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Agencies and the Migrant: Theory and Reality of the Migrant Condition. First Papers on Migrancy and Rural Poverty: An Introduction to the Education of Mexican-Americans in Rural Areas.

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First Papers on Migrancy and Rural Poverty

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE EDUCATION OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN RURAL AREAS



Agencies and the Migrant:
Theory and Reality of the Migrant Condition



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FIRST PAPERS ON MIGRANCY AND RURAL POVERTY:

An Introduction to the Education of Mexican-Americans
in Rural Areas

AGENCIES AND THE MIGRANT:

THEORY AND REALITY OF THE MIGRANT CONDITION

Pre-Service Programs, 1967-1968

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"The modern locus of poverty is even more the rural than the urban slum."

*John Kenneth Galbraith,
The Affluent Society*

*These papers are dedicated to Irving R. Melbo,
Dean of the School of Education at the University
of Southern California and to Donald E. Wilson,
Director of Teacher Education, who, because of
their leadership and commitment to the cause of
quality education have made Teacher Corps: Rural-
Migrant a working reality.*

PREFACE

AGENCIES AND THE MIGRANT: THEORY AND REALITY OF THE MIGRANT CONDITION

The term "agencies" is used loosely in this presentation to encompass such organizations as the United Farm Workers, the California State Department of Education, and others not usually considered "agencies" in the strict sense of the word.

One of the objectives of the pre-service phase of Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant was the development of a better understanding of concepts of community involvement and the kinds of programs already in existence. We wanted to disseminate as much information as possible about social conditions, work conditions and community services; and so we invited people from different agencies and programs, representing often diverse and seemingly contradictory areas of concern, to come and to speak to our Teacher Corps interns.

We are unable to reproduce here the remarks of all the speakers. But it is our hope that the material presented will convey, in some measure, current kinds of involvement, along with expectations for the future. We would hope, further, that these papers will serve as preliminary guidelines as to how the teacher or teacher intern can be most effective, within the existing community structure.

FOREWORD

FIRST PAPERS ON MIGRANCY AND RURAL POVERTY: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE EDUCATION OF MEXICAN-AMERICANS IN RURAL AREAS

There are 11 million "invisible" Americans. They are the rural poor. Theirs is the culture of poverty. Their unseen legions include more than two million Spanish-speaking, Mexican-American migrant farm workers who live in the five Southwestern states. Though the culture of poverty cuts across all other cultures (hunger and hopelessness are great equalizers) these low-income Mexican-Americans face uniquely complex problems. Often they do not speak English; their children are virtually untouched by existing school programs; their lack of job skills and the increasing technification of agriculture lead them, inevitably, to become clients of social welfare agencies. Rootless, socially and economically disoriented, they represent a tragic loss in human resources.

Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant at the University of Southern California strongly believes that teacher education programs must take the initiative in developing realistic new approaches to the education process, if there is to be an escape hatch from the life-style that is poverty.

And so we have developed a highly innovative, challenging two-year teacher training program that is already proving itself workable in reaching and teaching the children of poverty. A pre-service orientation period is followed by "live" experience in school and community activities. Professors commute the 200 miles from USC to the Tulare County project site (in California's San Joaquin Valley) so interns can complete university coursework in the realistic setting of school and community. At the conclusion of the intensive two-year program, candidates are qualified to receive the Master of Science Degree in Education, the Certificate to Teach English to Speakers of

Other Languages (TESOL) and a California Teaching Credential in elementary or secondary education.

The pre-service phase of this program has been designed to create understanding of differences between cultures and to define the teacher's newly emerging role as a translator of community expectations...a friend who knows his way around the culture...for Spanish-speaking migrant and seasonal farm workers and others who are disadvantaged.

Guest lecturers representing a variety of educational disciplines, programs, and agencies were invited to participate in the pre-service orientation. These "First Papers on Rural Poverty and Migrancy" are a compendium of their presentations. We feel they will be of widespread interest to those concerned with the educational needs of families who follow the crops.

The papers are presented in separate interest areas: socio-cultural attitudinal characteristics of migrants and the impact of education; theories and realities of the migrant condition as viewed by various agencies and programs; and the development of cultural understanding and empathy through an awareness of and sensitivity to the problems of those who are culturally "different." A bibliography, and others will be published at later dates.

These materials were prepared for publication by Shirley Josephs, Coordinator of Program Development for Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant, assisted by Harriet Borson and Mary Heiman.

Patricia Heffernan Cabrera
Director, Teacher Corps: Rural-Migrant
University of Southern California

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OPERATION SER:

Hector Abeytia
State Director for Operation SER:
Service, Education Rehabilitation

I am a Chicano who is no longer a romantic. At one time I was a romantic and like many others before me, I kept saying, "This is the last season -- the last prunes I'm going to pick -- the last grapes." I was the eternal optimist. No more, now I know that this road goes no place. No more am I the dreamer. Now I am going to do whatever I can to cause change and to create change.

I am the State Director of SER, an experimental and demonstration program funded by the U. S. Department of Labor to develop manpower capabilities in the Chicano communities. It is not the kind of program that will offer a panacea for our whole community, but the type of a program that I can really understand and I can empathize with. It is the only sure way that Chicanos have to get jobs and have decent working conditions. We do not work in the rural areas; mostly we are located in the urban areas such as Los Angeles, Santa Monica-Venice, San Diego, Santa Ana, San Jose, etc. We have worked to date with about 680 Chicanos in the area of pre-vocational skills training, preparing them in many cases for entry level jobs in industry. Even when they begin at \$80 per week, it is a beginning. We have learned to sit across the table from management, we've learned some of the negotiations, arguments and positions of management. And for Chicanos to learn these things is in itself a big step forward.

What I want to talk about today are the farm workers. When the National Labor Relations Act became a reality, the farm workers were the ones who were traded off. Through the years the packing house workers traded the agreements

with the growers at the expense of the farm workers. The Social Security Act excluded the farm workers. Every piece of social legislation was traded by the politicians and the labor establishment and those who control the economic base of our nation at the expense of the farm workers. In the Southwest, a great number of the farm workers -- the Arkies, the Oakies, the ones to whom the doors were open, if only a crack -- went into the building trade. They became the bricklayers, the cement mixers, the carpenters, and they formed and built a labor establishment that excluded the Chicano. So, as a result, here in the Southwest you find that the bulk of the farm workers are Chicanos. Chicanos are now making every effort to form their union.

Whether the migrant worker is a Mexican, an Oklahoman, or an Arkansan, he is a human being. Unless we teach people who they are, why they are what they are, and what they can do about it if they don't like it, we are wasting our time. Otherwise we may just as well develop a pill that will make them into instantly acceptable people in the community because they speak English. Speaking English alone is not the answer. If you have 1000 acres of land and speak with a heavy Yugoslavian accent, the Bank of America will take you in.

This is a portrait of what you will be facing if you really look through the students with whom you will be working. You will see part of the cause and why it is. It is not only the Vasquez'. You will see blond, blue eyed, freckled kids who eat turnip greens and corn bread. You will find communities of Negroes. You will find all kinds of power and weaknesses. And you will try to inculcate into the student the "all-American dream" and make him believe he has a right to reach for it and fight for it.

This is just one small part of what you as teachers must learn to be effective in relating to people who were disadvantaged even prior to the

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,¹ prior to the Civil War and prior to the sit-downs or squat-ins in Texas by the Tennesseans and Kentuckians. Study the land grants and the land grabs. If you can tell the truth and prepare the children to think for themselves, they will be better prepared. Formerly teachers taught that Americanism was for all. But why did they separate the minorities? If you lie to the children, you will just generate another generation of angry ones. Tell them the story the way it really is.

I stood in front of Brown's Chapel, Selma, in April, 1965 when that little black man, Martin Luther King, led us into Montgomery, Alabama. I stood in Selma and listened to all that he had to say. And now I'm listening to what Cesar Chavez says. I could go on and on about the economics, about the political pursuits, about the plans of Cesar Chavez. When Cesar talks to us, to the Chicanos, he says some beautiful things.

This is a freedom fight if ever there was one. This is a fight I have been involved in from the beginning. When my friends kid me because of my appearance, I say, "Look, I don't have to grow a mustache. I don't have to look like Zapata. I don't have to wear a serape. I don't have to do those things to retain my culture and my heritage. I've been here all along."

Education for the Chicano has to come. Agitation has to come. The Chicano wants to survive. He wants his culture and his heritage kept alive as well. This can happen only if he can say and say with meaning, "I am sick and tired of being treated the way I am being treated by the growers and the American Medical Association and the American Bar Association and the politicians and the teachers and everyone in the world. I am sick and tired of being treated this way just because I am a Mexican-American, and a farm worker."

¹ Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended the Spanish-American War on February 21, 1848.

Mexican-Americans are sick and tired of organizations that are going to "save" them. They came with grants from foundations to explore us and to research us. You know what they used us for? They used us to carry their microscopes so they could study the Mexican germs, write them up and go and get another foundation grant. Do you know what we Mexican-Americans are saying now? They better get the hell out of our way because we're going to look through the microscope, we're going to write it down, and we're going to demand the grants, we're going to demand to be a part of the action that's going to bring the change. No longer are we going to stand for the Ph.D.'s and the M.A.'s coming in and saying, "This is what you guys need." If you are going to come into the area you had better come and talk to the natives who know what the natives think and feel. Otherwise we'll bug you until you get the hell out. Cesar has set the tone. If you want to come in as a helper -- fine. Come in with money, with manpower, but come in to help us. We're going to do it and we are going to lead the show. We are not fooling. Peace Corps, Teacher Corps, Vista, any federal programs are not going to be done for us. They will be done with us -- or else.

Let me close by saying that the quicker you learn to accept the truth about farm workers, the better off you will be in working with them. I believe that it should be a first priority for you to learn that what the farm worker wants -- especially the Chicano -- is a lot more important than what you think he needs. Any projects coming into the Valley -- you had better consult with us, and, we need to do this not just for Mexicans, but for all human beings who are suffering and who need a helping hand.

UNIONS AND FARM LABOR

Leroy Chatfield
AFL-CIO, United Farm Workers' Organizing Committee
Delano, California

There is a myth that the United Farm Workers is a Mexican-American thing, that Cesar Chavez represents the Mexican-American of the Southwest, the state, the country. This is the myth. It is not true. The United Farm Workers in Delano is a movement, a strike, a boycott, a struggle for power. All kinds of people are involved. About the only common characteristic of those people is that they are poor people and that they are farm workers, and that because they are farm workers they are poor people. But there are people of all colors and all sizes and from all backgrounds. We are not a Mexican-American movement. It just happens that over 60% of the farm workers in California are Mexican or Mexican-American. It just happens that the leader and founder of our union is himself a former migrant worker and is a Mexican-American. That is true. But it would be extremely dangerous for us, because it would destroy the union and destroy the movement, to talk about it solely as a Mexican-American concept.

Any type of racism will destroy an organization. It will even destroy the organization of the racists. One of the things the union cannot, will not, and must not, tolerate is any pitting of one group against another. This is exactly what the growers have done for over 100 years, and this is why they have separate camps in many of their large corporate holdings, camps for Negroes, camps for Mexicans, camps for Anglos. As long as they could divide us, as long as they could pit one of us against the other, they had us. One of the remarkable things about Cesar is that he is able to keep his sights on the goal, regardless of who is there fighting and

struggling. The goal is very simple. The goal is power. Just pure power. Just the opportunity, the ability to sit across from the leaders in the state's largest industry, agriculture, as human beings and have a say-so about our wages, our working conditions, our rights. Just to have a voice, to be a man. That's what it really is all about. But divided by racism, we can never achieve that goal.

Another truism, another ideal that pervades the movement is the principle of non-violence. Most of the movements, especially the labor movement, have been built with violence. There is no question about it. If you cross a longshoreman's picket line in San Francisco, your legs are broken. That's a rule. Everyone understands it. That's the way it is. That union was built in the 30's and it was built by force, in spite of the cops, in spite of the shipping industry. When the union calls a picket line, it isn't really a picket line. One man drives in a car the length of the dock, once in the morning, once in the evening. That's the picket line, and no one crosses it, because everyone understands what the rules of the game are.

Most unions were built with a great deal of violence. I don't mean that the people involved wanted violence, but violence on the other side almost has to elicit the response of violence. When the cop is there on the picket line, pointing a gun at you, the most natural response is to want a gun to point back -- the old equalizer theory. But we are trying to build our movement on non-violence. We are beaten, but we don't beat back. We are jailed, but we don't kidnap in return. This doesn't mean, and I'm sorry that the terms have become so confused, that we are not militant. This doesn't mean that Cesar isn't the most dangerous fighter I've ever encountered. What it does mean is simply that the methods we seize upon to use

have to be more imaginative, more creative, more effective than those that the employers or the industry can use. So far, it's being done.

When the history of the movement is written, I think perhaps the whole idea of an economic boycott may prove to be the most militant, the most non-violent, and the most effective sanction against medieval employers. For that is what they are -- employers out of the Middle Ages who have known no other form of labor but slave labor. Even their children who have attended public and Catholic schools for some 25 years know no other way of life, understand no other way of life. Slave labor is a very, very convenient thing. Not only do you make a lot of money with it, which is convenient, but it gives a sense of mastery, a sense of power, a sense of bigness, of being more than what you are. Therefore, it becomes an attitude. That's the way it is for the growers. They can't focus on any alternative, so you have to create the economic power of an organized people.

It has taken three years on strike to gain nine written contracts, which probably cover a work force of 5,000 people. In the state of California alone, certainly during the harvest season, there are more than a million farm workers. We haven't even scratched the surface during three years on strike. But what has happened in the last month is that the industry has been confronted by the Farm Workers movement in Delano. We're not playing games. In the Coachella Valley strike of this year by the growers' own estimate, they lost in excess of 2 million dollars in a grape crop that lasts 30 days. The grape harvest is just beginning in Delano -- a 200 million dollar crop. The growers have already sued us for 25 million dollars because this is their anticipated loss this year.

So the whole industry is geared to defeat the union, and my fear, because I see it already happening in Delano, is that they are going to use

violence. My prediction is that they are going to seize this naive remedy to their problem. They are going to have to change. There is a social and economic revolution underway in California, at least in agriculture. And they have to change. They're going to use violence. Guns in Delano among the opposition are commonplace. The John Birch Society has never been so strong in Delano and Kern County. Kern County was the home of the Ku Klux Klan in the twenties; it is now one of the strongest memberships of the John Birch Society outside of Orange County. The right wing has never been so active. The radio has never been so filled with those hysterical hate programs. And this is the climate in which the industry is going to make its decisions.

Our answer is boycott. If we destroy the industry, that's the way it is. What is the point of having an industry that is built on the backs of people? What kind of an industry is that? We have sent out 250 workers from Delano. We don't have picket lines in Delano any more. It would be stupid of us to have picket lines. We'd get our brains beaten out, literally. We have sent 250 farm workers and their families, to thirty cities in the United States and Canada. We're taking the boycott to those cities. New York City is shut to California grapes, and that's 20% of the California market. There's only one chain store left in Philadelphia that purchases California grapes. No chain in Detroit or Chicago is purchasing California grapes. In Boston there are no California grapes. That comes after three long years of just nothing but hard work. Now we're going to cover other cities like Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Portland, Cleveland. We're boycotting, and we're going to force industry to make a decision, that either they recognize us as human beings, as workers, with the right to have some say-so over our own lives, or they'll have to destroy us. Or we'll have

to destroy them.

* * * * *

These added remarks were made by Mr. Chatfield during a discussion period following his presentation.

Obviously we welcome the Teacher Corps. We welcome them to the extent that they can contribute, that you, as individuals, can contribute. To the extent that you are not involved, that you remain aloof, to that extent we don't need you. We welcome any help program that offers something better to the worker and his family, but the most basic issue out there where we are is not education, I am sorry to say. The union is concerned with the most basic issue, and that's nickels and dimes. The basic issue is money. I was a teacher for nine years -- and I know this route. I'm not saying that you won't teach the children something, that they won't learn something from you. But face it. You're here today and gone tomorrow.

We have two kinds of organized workers. One class of workers is under union contract. Our minimum union contract wage is \$1.90/hour, as opposed to \$1.15/hour which was the going rate when this strike started. The other class of workers belong to the union, pay union dues, but are not under union contract because they have not been with us long enough to get a union contract. They are paid \$1.50/hour.

Everywhere you turn, you feel the impact of the union. My grandparents were growers, and they were scared to death of the union. They knew it was coming and every time they'd look for workers, they'd say, "Is he union?" They're all scared -- the growers. There are towns where we cannot find a hall in which to hold a meeting. The town authorities won't rent us a place;

even the churches refuse their halls. They're frightened.

Those are the growers. Now, what is the response of the poor whites? If they're very poor, it's good. If, over the years, they are the ones who have become the supervisors, the foremen, they're still not making much money. But they have certain keys to certain doors. They have a certain standing in the community, or at least they think they have. They are hostile, very hostile. And of course, there is the added factor of prejudice.

We have a big problem now with the workers from Mexico and Texas. They'll come here for three, four months and break the strike. They come up here during the harvest season. They come in packs -- 8, 10, 12 in a camper pick-up, and they break the strike. They're here for the money they can make in those few months. They don't have to live here. They don't have to raise their children here. There is some comparison to be made to the influx of Oakies from the dust-bowl in the thirties. They were brought here as strike breakers too. There were hundreds of leaflets circulated telling them of all the work opportunities in California. They packed up, fumbled their way out, and when they got here they found they had been lied to -- but they were here, and they worked at whatever they could, whether they were breaking a strike or not. Similar pamphlets extolling work opportunities are being distributed today in Texas, in New Mexico, in Mexico.

We can't work directly with these strike-breakers. We can't call for federal mediation;* there is no vehicle, no way in which we can call for it.

*Farm workers are not covered under the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. Almost every major piece of labor legislation since that time has carried an exclusion for farm workers.

We have to work with the growers, the corporations, to insure union contracts. These contracts contain provisions for arbitration, they are binding in a court of law, they are the only means we have.

CALIFORNIA PLAN FOR THE EDUCATION OF MIGRANT CHILDREN

Xavier Del Buono
Consultant, California State Department of Education

I'd like to talk very briefly about "The California Plan for the Education of Migrant Children," relating it to other existing programs we have in California. To give you just a little background of this program, Title I ESEA is the first federal program in education that was specifically designed to meet the needs of economically disadvantaged youth as well as educationally disadvantaged youth. It came into being in 1965 and in 1966 was amended with a special program designed to meet the needs of migrant children. This was put into effect in January, 1967.

We are constantly grappling in our office to define a migrant child. At present the definition of a migrant child is one who has moved with his family for the purpose of agricultural work at least once during the school year and in the move has changed schools. This actually is a difficult definition for us to work within because we have all kinds of migrants. We have migrants who come from Texas and we have migrants who live in California and move to different crop areas. If you look at the program designed to meet the needs of the children when they are actually going from one place to another, and when they are home based, this creates quite a problem in identification.

We are attempting to concentrate our program in the areas where there are the highest concentration of migrant workers. The program that I am describing is one of supplemental assistance to school districts impacted with migrant children. Generally speaking, we have our impact of migrant farm workers during the spring, summer and fall. Therefore our program has two facets -- the one to meet the needs of the in-school children and the

one designed for the summer months. Since summer is the peak period and since this is when we get our best shots at migrant kids, this is where we put the emphasis.

It is impossible to meet the needs of the migrant children in insolation of services to the families. Therefore, we have tried to make this a program comprehensive enough to attempt to meet some of the total family needs, as well as the educational needs for which we are responsible. We have pre-school activities and we make every possible attempt to reach the teen-agers, but recruiting teen-agers from migrant families is a very difficult thing. We concentrate on the primary and elementary grades. We know that this is when we can still get them into school.

We have divided our program into four basic components:

1. the education component
2. health and welfare
3. supported service
4. in-service education of teachers and aides

We should understand that the Mexican-American children have all the disadvantages of any disadvantaged group, plus the additional handicaps of high mobility, lack of continued education and often a language barrier. Coupled with all those negative factors, there is the further factor that they are part of a group which represents the very lowest educational and economic attainment. We see our program as supplemental and our basic goal is to provide the supplemental assistance these youngsters need in order to raise their level of achievement to the point where they can profit from regular school instruction. We're not talking about getting them up to grade level. We're not talking about their achieving any kind of maximum potential. We're talking only of assisting them to the point where they can

profit from the regular programs being offered in the school.

Basically, our programs in the educational area deal with language development. In many areas we have also established classes in bilingual instruction. Historically, the youngster who comes to school with a knowledge of only Spanish has been looked upon as disadvantaged even linguistically. We feel that a youngster who comes to school having mastered the sound of his own language has an advantage; so we are instituting programs where they can have instruction in basic subjects presented to them in Spanish.

In order to give you an idea of how we implement a program such as this, let me describe a project area. The area of Merced County, Stanislaus County, and San Joaquin County has eleven labor camps sponsored by the Housing Authority and OEO, along with several school districts with high concentrations of migrant children. This year the project calls for 53 schools and 53 educational centers for migrant children. It calls for a series of services -- day care, health and welfare services, adult education, pre-school programs, etc. In a comprehensive way we try to bring together and coordinate and enlist the cooperation of other agencies. So, we have a school using existing district funds as well as Title I funds to provide certain services to all children, including the migrant children. But for these migrant children there are certain additional needs such as transportation, community aides, nutritional programs which we feel are necessary. The district then rounds out its program with services derived from this project. In addition, we have contracts and agreements with the Health Department as well as with medical societies so the youngsters are insured at least a minimal health program. We realize we could use all the money available in the program to make just a small dent in the health needs of

the children. We know we're not really doing the job we could do, but the reality of the situation is always funds and we can use only what is available in what we feel is the order of highest priority.

In addition to the basic education program, we have mentioned the in-service education of teachers and aides. This year, working with five specific colleges, we have provided in-service training to 250 teachers of migrant children. These were teachers with leadership potential for the development of new programs. Fifty teachers were selected by administrators in their school districts to participate in each institute. The program was not geared to teach teachers how to teach or to develop curricula, but to provide them with a broad background to help them understand the conditions and the realities of the migrant workers and their children. We had many speakers and consultants come. We feel it is very necessary for the teachers who deal with these people to have a total scope of the problem from the points of view of those who deal with housing, with adult education, with welfare services, etc.

It was very interesting to get the reaction within the community. In one instance at Chico State we invited Cesar Chavez to attend or to send a representative to talk about the labor movement, while at the same time we extended invitations to growers to attend the same session. As it happened, Cesar did not attend and the growers were reluctant to participate, so the program was not carried out as we would have liked. However, one of the leaders of the growers' association in Butte County found we had contemplated having Cesar attend. This provoked him to write letter after letter to people concerned in education, to Governor Reagan, to State Superintendent of Schools Rafferty, to just about anyone you can name, questioning our right to include such a controversial figure. So this is the kind of

reaction you can get to our program. We have had reluctance on the part of school boards and communities to the establishment of programs for migrant children.

You need to remember that often, when you talk about the schools and the school boards, you are really talking about the growers. It is the same establishment. For example, in Fresno we have a district where there are five taxpayers in the total district. These taxpayers, who are growers, are the school board -- not they, themselves, but their foremen and their supervisors who echo them. The whole wealth of that district is made up of five taxpayers. There are 800 kids in that district, and all of them live on ranches. Their fathers and mothers are employed there and live in the housing provided there, but are employed only during the time of the year they are needed. The rest of the time they are on welfare. When we attempted to move a program into that area -- one that might give the kids enough skills to make a choice of whether to go on to high school, to further their education, possibly even to move out -- we met resistance from the establishment. They were very ready to assist with a program to meet the food needs, the recreational needs, the health needs, but when we talked about skills programs to get the achievement levels up, then this was quite a different situation.

You have resistance from the established community, but you have resistance from the migrant community as well. You have to remember that the migrant worker does not look on education as the answer. This is not surprising when you consider that they see the family as an economic unit where everyone must bring in as much money on a day-to-day basis as possible. The kid who is 12, 13, 14 years old could be out in the fields working, not in school. We have to sell them the fact that we have something to offer in

giving their children an education. This is not an easy job.

Last year we piloted a project I would like to describe to you because I think it is rather exciting. We learned very quickly that the majority of teachers working with migrant children had a very limited knowledge of the background, the culture, the language, the values of migrant children, and often were very ineffective in communication with those children, with their families, with the community. If the teacher could not communicate effectively, we needed someone in that school who could relate to those kids. We needed someone the kids could identify with, could use as an image of someone from their own ethnic group who has made it. We hit upon the idea of recruiting Mexican-American young people from some of the state colleges, or junior colleges beyond the secondary level. We recruited youngsters who came from a rural-migrant background, who were bilingual, and who were in the service fields. Generally they were freshmen or sophomores in school. We knew that the attrition rate even of the kids who made it to the sophomore level in college was very high, due in large part to financial pressures. Few of them made it into the professions. So our second objective was to enable these young people to remain in college by offering them a stipend during the training program. The third objective hopefully was to keep them in the rural areas after they were trained in their profession.

These young people went into a training program at state colleges which paralleled that of the teachers in those same institutes. We wanted to see the effectiveness of teachers and aides working together, how they shared the responsibility in work, and how the role of the highly trained, skilled aide would evolve in the teacher-learning process. We did a great deal of work in the development of language programs, their role in the

reading process, etc. In addition to working in summer school programs, the youngsters worked in a variety of ways in the community. While they were training, they lived in labor camps and actually became the bridge between the school and the labor camps. They recruited the children, made sure they got on the school bus in the morning, went home with the kids in the afternoon, knew the families. It is a type of Vista program, where these young people live and work with the community during the summer. Last year there were fifteen in the program. We now have 100, and want to raise that number substantially. These youngsters, if they stay in our program two or three years, have some assurance that they will make it through school. More important, the experience they have will make them successful teachers when they go into the field. Already administrators up and down the valley have a keen eye on them. They're going to be in demand.

HOUSING CAMPS FOR MIGRANTS

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In 1963, when I was employed by the State Department of Public Health, I was given the assignment of documenting the living conditions and housing facilities available to migrant farm workers in the State of California. From November to May of 1964, I carried on a survey which revealed dilapidated housing and substandard living conditions. Much worse than any of the conditions in the camps, however, were the living conditions of those migrant workers -- at least 1000 families having no place to live other than in and from their automobiles. They would congregate on ditch banks, along roadsides or in orchards, having nothing at the site, not even water or sanitation facilities, merely a place to park.

In the fall of 1964, the Economic Opportunities Act was passed. In that Act was provision of housing for migrant farm workers. We hastily developed a proposal for building 1000 housing shelter units for migrant farm workers. The proposal was funded in 1965, but then there was the problem of obtaining local acceptance of the program. Housing had to be built on public land. There were many people in California who did not want to admit that people were living out of their cars and on river banks and other locations without the benefit of shelter or sanitation facilities. We had to literally show them. In November of 1965, the Housing Authority of Riverside County had the land for our first project, and it was completed in February, 1966, at Indio.

We used a housing unit, which cost \$500 (the maximum amount allowed by the funding for a single item), and was made of paper and polyurethane.

There were 80 units which were fully occupied four days after opening. In that project, we had a health component, a day care component, and an educational program. It was not the historical labor camp in California by any means. By the end of 1966, we were able to commit most of the 1000 units we were funded to build. However, we found that for every family we served, we turned away at least two other families.

At the moment (summer, 1968), we have 20 housing projects in the State -- 1710 units -- and are funded to build 500 more. We now use plywood type construction, with a built-in kitchen and plumbing instead of the community facilities used in the first projects. We continue to find that people are coming into the State at a much, much faster rate than we can provide housing. In 1967, we served 10,000 people, but we turned away 20,000. The housing program continues to offer day care for young children, limited health services, etc. The tenants have weekly meetings to air their grievances and voice their suggestions.

Our program defines a migrant as one who moves further than he can commute to and from work. There must be some legal definition in a housing program such as ours, because we have had people who tried to move into the camp from where they had been living, across the street or two blocks away.

We plan to start a housing manufacturing operation some time in the future. With this kind of an operation, we will be able to manufacture and erect a low-cost house, 448 square feet, at a cost of about \$3.70 per square foot. We will recruit migrant farm workers from the housing projects and teach them skills of the manufacturing process. They will build the house and transport it to a site for erection. We will be able to train 100 migrant farm workers to accept jobs in industry as a result of skills learned and, hopefully, we will have developed the techniques whereby poor people can obtain houses within their financial resources.

CALIFORNIA RURAL LEGAL ASSISTANCE

Donald B. Kates, Jr.
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To be poor is to be exploited by employers, ignored or oppressed by officials, and cheated by hucksters. This is because to be poor is to be powerless. This powerlessness stems from lack of organization, lack of knowledge of one's rights and lack of ability to enforce those rights even if known.

CRLA specializes in aggressive litigation to preserve the rights of the farm workers and the rural poor generally. C.R.L.A.'s purpose is two-fold. First, to offer legal services to those who are unable to afford to pay for them. Second, to attempt to educate these people to their rights and the rights of their children to have a decent life.

There are two main areas in which laymen can help the poor and in which the poor can help themselves -- the welfare system and the labor system. I would like to talk first about the welfare system.

Most of the current controversy regarding welfare has focused on the AFDC and the AFDC-U programs. Welfare payments fall under the AFDC category (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) when only the mother and children are involved. (Either the children are illegitimate or the father is absent from the home.) AFDC-U payments (Aid to Families with Dependent Children -- Unemployed) are made to families where parents are together but unemployed. Although the federal government contributes almost 60% of the total cost of these programs, the state determines qualifications, eligibility and the level of benefits, leaving the administration to the counties.

This system (federal government to state government to county

administration) is inefficient, since it leads to duplication in state and federal laws, and at times leads to administration by unqualified and unsympathetic officials. However, there are channels of recourse for the welfare recipient. He may appeal what he feels to be an unfair or unjust decision to the state welfare structure. Generally the state welfare referees are very fair. There are forms which have to be filled out and submitted, and although they are not difficult, the applicant may need help in this area. You can be of service to him here. For a welfare handbook adapted to the needs of the rural poor, write CRLA, 1212 Market St., San Francisco, California.

A fairly common problem which you may encounter is the one concerned with MARS (Man Assuming the Role of Spouse) regulations. For example, a woman is receiving welfare aid, based on a set formula, for herself and her four children. If the Department of Public Assistance learns that there is a man, not the father, living in the home, his income is added to the amount of income available to the mother and her welfare aid will be reduced. Actually, this man has no legal obligation to contribute to the support of these children. Often he does not even have sufficient income for his own support. The rule has no application to the reality of the situation. It becomes a method by which local welfare officials punish the woman for her sex life by depriving her and her children of the money they need.¹

¹ The U.S. Supreme Court has recently ruled that a similar (but somewhat more harsh) Alabama statute violates federal law and is therefore invalid. King v. Smith 88 Sct. _____, 20 L. Ed 2d _____ (1968).

Thereafter the Federal Department of HEW issued new regulations which clearly invalidate California's version of the MARS rule. The State of California has elected not to obey these rules and is presently being sued to require it to do so.

What can you, as interested laymen, do to help this family? You can advise them of constitutional rights which insure them against the invasion of their privacy. They do not have to submit to a search of their home,² and the results of an unconstitutional search cannot be used as the basis for evidence. Further, if the man is located, his individual needs must be deducted from the total budget unit in deciding the amount of the welfare payment. Often this is not done, and you can appeal to the welfare referee for a ruling on this.

Often you will find children working in the fields when they should be attending school. You will have your own conflict to deal with in this sort of a situation -- these families need all the money they can make, utilizing every member who is old enough to help.

There are other obvious abuses of the laws which you will encounter -- failure to pay the minimum wage, violations of health and safety requirements, etc. You can take these complaints to the State Labor Commissioner by helping the people fill out the forms prerequisite to having a hearing. You can help the people marshal evidence to present in the hearing. In some cases you may even be able to appear with them in the hearing.

Consumer fraud is an area in which there is a great need for education. The uneducated poor are often exploited by disreputable business concerns. What frequently happens is that the sale is made, a contract is signed, but the goods are never received or are only partially received or are received in a damaged condition. In the meantime, the contract is sold to a finance company. The finance company tells the buyer, "You may sue the sales company

² Parrish v. Alameda Co. Welfare, ___ C2d ___, 57C.R. 623 (1967).

for the merchandise which is due you, but you must pay us according to this contract regardless of whether you receive the goods or not. You are liable to us." These poor people cannot afford to hire legal assistance, and so the finance company has their wages attached.

Two of the most common sales frauds perpetrated on these people are those carried out by the encyclopedia salesman and the radio training schools. The encyclopedia salesman tells his customer that his books are absolutely free. The only payment they will need to make is on a supplement issued each year, costing \$40 per year. They must order these supplements for a period of ten years, but payment must be completed within three years. The radio training schools salesman convinces the buyer (who does not speak a word of English) that he should take a course to become a radio announcer. The course consists of only fifteen easy lessons. The salesman leaves the first lesson, along with the signed contract, and that is the last the buyer ever sees of either the salesman or the fourteen remaining lessons. But within the next three weeks he receives a letter from a finance company demanding their first payment on the course.

There is one other area that is worth mentioning briefly, but it is an area of great frustration. You will encounter hundreds and hundreds of housing violations. The frustration stems from the fact that so very little can be done about them. Anywhere that there are migrant workers, there are housing shortages of the most acute kind, and what housing there is is usually of the most substandard variety. There are local departments of health and housing, and they have enforcement powers, but real enforcement of the health code or the housing code would mean burning the camp to the ground in most cases. The migrants then are just that much worse off than they were before, therefore no one will thank you.

One section of the housing code does allow for a rent strike of one month's duration. The money is to be used to repair the housing violation. For example, the tenant is allowed to use one month's rent to pay a plumber to repair the toilet, or patch the roof. Repairs are limited, however, to only what can be done utilizing the one month's rent.

You as teacher-interns will be going into the homes of these people, will be talking with them, will get to know their families and their problems. Perhaps one of the greatest services you can offer them is to apprise them of their legal rights in the instances where they have been exploited, where their rights as citizens have been abused. Many of them do not know that they have a recourse, or that free legal services are available to them through CRLA.