. All but four of the 229 children 11 years of age and over were retarded 3 or more years.

These findings indicate with finality that practically the only children in Colorado migrant families who were not retarded in 1950 were the 7 and 8 year olds in the 1st grade. This does not mean that these migrant children are less able to learn than other American children because of ethnic or geographic origin which makes them "different," as the prejudiced frequently claim. It simply means that no children can make normal educational progress unless they can attend school regularly and are given the opportunity, if they are second generation Americans, to learn the language, the customs, and the culture of the country of which they are citizens.

Table 49

Distribution of Children 7 Through 16 Years by Age and Last Grade Completed

Age	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total
7 years	17	24	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	41
8 years	11	22	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	34
9 years	3	27	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	32
10 years	3	32	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	37
11 years		28	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	31
12 years		26	13	1	0	0	0	0	0	40
13 years	1	16	11	3	0	0	0	0	0	31
14 years	2	21	17	9	2	0	0	0	0	51
15 years	4	13	6	6	2	2	0	0	0	34
16 years		18	10	3	5	5	0	0	0	41
Total										372

Children Permanently Out of School

Data on year of school leaving by grade achievement and by age were obtained for children who had left school permanently (Tables 50, 51). The evidence in the previous section that migrant children have serious educational handicaps as a result of irregular school attendance, language difficulties and other factors is confirmed by the fact that 82 out of 89 children, whose grade achievement could be determined, had completed two grades or less - most of them less - when they left school. A large number of them were 14, 15 and 16 year old children. Only seven children had completed 3 to 5 grades and none had completed more than 5 grades. Eleven

children could not give the year when they had last attended school but reported that they had completed no grades.

For 78 children who had left school permanently, data were obtained showing distribution by age in 1950 and by year of school last attended. More than half had left school recently, during the years 1948 to 1950, but it is evident from the findings in Table 51 that 32 children (40%) had left school before they were 12 years old.

Table 50

Distribution of Children Who Had Left School by Year Last Attended and Grade Achieved

Last Year Attended	Highest Grade Achieved									
	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Year unknown	11									
1950	1	7	1							
1949	1	13	6		1					
1948	-	17	5	2	2	1				
1947	1	6	6							
1946	-	4	4							
1945	-	4	4							
1944	-	2								
1943	-	-								
1942	-	1								
Total	14	64	14	3	3	1				89

Table 51

Distribution of Children 10 Through 16 Years Who Had Left School by Age in 1950 and Year Last Attended

Last Year Attended	Age of Children in 1950							
	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
1950	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	
1949	-	1	6	1	7	4	2	
1948	2	2	1	3	5	4	10	
1947	-	-	1	1	1	3	3	
1946	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	
1945	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	
1944	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	
1943	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1942	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
Total	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	
	Total							78

Time of School Entry in 1949-50 School Year

Information in the following sections on time of school entry in the fall of 1949, time of departure from school in the spring of 1950, absence during the school year 1949-50, and number of schools attended in 1949-50, was obtained for children 7 to 16 years of age who were reported to be school attendants. This group included 221 children. The replies indicated that slightly over half of these children entered school in Colorado before October 1, 1949. The proportion of these early starters who dropped out quickly because the family left Colorado was indeterminate. It was estimated by truant officers, school principals and teachers that half would be a conservative estimate. Moreover, the remaining proportion would have had to leave the first school entered by early or mid-November when the families who had remained for the beet harvest returned home.

Few children entered school during the latter part of October. Parents indicated that "unless they begin at first, they (the children) get behind and drop out." This was also reported to be the case by superintendents of schools interviewed. "The general pattern is they enter school late, get behind, attend irregularly and finally drop out altogether."

By November 15 many families were in places where they would reside for the winter and at this late date - between November 1 and November 15 - nearly one in five children entered for the first time for a new year. Six children entered the latter part of November and 22 (10% of all children attending school) did not enter until after the first of December.

The finding, based on interviews, that over half of the children entered school before October 1, 1949, was questioned by some informed persons. One of the labor officials of a large sugar company, when asked about the time of departure of family groups, said: "Between 80 and 85% of recruited labor leaves before harvest. Our Spanish-American workers tend to start for home shortly after August in order to get back for cotton." This statement was supported by officials of other sugar companies and of the Employment Service.

Time of Leaving School in 1949-50 School Year

To obtain a more complete picture of time lost at either end of the 1949-50 school year, the school leaving dates were correlated with the school entry dates. All of the 220 children for whom this information was obtained stopped going to school before May 30 and 177 of them before April 15. From this correlation (Table 52) it is clear that many of the early leavers in 1950 were also late starters in 1949. For example, of the 159 children who stopped school attendance between April 1 and 15, 1950, there were 67 who had not entered school until after October 1, 1949 and 46 of these had not entered until November or December. Nobody can deny that children who enter school from one to three months late in the fall and whose school "finishes" by April 15 have a very short school year by American standards of education and that normal school progress is impossible under such abnormal conditions. The 57% reported to be in school before October 1 is open to question in the opinion of the field staff. In addition to the statements by sugar company officials regarding

early departure of families, grounds for doubt were the number of children seen in the fields after schools were open, the fears voiced by parents of legal action against them based on data given to the field staff, and opinions of truant officers, other school, health and welfare officials and community leaders.

Table 52

Distribution of Children by Time of School Entry in 1949 and Time of Leaving School in 1950

Time of School Entry in Fall of 1949	Time of Leaving School in 1950				
	Mar. 1-14	Mar. 15-31	Apr. 1-14	Apr. 15-30	May 1-29
Number	10	92	4	15	126
Number	6	21	3	1	22
Number	1	21	1	4	57.3
Number	1	24	2	12	40
Number	1	5	1	6	18.2
Number	-	5	-	1	2.7
Number	-	17	-	5	10.0
Number	7	159	9	34	220
Number	11	159	9	34	220
Total	7	11	159	9	34
Number	7	11	159	9	34
Number Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Number of Days Children Were Absent During 1949-50 School Year

Fifteen percent of the children reported they had missed no school during their period of enrollment in 1949-50. These children were found in the San Luis Valley and in the Grand Junction area where the families did not move far between home and work. Most (30 of them) were from Anglo families and the remainder were from Spanish-American homes.

About 60% of the children were absent for periods of less than 15 days. About 14% missed between 15 and 35 days, and slightly over 10% missed over 35 days. These absences were for the period of enrollment and did not include time lost for late entry in the fall or early leaving in the spring.

Reasons Given for Absences

Two-thirds of all children reporting absences gave sickness as the cause. One in five frankly stated that he had to work. The remainder of the group had a wide range of reasons. The "sickness" seemed to be a "stork" excuse for absence in Colorado as many children who were found in the fields during late September and the first part of October by the field staff gave "sickness" as their excuse for not being in school. Several reported to the Spanish-American staff members that they "had been told" to report sickness as the cause of non-attendance at school.

Number of Days Children 7 to 16 Were Absent During Their Period of Enrollment 1949-50 School Year

Children		Days Absent	
Number	Percent		
33*	15.0	None	
135	61.0	Less than 16 days	
17	7.7	Over 16 but less than 25	
13	5.9	Over 25 but less than 35	
5	2.3	Over 35 but less than 45	
7	3.2	Over 45 but less than 55	
11	5.0	Over 55 days	
221	100.0	Total	

\*Residents of Colorado or neighboring states

Table 54

Reasons Given for Absence from School

Children		Reasons for Absence	
Number	Percent		
125*	66.5*	Sickness	
38	20.2	Had to work	
4	2.1	Had to remain home and care for children while parents worked	
4	2.1	Went on vacation	
3	1.6	Family moved	
3	1.6	School too crowded	
11	5.9	Other	
188	100.0	Total	

\*Figures probably too high since "sickness" was stock excuse for non-attendance given by children found in fields in September and October.

Mobility was undoubtedly an important factor in absence. Though slightly over half the children reported attendance at only one school during the school year, about 29% had attended two schools and 16% had been in three, four or five different schools. (Table 55)

The effect of frequent transfers from one school to another on a child's emotional life, as well as on his educational progress, seemed to be either ignored or not even considered by some of the professional people interviewed. A number of superintendents, principals of schools, truant officers and teachers, when questioned about this, doubted that constantly making new

adjustments was a factor in non-attendance. Other professionals, however, were quick to point to mobility as a significant factor in causing migrant children to lose interest in attending school.

Other factors mentioned by Spanish-American parents who were willing to talk freely were differences of dress, manners of speech, and food habits, and limited skills in school games. Migrant children who had experienced the jibes and jeers of resident children because they were "different" probably felt like Jose, "I would rather stay home than go to that school."

Table 55

Number of Schools Attended by Children 7 to 16 During 1949-50 School Year

Schools Attended		Children	
	Number	Number	Percent
1 school	122	55.2	
2 schools	63	28.5	
3 schools	20	9.0	
4 schools	14	6.3	
5 schools	2	1.0	
Total	221	100.0	

School Attendance in Colorado

What Parents Said

When parents were asked whether their children attended school in Colorado, certain stock replies were usually given at first as reasons why children were not in school. According to these replies, children "had to stay home to take care of younger children," or their "earnings were needed" or they "didn't speak English," or they would "start school back home." One frequent reply - "you don't need education to be a beet worker" - suggested coaching by contractors or crew leaders.

Nothing said in these first replies indicated that any parents had tried to send their children to school. It was not until the confidence of some parents was won by the Spanish-American staff members during interviews that a different picture of non-attendance emerged which was generally somewhat on the order of the following: "Our children were sent to school. If the schools were not too crowded or if the children were not sent home for other reasons, they would come home crying and begging us not to send them back. Why? Because the other children made them feel that they are different. Their clothes are not so clean. Sometimes the shoes are too big or worn out, and the other children laugh at them. Our food is not like the food of the Anglos and that makes the other children laugh at what our boys and girls have to eat. When the children have money to buy their meals at the school cafeteria, they do not know how to buy the food

"Neither communities nor farmers feel any great responsibility to see that the kids of migrants are in school. In fact many people in the district would not appreciate our making those kids attend school. There is some feeling against the migrants. The farmers feel that their own children are corrupted and degraded by the contact with the migrant kids. Many of the people direct their resentment against the big companies and farmers who they charge are 'ruining the community' by importing migrant workers."

"The teachers or district superintendents do not feel it is their duty to act as law enforcement personnel so they do little about reporting who among the migrant children miss school."

"Attendance laws are not represented by generally known types of officers. That is, these people know the sheriff, or constable or state police, but they never heard of a truant officer and don't give a damn for him."

"In third-class districts truant officers are a luxury budgets do not allow. Consequently, most school boards rely on a volunteer board member to do the enforcement job. Non-attendance of local children is generally solved by a phone call or by a 'passing visit' when I will speak to Joe next time I see him about his kids being absent."

Some of the statements regarding enforcement were:

To assume that the problem is identical in each school district would be naive. However, there tended to be common characteristics everywhere. One of the first of these, pointed out by ten truant officers in various school districts, was the difficulty of enforcing attendance in third-class districts - rural districts - in which children of migrants are found in greatest numbers during the periods when school is in operation.

Unfortunately, what parents gave as reasons - whether excuses or real - for non-attendance of children at school is only part of the total situation. Truant officers had other explanations.

What Truant Officers Said

"Juan is the biggest boy in his class. Even the teacher thinks he is dumb. But believe me, he has never had a chance to go to school. So you see, we keep our children home - not to make them work, but because it is not so bad as seeing them come home crying."

Or maybe they do not know how to eat as the other children do. Then everybody laughs at the children. Often the food does not taste well to the children and when they have money with which to buy, they will not do so. But that is not all. Everybody laughs at them because they speak so funny. Then because they cannot understand easily, they are thought to be stupid. When this is told to the children, they are hurt and they cry. Our children do not play the Anglo games well. They stand by the side and are called names and made to feel ashamed. Even the Spanish children who live here all year round do as the Anglos and talk to our children as the children of the Anglos talk.

"Our compulsory education laws are difficult to enforce. Actually there are no teeth in them and those on the books are not for this day and age. When the things mentioned above are operative, the kids do not have a ghost of a chance, so they drop out early each year. Also, there is no state money to take care of extra attendance loads in the fall as our state general fund is distributed on the basis of the school census which is taken in the spring.

"The children are from one to three years behind in grade placement, as determined by standard tests. Most of our schools are not equipped to handle retarded youth. Most of the migrants of school age come to us for the several months in the fall giving no evidence of ever having been in school. This makes for difficult grade placement. With overcrowded facilities, overloads for teachers, irregular attendance and confusion of enrollment and attendance records, you will appreciate our hesitancy in requesting they be made to attend.

Superintendents saw this complex situation from a slightly different viewpoint - that of the administrator. The comments of 13 superintendents were joined in presenting the following pictures:

What Superintendents of Schools Said

It was the conclusion of the field staff that most of the truant officers reflected community sentiment regarding the question of school attendance of migrant children. Where the community felt that "migrants are dirty and undesirable citizens who have a lot of illegitimate children" or "did not know whether they are worth saving and wondered if we ought to let Nature take its course," truant officers tended to give the problem as little attention as possible. However, in a few places where the community felt, "These people are a part of the American people and it is our obligation to improve their opportunities since they do for our state what we won't do for it ourselves" - then the attitude of the truant officers was to "do our best to get and keep those kids in school."

"More problems are created by bringing these migrants into school than by leaving them out. The tendency is to leave them alone and to maintain the status quo. It is difficult in rural areas to do otherwise, as the whole community is against the man who tries to do something more for his migrants' kids than others are doing."

"Most of these families come to Colorado with the idea of working the entire family. If they cannot do it, they will no longer come and they are needed here. Put pressure on them and they are off."

"We are not prepared to handle the problem which would ensue if we were to look up the parents of migrant kids who do not go to school. Who would then take care of their families, for instance?"

"If we were to force those kids to attend school, we would have to do it in opposition to the community, our friends and the workers themselves. We are not prepared to force the community to take sides on this issue. It would be better if a program were set up to educate the parents and the community in the value of school attendance before enforcement is begun."



"What happens in a school suddenly confronted by twice as many students as are normally enrolled, you can well imagine." (Some superintendents stated that migrant children could attend rural schools as they were not overcrowded - that overcrowding was a problem mainly in non-rural centers.)

One superintendent frankly stated that it was his studied conclusion that "children of these Mexican beet workers are not the mental equals of our children. Their presence in the schools would retard all the other children and lower the mental progress of our own children."

In general, however, the field staff were impressed by the grasp most superintendents had of this confusing situation and their concern that steps should be taken to improve it. Though there were some who put the primary blame for irregular attendance on parents and whose idea of a compulsory education law with "teeth" in it was one that would have a "stiff penalty" for parents whose children were not in school as "these Spanish laborers should learn that they must follow our American way," the majority saw the problem in much broader terms than penalties for parents. There was general agreement that a stronger compulsory education law and attendance officers in all districts were basic needs, but beyond this was the problem of how to provide enough space and enough teachers for a seasonal overload and how to make short periods of attendance profitable for children who are retarded and constantly on the move.

Some of the suggestions made to meet the educational needs of migrant children were: (1) State aid for areas where there are migrants; (2) specialized curriculum and specialized teachers for retarded migrant children; (3) teachers that will migrate with children within the state; (4) curriculum reciprocity with Texas, New Mexico, and Oklahoma to provide uniform instruction in basic courses and permit grade placement and progress as children move from state to state. "Use of social welfare to build better home environment" and "better pay for parent workers and no child labor" were also among the suggestions.

A few superintendents expressed no interest in positive action. They were a small minority but probably reflected community attitudes. They were mainly concerned with the "trouble" migrant children cause when they come to school. "It is necessary," said one of these superintendents, "to lower the requirements to keep up the interest of the stragglers - the children of migrant families who are kept out of school to work in the fields." "Children of Mexican beet workers come to us without any educational background. Often they don't speak English and sometimes whole families will be in the first grade," said another superintendent. "The teachers in the grade schools have to make an extra class and in the rural schools it is a mess."

One of the conspicuous forms of this was in commercial recreation. Members of the field staff observed on numerous occasions segregated seating of Spanish-American migrants in moving picture houses in the less desirable seating sections. One manager explained the practice as a result of protests from his "year round" customers. "They do not like coming into

### Commercial Recreation

Plenty of evidence was found in Colorado of the prejudice against Spanish-American migrants which prevents integration and of the discriminatory practices which build resentment.

## II. COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

Until the curtain of cultural differences is raised, the migrant will continue to exist in his "valley" culture. Until he is "at home" (participating) in the broad stream of the American cultural pattern, he will be a stranger and an enigma in our midst.

Practically the only form of social or recreational activity in which migrants participated in Colorado communities was commercial recreation. Such other recreation as they had was usually of the traditional and inexpensive kind which they organized themselves in the camps. But social activity in camps limits participation to camp residents and tends to strengthen the forces of isolation, resentment and potential conflict.

Evidence of lack of social participation in the study was the fact that practically the only organization to which migrants in this age group or over belonged was the church. Of the 800 migrants in this age group, 623 belonged only to the church. A few had two church memberships but only three were members of any other organization - two were members of veterans organizations and one of a labor union. There were 140 persons in the group of 800 who did not belong to any organization. Since 99% of all memberships held by migrants were in the church, a special inquiry was made to determine whether migrants attended, or were encouraged to attend, church services in Colorado. The findings, reported in the following section on Community Attitudes, indicate clearly that church membership did not bring migrants into church participation in Colorado.

Social participation is as essential as education in the acculturation process but Spanish-Americans have remained "cultural islands within a culture" both "back home" and in states where they migrate. Their differences in language and customs and their low economic and social status are perpetuated by the failure of communities to accept them and to integrate them into community life. This only strengthens their group cohesion which in turn causes increased isolation and misunderstanding and the possibilities of conflict.

## I. PARTICIPATION

### SOCIAL PARTICIPATION AND COMMUNITY ATTITUDES

#### CHAPTER VIII

a theatre and sitting next to a smelly farm laborer. These people living comes from the steady customers who live here, and I have to protect my investment in the building and business." The practice prevailed in more vicious forms in the smaller than in the larger towns.

In two situations members of the field staff were present at community dances to which admission was refused Spanish-American boys who wished to attend the dance accompanied by Spanish-American girls. The proprietors explained that the boys with girls would have been permitted to attend, but since there were also unaccompanied Spanish-American boys who wished to attend, it was felt advisable to prohibit any from entering "for then no one could accuse me of unfairness."

Ushers at football games were observed directing Spanish-American migrants to seats in particularly isolated sections of the bleachers. This practice was noted in three distantly removed towns in the State.

#### Service Establishments

Very few "We Cater to White Trade Only," or similar signs were observed in restaurants or other service establishments. The restaurants, taverns, grills or barber shops which exhibited such visible evidence of antagonism were usually low-cost ones, patronized by people from the lower income, educational, and social groups. As a rule, the higher - and more costly - the type of establishment, the less discernible was the discrimination since prices tended to eliminate use by migrants. One manager explained this in the following manner: "Those restaurants which charge prices prohibitive to the Spanish-speaking people are not bothered by their trade. I can't say they behave any different from the 'whites' who eat in here, but they /the whites/ seem to think they do. Actually it is better that we do not encourage their coming in, for if we did there would be fights going on all the time."

But, despite the absence of signs, there were plenty of other ways in which migrants were made to realize their presence was not wanted.

In places patronized almost entirely by laboring people, violent opposition to the presence of Spanish-American migrants was frequently exhibited. The following incident illustrates the development of hostility patterns:

One evening a member of the field staff sat in a tavern watching three Anglos and a Spanish-American migrant at the bar. After a few drinks, the Anglos began making some of the stock remarks about the nature of "Mexicans" and the group in the tavern laughed at this exhibition of racism. The migrant lad paid little or no attention, seemingly, to the men beside him at the bar. Finally, one of them accused the "Mexican" boy of stealing cigarettes from him, though the boy was obviously smoking cigarettes from his own package. An intense emotional heat was aroused immediately in the Anglos, who asserted that all "Mexican" migrants are thieves. A search of the "prejudged"

The field staff also found evidence of discrimination in the price setting practices of food stores, as well as in their treatment of Spanish-American customers, and conducted an experiment to document it. The staff team for this experiment consisted of an Anglo and two Spanish-Americans. The Anglo was visibly an Anglo. One of the Spanish-Americans was about six feet tall, rather fair, had two years of college, and spoke excellent English. The other Spanish-American was about five feet six, rather darker than the first one, and a graduate student. He spoke excellent English but could also mimic the "broken English" of the migrant perfectly. It was agreed that on a given day five stores retailing groceries, fresh vegetables, fruits and meats would be visited by each member of the team, equipped with an identical list of items most frequently bought by migrant homemakers,

Members of the field staff observed in a number of retail food stores that clerks showed definite hostility to migrants by being short in replies and otherwise provocative. Managers with whom these conditions were discussed generally recognized that migrants had considerable purchasing power on pay days and wanted to solicit their trade through courteous treatment, "but," as usual the explanation ran, "I find it impossible to get the help I can hire to accept my point of view." One merchant went on to point out that, although most food in the fresh foods department had been harvested by the migrants, "most of my customers complain constantly about them handling the food when they shop. That does not make sense to me but try and get customers to see that. Frankly those people /migrants/ behave pretty much like the rest of us. I don't mind them myself, but I wish they wouldn't come in here at all, because of the hell I get from local people for serving them."

### Retail Food Stores

An example of this occurred when two members of the field staff, one Anglo and one Spanish-American, wanted to stop at a leading hotel in southeastern Colorado. The Anglo was told that a room with twin beds was available. When his co-worker approached the desk to sign in, the desk clerk saw that he was Spanish-American. He went immediately into a huddle with another clerk. When he returned to the desk, he informed the guests that a mistake had been made and that no rooms were available at that time. As the Anglo was leaving the lobby, he was informed that a single room was available for him if that would help any.

In high class establishments, discrimination took the form of "no accommodations" or no service for Spanish-Americans who could pass the price barrier.

victim was started to find out "what else he has stolen," in which several other men in the tavern joined. They turned his pockets inside out and made him take off his shoes, shirt and trousers to prove that he was hiding nothing. He was then shoved out into the street and his belongings thrown after him.

and that prices would be listed as reported by one of the firm's clerks. Each member was to purchase certain items agreed on in advance. The range of prices paid, given below, shows that the Anglo was consistently charged two to five cents less on every item than the Spanish-American who spoke "broken English." The Spanish-American who spoke good English and looked less Spanish paid prices in the middle - higher than the Anglo but lower than the migrant "imitator."

When the Anglo reported to the merchants the results of the experiment, the consensus of replies was that prices for tourists were always somewhat higher than those charged residents. When the Anglo pointed out that he had never been in that particular town before and consequently should have been charged as much as the other members of the team on the "tourist" basis, the answer was, "Everybody charges the migrants a little more if they can get it. The reason for this is that most of us lose money on the credit accounts of resident customers and in this way things are kind of 'evened up.'"

It should be pointed out that the stores visited were individually owned. Chain stores were not involved in the price differential practices since their prices were posted for each item exhibited for sale.

In addition to this experiment, members of the field staff stood in stores and heard proprietors charge migrants higher prices than they charged residents buying identical articles within as short a period as three minutes.

Table 56 Retail Prices for Food in Purchasing Experiment

Items	Anglo	Spanish-American	"Broken English"
Veal round steak	.79	.83	.83
Salt pork	.39	.45	.45
Pork chops (loin)	.69	.72	.72
Baek or grade A bacon	.56	.60	.60
Bacon ends	.31	.35	.35
Hot dogs	.51	.55	.55
Longhorn cheese	.45	.50	.50
Armours #21b cheese	.95	.98	.98
Oleo	.35	.37	.37
Flour (Pendola Chief) 25 lb.	1.80	1.85	1.85
Lard 4 lb.	.98	1.00	1.00
Sugar 5 lb.	.53	.55	.55
Flour (Golden Shine) 25 lb.	1.90	1.95	1.95
Flour (Major "C") 25 lb.	1.95	1.98	1.98
Coffee 1 lb. Solitaire	.90	.92	.92
Coffee 1 lb. Schilling	.90	.92	.92

Discrimination against migrant children in education could be observed with minimum effort. It appeared in a variety of garbs, perhaps the most obvious of which was the community attitude toward enforcement of school attendance. When members of the field staff made inquiries in a community concerning the non-attendance of migrant children, attitudes like the following were often expressed: "There is not much that can be done to help these people. In fact, a great many of us are of the opinion that we do more harm than good in trying to force them to attend school." "We believe that possibly the best thing we can do for them is to let Nature take its course with them."

Other arguments for a policy of non-enforcement ran somewhat along these lines: "There is no additional money from the State to meet the costs of increased temporary enrollment. We have enough things to pay taxes for as it is without paying to educate Texas kids. Besides we can't get the migrant children into school. If we could, they don't speak English; therefore, they retard the progress of the whole school and we are just as glad they won't come."

Farmers who thought migrant children should not be too strongly urged to go to school were frank in stating their reasons. The grower who insisted, "I don't want my kids going to school and getting contaminated by those dirty, lousy Mexican kids," expressed a common attitude. Another was expressed by the grower who said that "making them /the migrants/ go to school is a bad deal, because when they learn to speak a little English, they don't work so well." Or, in the words of another grower, "Give 'em a little education and you ruin 'em as good farm hands. Good workers is too damned hard to get these days. I'm fer leavin' 'em alone."

The people who hold these attitudes toward educating the children of migrants are, by the nature of prejudice, the ones who condemn the Spanish-Americans most vigorously for being "dumb," "dirty," "diseased," and incapable of learning how to live like Americans. They ignore the obvious fact that if we will not permit them the opportunities to learn "our rules" as we behave and that to do otherwise is to perpetuate a state of possible conflict. Unless integration replaces hostility and ostracism, resentment will become explosive and the best place to begin the integrating process is with the children. Illiteracy or low educational attainment among Spanish-American migrants and their children is the product of the social factors which have restricted their opportunities for development, not a racial limitation as the prejudiced like to charge. If migrant children are provided with adequate educational facilities and protected in having full use of them, in their home states and in the states where they live temporarily, they can achieve normal educational progress, lose their "foreignness" and become Americans in accordance with American tradition. Perhaps they will be "ruined" as farm hands, or perhaps they will become better farm hands, depending on what the farmers do. Farmers in Colorado rated as "good workers" the migrants who came back year after year and whose children went to school.

Employment

Another of the more obvious areas in which discrimination takes place against migrants is the field of employment. A number of farmers reported, "I can use Mexicans on semi-skilled or skilled jobs only when no 'white' wants the job." Another farmer amplified this by saying, "Them damn Mexicans I had sent to me this year are good workers, but the trouble with them is few of them can handle or work with my power-driven machinery. Then about the time I get one trained, some 'white' comes along and scares the Mexican off and I have to give the job to him (the white)." A teacher in a Colorado school wrote of a case in which a farmer refused to measure a field of beets which the crew leader and his Spanish-American workers insisted was 25 acres instead of the 19 acres stated in the work agreement (verbal). The farmer paid the crew leader for thinning 19 acres and told him to get out or "you and your whole damn bunch will go to jail."

The head of a migrant family reported that when he was paid, he received a cent less per crate of onions than he had been promised. He protested and the farmer told him that unless he took what was offered him the law would put him in jail for working his children.

Cases like the above, except that the exploiting and threatening were done by crew leaders and labor contractors instead of by farmers, were reported by a number of migrant household heads in interviews. With such reports, the additional complaint was usually made that farmers would do nothing to protect the workers because they were afraid of losing the help available through the contractor or crew leader if they interfered with his practices. The question was repeatedly asked of interviewers, "Where can we get help on such questions?" This again illustrated the ignorance of the migrants as to sources of assistance in the state or community. But even if the migrant knew where to go to find out what rights he had, he would find he had no protection from the "squeezes" of labor contractors as long as contracts are unwritten and contractors subject to no legal controls.

Discrimination, which means loss of opportunity to acquire greater skills or loss of legitimate earnings, is costly not only to the individual but to society as a whole. An efficient and productive worker is worth more than an ignorant worker. A worker who is fairly treated and fairly paid is a better worker than one who is not. Other industries have learned the cost of inefficient labor and unfair labor practices. It is a lesson that needs to be learned in seasonal agriculture if it is to be operated efficiently and produce maximum returns. Undeveloped, down-trodden and exploited migrants are a source of weakness, not of strength, in a state like Colorado which has a vast amount of wealth in types of agriculture which depend on seasonal labor.

Medical and Dental Care

Interviewees and other sources in the community cited a number of cases in which medical services were denied migrants on various grounds, including inability to pay in advance the fees requested by the physician.

In one such case a boy with a broken arm was asked, "Who is going to pay the bill?" When the doctor was informed that the parents did not have the money in hand at the time, the patient was told to see if "the farmer you work for won't advance it. If he will not guarantee to pay the bill, you go to the Welfare office and ask them to help you."

The office nurse of the doctor who refused to deliver a baby in a tent, said to a member of the field staff, "It might be a good idea for these people to practice planned parenthood. If they can't do that, then they had better start laying aside enough money to take care of the wives when they come to confinement. There is no reason why a doctor's obstetrical record should be made to suffer by having to deliver children in the kind of situation those people called Doctor to." The nurse made no mention of the fact that the hospital to which the mother was referred by the Welfare office refused to admit her.

The above are examples of a number of cases reported to the field staff which showed that migrant people in Colorado in certain known instances were not able to obtain needed medical services. There was also evidence that people in need of attention were being exploited by "quacks" and charlatans acting as doctors and by salesmen of patent medicines and "cure-alls" as a result of difficulties in securing professional care.

In general the field staff were convinced that only a few of the persons who were in serious need of medical care applied for it but that a relatively large proportion of the few who applied were cared for by competent doctors, clinics, or through Welfare services. Many persons who should have sought medical services did not do so because of language and financial difficulties or simply because they were totally unaware of how to go about getting care. If the "many persons" had applied, the proportion who would have received care is an unknown quantity as the answer would require a detailed study of available resources.

Law Enforcement

Law enforcement was another area in which discrimination prevented one group of people - the migrants - from competing on equal terms with another group - the residents.

Members of the field staff were in a town at a time when an auto accident occurred involving a migrant worker and a resident. Witnesses stated that the resident driver failed to halt at a stop sign before entering the main traffic artery and that, as a result, his car was hit by the migrant's car. It was repeated by at least three persons that the



For their part migrants repeatedly stated that they were never encouraged to attend church. Some who wanted to go reported it was impossible to obtain transportation. Others felt uncomfortable and out of place

While no clergyman indicated that migrants were unwelcome in the churches, numerous resident members did so. The reasons given for attitudes were "stock" replies; "They (the migrants) are dirty." "They wouldn't understand our services." "They are diseased." "They really don't want to come so we do not try to force them." "We wouldn't know how to get along with them so we stay away from them."

Discrimination against migrants was definitely found to exist within church groups. Clergyman generally explained the absence of migrants from their churches by saying that "these people rarely attend churches because the nature of their work requires that they be on the job seven days a week." Though practically the only organization the migrants belonged to was the church, most church leaders admitted that little or no effort was exerted to encourage the migrants to attend church services or events. As a result few migrants attended church services, regardless of membership, except for emergency needs, i.e., baptism of infants, weddings and funerals. Clergymen were rarely ever called to camps except for crises, i.e., before hospitalization, severe illnesses, or to have an errand spoken to by a spiritual leader.

Church groups

Another way in which the law was being misused, or violated, to intimidate migrants, is illustrated by the case of a migrant worker who threatened to leave a grower for violation of agreement (verbal). The farmer called a law officer to arrest the migrant on charges of disorderly conduct. The officer promised to drop the charge if the migrant remained, which he did. When the law officer was approached by a member of the field staff concerning this incident, he vehemently replied, "I never did such a thing." The description the migrant gave of "the man with the star" so strikingly fitted the law officer that the field worker raised questions with him as to the kind of activities in which persons with stars could legally indulge and whether impersonation of an officer was not a criminal offense. The officer's answer to these questions, which implied that either he or someone impersonating him had acted illegally in threatening the migrant, was: "Unless and until a formal protest is filed with me, I am powerless to act."

On another occasion members of the field staff passed a migrant driving a 1939 "pick-up" truck. Before they had gone very far, they noticed that the truck was being halted by a police car. The staff members stopped their car and went back to see what was taking place. The migrant was being arrested for speeding. The arrest was made in open country.

Fault lay with the resident and not with the migrant, yet the migrant was fined for careless driving. Residents of this same community described the beating of a young adult migrant - "a kid - for resisting arrest. The officer was unreasonable the way he beat up that kid. As far as I could see all the kid wanted to know was why he was being arrested."

because of observable differences in dress, church buildings and nigeties of ritual.

Migrants generally felt that there was no use in going to the church leaders for assistance in settling disputes or misunderstandings. As one migrant expressed it, "Those men (clergyman) are more interested in what the community thinks about them than in helping us, so why go to them?" Clergymen reacted to this kind of statement with somewhat this kind of reply: "I haven't time to operate a claims bureau for migrant workers. If they will come to me with their problems, I will do what I can for them."

Few instances were found of the established local churches making any effort to get the migrants into community religious or social programs or to take such programs to them in the camps. The outstanding exception to this general indifference was the program of the Colorado Migrant Committee of the Home Missions Council of North America whose activities in migrant camps have been mentioned elsewhere in this report.

The use of migratory farm labor in Colorado, as elsewhere, creates difficult problems for the migrant workers, for the family members who accompany them, for the growers who rely on their labor, and for the communities where they temporarily reside.

Poorly housed, poorly paid, poorly educated, poorly protected in legal ways, the migrant lives and toils under shockingly sub-standard conditions. For him and the members of his family, the problems of migrant living are problems of human misery.

The grower - the employer of migrant labor - has his problems too, different in nature but equally real. He has a highly perishable crop, which, under the dictates of nature, must be handled and harvested during a certain, short period of time, or be lost. He cannot obtain sufficient labor for his needs from within the local community and must rely on the uncertain stream of laborers from outside the area. As an employer, the grower would prefer, if he could, to limit his responsibilities to these temporary workers to the payment of a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, and not concern himself with such matters as housing, health, the care and schooling of children which are problems not ordinarily faced by an employer in his relation with his workers. But if he is at all concerned with building a more stable labor force upon whom he can rely season after season, if he is concerned about productive efficiency, he cannot afford to ignore these problems of his workers because a dissatisfied worker is a poor and unreliable worker and one whose anxieties and discontent inevitably lower his dependability and productivity. The communities to which migrants come have their own difficulties also - difficulties multiplied by the needs of tens of thousands of temporary residents for housing, health, welfare and educational services which already may be inadequate even for the resident population. Nevertheless, each community where migrants live and work has an obligation - moral if not legal - to meet the basic needs of their temporary residents, and it is impossible to set them apart as second-class citizens for whom community services should not be made available. The migrants are productive workers, vitally necessary to the economy of the community, and by their labor they contribute to its wealth and prosperity. Each community which they enrich has the corresponding obligation not to deny these temporary residents the services and facilities and protective legislation available to others.

In considering these problems, the fact must be faced that the need for migrant labor in Colorado will remain for a long time although it may be reduced somewhat by basic changes in methods of agricultural production, such as fuller development of mechanization, or by slow changes in the agricultural economy or in the population patterns of the state.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### CHAPTER IX

The recommendations which follow do not outline a federal program. It is assumed that the national government will increasingly recognize its responsibility in dealing with this problem which has many interstate aspects, and it is also assumed that migrant workers should be given the protection offered to other workers under our social security system and our federal labor legislation. But the chief hope for immediate improvement of existing conditions lies in a planned and coordinated effort by State and local agencies, cooperating with federal agencies as a national program is developed. These recommendations suggest action which can be carried out through existing agencies of the State of Colorado, through regional agreements with other states from which migrant workers are recruited, and through action in the communities where migrant workers are used.

They are not abstract solutions to academic problems. They are specific and detailed suggestions for improving the health, housing, education, welfare and income levels of the migrant workers who are so necessary to Colorado's agricultural economy. None of these recommendations is theoretical or impossible. Many have been tested and proven practicable in other areas of the nation with migrant problems similar to Colorado's.

Recommendations are one thing; their realization is quite another. Putting these recommendations into practice will require more than will and wisdom. It will require also an expenditure of funds. The National Child Labor Committee has no wish to shy away from that difficulty by refusing to mention it. But the costs are neither extravagant nor great, by any measure. They do not contemplate luxury levels of living - only the barest level necessary for minimum standards of health and decency. The costs involved in the recommended programs are in reality only a modest capital investment in people who are necessary to Colorado's prosperity, and will assuredly yield satisfying dividends in human happiness and increased productivity.

I. STATE COMMISSION ON MIGRANT LABOR

There should be established in the State of Colorado, by creation of the Governor if he has such authority or by Act of the General Assembly, a State Commission on Migrant Farm Labor.

1. Composition This Commission should be composed of

- (a) Representatives of all state agencies concerned with the general problem of seasonal agricultural labor including the Departments of Public Health, Public Welfare, Education, and Agriculture, the Industrial Commission, the Employment Service, the Agricultural Extension Service, the State Board for Vocational Education and the State Patrol.

- (b) Representatives of the general public, to be appointed by the governor - such members to be selected from non-governmental groups (labor, church, welfare, etc.) and/or individual citizens familiar with the migratory farm labor problem.
- (c) The Chairman should be elected by the Commission members.

2. Functions of Commission

- (a) To coordinate and give direction to the programs of agencies dealing with the problem.

- (b) To initiate and to direct inter-agency research in order that programming may be based on adequate and correct information on conditions and needs.

- (c) To publicize and to assist in enforcement of laws and regulations designed to protect citizens of the State and persons brought into the State to work in agriculture.

- (d) To make recommendations for new legislation.

- (e) To encourage and to assist local organizations in developing programs in their respective communities which will interpret the workers to the community and the community to the workers and assist in the process of acclimation.

- (f) To promote regional agreements with other States.

- (g) To submit an annual report to the Governor on the program and activities of the Commission and its recommendations.

3. Finances

For the first year there should be appropriated salary for an Executive Director of the Commission and \$10,000 to cover costs for travel, printing, secretarial help, training institutes, etc. This should be reviewed at the end of the first year, with a view to determining to what extent needed services and activities can be carried on by established agencies and financed through their own budgets.

## II. HEALTH

Low income, inadequate diet, insufficient medical care, wretched housing and sanitation, unprotected drinking water, and unawareness of the simplest health rules - all are characteristic of the migrant and his life in Colorado. Thus practically all of the factors recognized as contributing to the vulnerability of an individual to disease are present for the migrant worker. It is not only the health of the migrant group which is endangered. Seasonal agricultural workers are a highly mobile group and communicable disease easily spreads from one community to another. The possibility of epidemics is a real threat.

The need for a statewide health program for agricultural migrants in Colorado is as real as the need for their occupational services in the State and - as in other states - is long since due. The recommendations given below are essential for the safety of the community at large as well as for the welfare of the migrant workers.

1. Special detection and treatment clinics and health services should be made available to migrant workers and their families. Bi-lingual, and preferably well-qualified Spanish-American personnel, should be employed for these services. Clinic services should be available after working hours.

a) Mobile clinics and camp clinics. These should include

- (1) Clinics for children
- (2) Clinics for pre-natal and post-natal care
- (3) Tuberculosis detection clinics, x-rays, etc.
- (4) Venereal disease control clinics

b) Public health nursing

c) Mental hygiene consultation services

d) Popular health education activities

2. The possibility of additional assistance through the federal grants-in-aid programs administered by the Bureau of State Services of the U. S. Public Health Service and by the Division of Health Services of the U. S. Children's Bureau should be investigated, with a view to increasing personnel and facilities available for health, sanitation and inspection programs for migrant workers.

3. The possibility of a regional interstate approach to health problems of migrant workers, including transfer of certificates of immunizations, x-rays, etc., should be investigated and the U. S. Public Health Service should be asked for its assistance in working out such regional cooperation.

4. The State should require that anyone furnishing living quarters to migrant workers secure a permit from the Colorado Department of Public Health.
5. The Department of Public Health should be empowered and instructed to draw up a code of minimum standards for labor camps or other housing accommodations for migrant farm workers. (See recommendations on Housing.)
6. Compliance with this code should be required before a permit is granted.
7. The Department of Public Health should be empowered and instructed to inspect all housing accommodations for migrant workers at regular intervals.
8. The Department of Public Health should be empowered to revoke any permit if violation of the code is found to exist and to close places found operating in violation of the permit or without permit. Penalties should be assessed against growers for repeated violations.
9. Legislation should be enacted requiring that all members of migrant families entering Colorado be vaccinated against smallpox, unless they present adequate evidence of vaccination within an acceptable period.
10. The State Department of Public Health should be requested to study the incidence of diphtheria and typhoid fever among migrant workers in order to determine whether diphtheria and typhoid fever immunization should be required.
11. Because the "poverty" type diet of migrants in Colorado is a threat to their health, the State Department of Public Health, in cooperation with other professional sources, should prepare educational material on proper nutrition and distribute this to migrant families through clinics, schools and other channels. Such material should be popular and simple in its approach, practical in terms of migrants' budgets and cooking facilities, and bi-lingual.
12. Inasmuch as many of the farm migrants in Colorado are non-residents of the State, it is suggested that the State Department of Public Health call a conference of representatives of health agencies, public and private, and of the medical profession to consider the problem of providing medical care for this group, with special reference to assuring emergency care, continued treatment when needed and protection of physicians from loss due to unpaid bills.
13. Representatives of the State Department of Public Health should be vigilant in measures to control communicable disease among migrant workers, including regular inspections

2. A two-faceted educational program should be developed by the State Department of Public Health in cooperation with the State Department of Education to (a) convince growers and the community of the need for good housing for migrant workers and (b) help migrants understand the use and care of housing facilities.

1. The difficulties in providing and maintaining proper housing for migrant workers should be frankly recognized. These include the cost of suitable housing that is occupied for only short periods of the year, and the unfamiliarity of many migrant families with measures of cleanliness and sanitation which sometimes results in the abuse of property.

The relationship between good housing and good workers is almost axiomatic as the relationship between good housing and good health. The recommendations which follow are not only necessary for the health and dignity of the migrant worker, but will benefit the growers and the community.

Housing for farm migrants in Colorado usually resembles the worst pattern of rural slums. Even in the better camps adequate sanitary facilities are lacking, and in the poorer camps sanitary facilities can hardly be said to exist. In general, there is no clearly fixed responsibility for housing conditions, the water supply, sewage and garbage disposal, etc.

III. HOUSING

It should be pointed out, in considering a program to implement these recommendations, that there are private agencies, both national and state, which on request may be able to assist in developing and financing some of these services. Also to an increasing extent, consulting and financial assistance is being made available by the federal government for research and for the extension of certain types of public health services and facilities.

14. Definite procedures should be established for the care of workers in case of accidents or infections, including immediate emergency attention and securing prompt medical treatment. This is as important for the individual migrant family working on a small farm as for those living in migrant camps where first aid rooms should be required. Educational material to explain to the small growers the need for foresight in the handling of accidents is important.

In camps, enforcement of isolation and immediate action to prevent its spread.



3. The housing code for living quarters furnished to migrant workers (see Recommendation 5 under Health) should set forth minimum requirements in specific terms. The words "adequate" or "decent" are too indefinite. Recognizing that some of the following points require different interpretation in the case of quarters for one or two families as distinguished from labor camps, such a Code should cover the following items:

- a) Permits to operate
- b) Fixing the responsibility for operation
- c) Procedures for dealing with communicable diseases, accidents and emergency health problems
- d) Provision for first aid facilities
- e) Suitable provision for both outdoor and indoor recreational facilities for children
- f) Housing
  - (1) Location
  - (2) General construction
  - (3) Safety and sanitary conditions
  - (4) Flooring
  - (5) Stoves
  - (6) Exits
  - (7) Sleeping quarters (sq. ft. floor space per sleeper) and facilities
  - (8) Ventilation - windows in sleeping quarters, interior kitchens, etc.
  - (9) Tent regulations
- g) Cooking facilities and refrigeration
- h) Water Supply
  - (1) Location
  - (2) Quality and quantity
  - (3) Water treatment - storage tanks, etc.
  - (4) Conditions of wells
- i) Toilet facilities (separate for each sex)
  - (1) Location
  - (2) Type
  - (3) Ratio of seats to users
  - (4) Window space
  - (5) Sewage disposal
  - (6) Cleanliness
  - (7) Provision for field toilets
- j) Garbage and refuse
  - (1) Disposal
  - (2) Collection

Altogether it adds up to a feeling of futility on the part of migrant families and indifference on the part of school people and communities as to whether these children get an education. In most American communities, social pressures are a force in securing school attendance. In migrant areas the reverse is true.

Many factors are responsible for this; the inadequate income of migrant workers which makes it seem more important for children to work than to go to school; and unfriendly attitude towards migrant children on the part of teachers, students and the community; difficulties in adjustment for migrant children due to language and educational handicaps; the limited educational background of parents; a weak school attendance law and little interest in its enforcement for migrant children; the lack of adequate educational facilities; the additional financial burden upon local schools that admit migrant children.

Education has long been recognized as the chief method of achieving acculturation. But the education of the migrants in Colorado is shockingly inadequate.

Until the social process of acculturation is speeded up, large numbers of migrant workers in Colorado will continue to speak only Spanish and their children will receive little education. They will remain isolated from the community, a separate people with strong in-group feelings and intense suspicion and distrust of out-group people.

#### IV. EDUCATION

- n) Protection of food supplies wherever offered for sale.
- m) Dishwashing wherever prepared food is provided or offered for sale
- 1) Public Kitchens and Dining Rooms
  - (1) Location
  - (2) Sourcing
  - (3) Care of kitchen utensils and equipment
  - (4) Stove space
  - (5) Dining tables
  - (6) Walls
  - (7) Floors
  - (8) Ceilings
- k) Bathing Facilities
  - (1) Requirements of showers or tubs to users
  - (2) Ratio of shower heads or tubs to users
  - (3) Cleanliness
  - (4) Water heating

Recommendations to help meet the economic difficulties of migrant workers and to control child labor are given in other sections. The following recommendations suggest specific steps which educational groups, State and local, should accept responsibility for initiating and carrying out.

Increased Efforts to Secure School Attendance

1. The State Compulsory Attendance Law should be amended to remove the exemptions for children under 16 years of age.

2. The difficulty of enforcing compulsory attendance for migrant children should be carefully studied and plans for enforcement initiated, including wide publicity of school attendance provisions among migrants and growers and educational measures to convince parents of the advantages of education for their children. The goal should be enforcement by consent rather than by threat.

3. A regional inter-state approach to the problem of clarification, coordination and enforcement of laws relative to the school attendance of migrant children should be considered.

4. Provision should be made for the immediate follow-up of children absent from school. This might involve solicitation of the cooperation of growers and local people to assist in the rapid registration of migrant children when they come to a community.

Financial Assistance to Areas with Migrant Children

5. The fact that many migrant children are not in the community when the school census is taken should be considered in determining the basis for distribution of State school funds. Apportionment to communities with migrant children during part of the school year should reflect the expense to those communities of providing for their education. This might be done to some extent by apportioning school funds on the basis of average daily attendance rather than the school census. A procedure which would more closely reflect additional costs would be to allot special funds to schools with migrant children, possibly on a per capita basis.

6. The State Superintendent of Public Instruction should be empowered to act promptly in emergency situations. He should be able to make funds immediately available (a) to provide financial assistance to schools with sizeable numbers of migrant children not in attendance at the time of school census; (b) to grant per mile travel allowance for isolated cases or for small schools with heavy transportation costs due to short term migrant pupils.

Improving Educational Facilities for Migrant Children

7. Provision should be made for summer schools for migrant children of school age. These might be conducted along the lines of the Lamar Colony School which accepts children for one year only, emphasizes the teaching of English and prepares them for attendance in regular schools.
8. The State should make funds available to provide child care centers for pre-school age children of working mothers. Townsman and farmers should be urged to cooperate in providing facilities and equipment for such centers.
9. A system of record transfer and a core curriculum for migrant children should be developed by regional cooperation, both inter-state and intrastate. This would facilitate grade assignments, uniform instruction, student adjustment and efficient use of student and instructor time.
10. The State Department of Education should organize training institutes for teachers on specific problems arising from the reeducation and mal-adjustment of migrant children.
11. In line with the expanding concepts of the functions of the Agricultural Extension Service now being developed, the Extension Service of Colorado should extend its 4-H Club activities to the children of migrant farm families.

Acceptance of Migrant Children in the Schools

12. One of the difficulties in providing for the education of migrant children in Colorado is the antagonism towards and ostracism of such children in rural areas. Although the rural schools in some areas could accommodate them, migrant families, if they send the children to school at all, usually seek the schools in nearby urban centers whose facilities are usually overtaxed, but where there is less hostility. It is therefore recommended

- a) that a program of education in rural communities be developed both to overcome this attitude of discrimination toward migrants and to explain the importance of education for all children.
- b) that the State Department of Education draw up a program to assist teachers and resident pupils in orientation toward migrants.

Adult Education

13. The State Department of Education and the Colorado Extension Service should both assume responsibilities for adult education programs for migrant workers to assist them in overcoming the problems arising from illiteracy, language differences

and lack of job skills, and to give training in child care, homemaking, nutrition, sanitation and similar subjects.

General

14. Consultants from the Federal Office of Education, national education agencies and groups concerned with the problems of Spanish-speaking people in the Southwest should be asked for assistance in identifying the educational needs of migrants and in planning programs for them.

15. The entire problem of the education of migrant children and adult education for members of migrant families should be reviewed by a conference of State and local school officials, growers and community citizens, with a view to securing a proper understanding of the importance of the situation, and the problems involved.

The recommendations which require legislative action should be brought immediately to the attention of the Colorado Education Association with a view to their inclusion in the Educational Foundation Act which has been prepared for presentation to the General Assembly of Colorado.

V. CHILD LABOR

Child labor is one of the most vicious aspects of migrant agricultural life - and the situation in Colorado is no exception to the rule. It is common practice for young children to work long hours in the fields with their parents. Work, in the lives of many migrant children, displaces schooling, play and all the other activities normal to childhood.

The child labor law of Colorado is not up to the standards generally recognized as desirable even for employment in non-agricultural occupations. For agricultural employment it is still weaker, due to specific exemptions and ambiguities. The following recommendations are therefore made:

1. The present provision establishing a minimum age of 14 years for most occupations should be amended to include, specifically, commercial agriculture, and the existing exemption of children "employed in any fruit orchard, garden, field, or farm" should be removed.

2. The law should be amended to make it illegal to employ children under 16 years in any capacity, including farm work, during the hours the schools

are in session - thus making the Colorado law consistent with the provisions of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act.

3. Proof of age should be required to assist in the enforcement of the 16-year minimum age for work in agriculture during school hours.

4. Employment certificates (work permits) should be required for the employment of children of 14 and 15 years in commercial agriculture outside of school hours. Such permits should be based on documentary proof of age. Growers, contractors and crew leaders should be informed of the necessity of having their workers bring proof of age for their children and this requirement should be publicized through the State Employment Services and the local schools in the communities from which migrant families come to Colorado.

5. A certificate of physical fitness should be required before a child under 16 years is granted an employment certificate. At present this is not required in Colorado for employment in any occupation.

6. Since the provision of the Colorado Child Labor Law establishing an 8-hour day and 48-hour week for children under 16 years is ambiguous in its application to farm work, it should be re-written with a specific inclusion of agricultural work and a reduction of the maximum work week to 40 hours.

7. The staff of the State Industrial Commission should be increased in order to strengthen its efforts to secure compliance with the child labor law through educational work with growers, crew leaders and migrant families and through legal action, when necessary.

## VI. RECRUITMENT

The methods of recruitment being used by private recruiters and labor contractors appear to be unnecessarily wasteful and often unscrupulous. The migrant worker, with limited use of the English language, low educational status and desperate economic urges, is an easy prey for the advantage seeker. The most vicious exploiter of the helplessness of the migrant worker is the labor contractor. In some cases as much as 59% of earnings was demanded as job commission and for transportation. In other cases up to 30% was assessed workers as job commission. Some crew leaders and labor contractors were found completely irresponsible in their methods of inducing workers to "sign-up" with them. Laborers reported stories about the Colorado Employment Service, obviously untrue and malicious, that had been told them by private contractors who were trying to keep them under their control.

The following recommendations are designed to protect migrants from unfair and dishonest practices among private labor contractors; to secure more orderly recruitment closely related to the need for agricultural workers; and to strengthen the role of the State Employment Service which should become the most important agency in recruitment of seasonal help.

Regulation of Labor Contractors

1. A clear and unmistakable definition of the term "crew leader" and "labor contractor" should be established.
2. The State should require that all crew leaders and labor contractors be registered and licensed by an appropriate agency of the State of Colorado. The State Migrant Commission should determine to which agency this responsibility should be assigned.
3. Crew leaders and contractors should be required to furnish bond to protect workers whom they recruit and growers to whom they supply labor.
4. The State should make illegal the dissemination of false information regarding working conditions, employment practices, wages, housing, medical care or any other matters relative to conditions of work within the State of Colorado.
5. The State should require that all persons - whether growers or contractors - who disburse wages within the State of Colorado keep written records entering the amounts paid, dates of payment and itemized deductions charged against each worker.
6. The State should require that wages be paid weekly or bi-weekly, and that, unless another arrangement is expressly authorized, wages be paid in cash. This will permit migrants to choose the stores in which they wish to buy food. Lack of freedom of choice means higher costs.
7. All terms of employment should be reduced to writing - in Spanish and English - and copies held by the recruiter or grower, the employee and the State agency registering the contractor.
8. The State should provide penalties for violation of any of the above regulations.
9. The State should recognize the seriousness of the problems that arise when chronically ill persons are recruited and brought into the State. Responsibility for the care and financial relief of such persons should be definitely fixed. It is therefore recommended that labor contractors be required to furnish certification of good health for the

workers they recruit and the family members brought into the State; and that the contractors be liable to the State for expenses incurred by the State for the treatment and care of chronically ill cases they knowingly bring into the State.

10. Consideration should be given to the difficulties faced by growers and contractors when workers do not fulfill their employment obligations. The limited education of migrant workers and the language difficulties in communication between growers and workers create problems and misunderstandings. It is suggested that bi-lingual educational material be prepared emphasizing the dual nature of contracts and the responsibility for workers as well as for growers and contractors to fulfill contractual obligations.

#### The Colorado State Employment Service

11. The Colorado State Employment Service should be recognized as the logical center for the recruitment and placement of seasonal farm workers. It should be given additional responsibilities in that field and enabled to expand its services.

12. The Colorado State Employment Service should make greater use of Spanish-speaking field and office personnel.

13. Because of the unusual conditions existing in Colorado, consideration should be given to empowering the state Employment Service to furnish transportation of workers to work assignments within the state or to induce employers to furnish such transportation.

14. The State should consider authorizing the Colorado Employment Service, in cooperation with the Employment Services in other states, to develop plans for the housing and feeding of workers in transit.

#### Transportation

15. The State should establish and enforce standards of safety and comfort for the transportation of migrant farm workers. There should be compulsory registration of all vehicles used for this purpose within the state, and systematic inspection of vehicles, including inspection as they cross the border into the state.

16. Regional interstate agreements should be sought to establish and make operative minimum standards for the transportation of workers to and from Colorado.



VII. WAGES AND INCOME

The additional workers needed for the peak periods in Colorado agriculture are drawn largely from outside the State. They are migrants - desperate for work, of limited education, and not at ease in speaking English. This leaves them in a very weak position to bargain about terms of employment.

A Federal minimum wage rate similar to that for industrial workers under the Fair Labor Standards Act should be extended to farm workers. But many factors, other than the basic wage rate, may affect the migrants' income. There is considerable loss of working time while they are being transported to Colorado, from job to job in the State, and on day hauls - sometimes very long ones - from living quarters to the area of work. Those recruited by independent contractors usually have transportation charges deducted from their wages. Bad weather means loss of income due to unemployment. Most serious is the lack of work during the intervals between beet field operations. This irregularity of employment and low annual income aggravates the undesirable social conditions and the community health problems existing in migrant areas. The following recommendations are therefore considered essential, in addition to a minimum wage rate:

1. Wage differentials based on race or language rather than on job skills should be eliminated.

2. The Governor should appoint a special committee to consider the problems inherent in the present wage structure under which out-of-State workers contracting for sugar beet work in Colorado suffer periods of unemployment because of the intermittent nature of beet field operations. Such a committee should be asked to suggest measures that can be put into effect immediately to give workers a greater guarantee of regular income. Consideration should be given to the development of a policy, along the lines applied to foreign workers imported during World War II, that will give domestic workers recruited for employment guaranteed minimum wage rates and guaranteed periods of employment.

3. The Governor should request the State Department of Agriculture to study and report on the possibility of developing a program of diversified agriculture which would provide more equal distribution of the labor demands throughout the summer months - specifically, that would provide employment during the periods of slack work in beets.

4. Inasmuch as many of the migrant workers in Colorado come from agricultural areas in states where foreign labor is being used, the effects of illegal entry in creating a labor surplus and in influencing wage levels and living standards in Colorado should be studied and the findings presented to the responsible Federal agencies.

1. A regional program should be initiated with the states from which migrant labor flows into Colorado for the care of the chronically ill or indigent and the question of federal aid for such a regional program should be explored with the Federal Security Agency. A first step should be to determine, for each state concerned, whether receipt of public assistance is conditional upon a client's remaining in his home state. Until the problem of residence and settlement requirements is resolved, the making of reciprocal agreements for assistance to indigent migrants is impossible.

Federal grants for the assistance of non-residents are not yet a reality - but the needy migrants are. The following recommendations are suggested for immediate consideration, pending changes in residence requirements and provision for federal financial assistance for interstate migrants.

The need for welfare assistance is also closely related to their low income and sub-standard living conditions in Colorado. It is to be assumed that cases of indigency among migrants in the State will continue until these problems are solved.

As long as Colorado is dependent upon migrant farm labor in excess of the resident supply, the State will be confronted by problems of public assistance for this group. It should be unnecessary to argue that, since migrant workers are essential to the present scheme of agriculture in Colorado, a public responsibility exists to tide these essential workers over periods when they temporarily lack the necessities of life.

The distress observed among migrants is inseparable from the sub-standard conditions existent in the areas from which they are recruited. Those who have steady work and adequate incomes at home do not become migrant workers.

The general aim of public assistance programs is to prevent the suffering of destitute individuals. This purpose fails of accomplishment when as in the case of most seasonal farm workers, the individual in need is a non-resident of the State. The migrant or a member of his family is not a relief applicant by choice but by bitter necessity. The very fact of migration is an indication of his willingness to undergo hardships for the sake of a job.

VIII. PUBLIC WELFARE

5. An effort should be made to demonstrate to growers that profitable operation is not necessarily dependent upon a cheap labor supply, and that it would be furnished on their part to develop policies that would lead to a more satisfied and therefore more stable and productive labor force.

2. Local welfare workers should be kept adequately informed if changes in rules and regulations and their interpretations relating to the residence and settlement laws of the state and community, or the agreements existing between the state of residence of an applicant and the State of Colorado, and of procedures for handling emergency cases.
3. When persons are being returned to their homes because of illness or indigence, procedures should be developed to avoid "shunting" them from county to county on their way back home.
4. Provisions should be made, in case of emergencies or temporary need, to quickly and efficiently supply needy migrant workers with food, clothing, medical care, etc., on the same basis as residents. The local unit should be reimbursed by the State Department of Public Welfare.
5. Consideration should be given to fixing the responsibility and liability of persons, organizations or associations who knowingly bring or cause to be brought into the state for employment persons who are not employable. This practice is not uncommon when emergency calls for additional labor are sent out by growers.

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