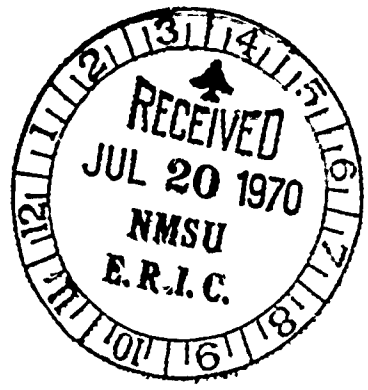
DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 040 810 RC 004 456

TITLE	Texas Migrant Labor. Annual Report, 1969.
INSTITUTION	Good Neighbor Commission of Texas, Austin.
PUB DATE	69
NOTE	65p.
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$3.35
DESCRIPTORS	*Agricultural Laborers, *Annual Reports, Braceros, Economics, Education, Foreign Workers, Health, Housing, Industrialization, *Migrant Worker Projects, *Migrant Workers, Migration Patterns, Problems, *State Surveys
IDENTIFIERS	*Texas

ABSTRACT

Among the responsibilities of the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas are (1) a survey of conditions and (2) a study of problems related to migrant labor in Texas. This annual report of the 1969 migrant scene shows the results of that survey and study. Beginning with an overview of Texas migrant labor, which goes back several years and includes a current map of travel patterns, the report takes up Texas agricultural and migrant labor. Migrant programs are cited with descriptions of their goals and funding agencies. The Migrant Farm Labor Center in Hope, Arkansas, is described as an example of a full-service center, for the benefit of the migrant farm worker and his family. Information on alien labor and immigration is presented next and touches on legal and illegal commuting. Current developments are discussed in terms of migrant child education, adult migrant education, migrant teacher preparation, bilingual education, housing, health, border industrialization in Mexico, and migrant economics. Trends in migration and a summary of data complete the report. (BD)



TEXAS MIGRANT LABOR

Annual Report
1969

The Texas Good Neighbor Commission

PREFACE

The 59th Legislature of the State of Texas terminated the affairs of the formerly independent state agency, the Council on Migrant Labor, and transferred its functions to the Good Neighbor Commission of Texas, effective on September 1, 1965. Among the statutory responsibilities thus assumed by the Commission is to "survey conditions and study problems related to migrant labor in Texas" and this analysis of the 1969 migration shows the results of that survey and study.

The system of annual reports was initiated in the Council on Migrant Labor by the Executive Director of that agency, Col. Egon R. Tausch, who continued it under the aegis of the Good Neighbor Commission until his retirement on December 31, 1967. His replacement, Conley C. Kemper, prepared the current report under the general direction of the Commission's Executive Director, Glenn E. Garrett. The Commission herewith expresses its appreciation to the state agencies who directly administer the various Texas programs designated for the benefit of the migrants and their families and who provided much of the material in the report. Among these are: the Texas Education Agency, the State Department of Health, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the State Department of Public welfare, the Texas Employment Commission and the Texas Office of Economic Opportunity.

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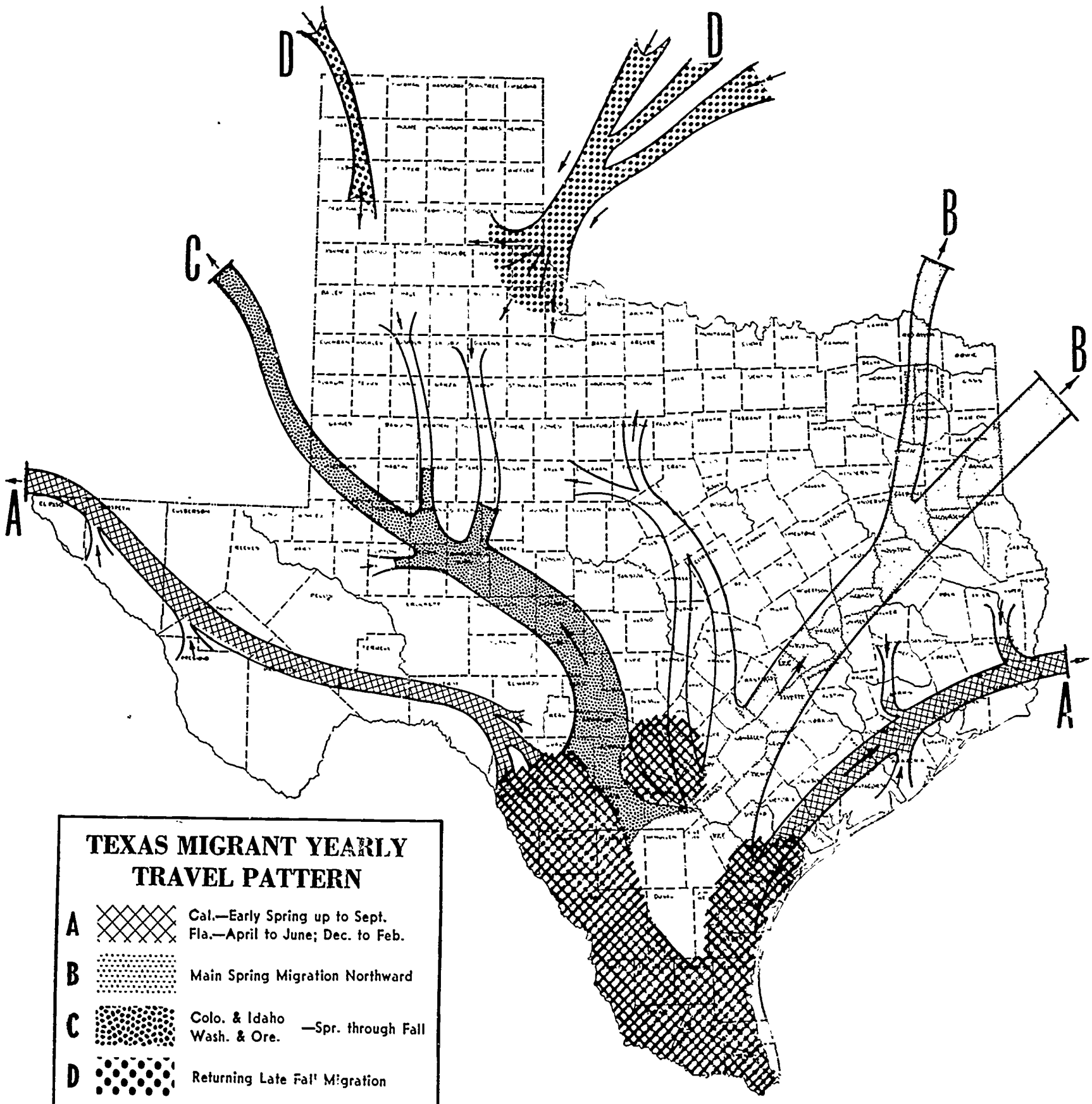


TEXAS MIGRANT YEARLY TRAVEL PATTERN

A — Cal.—Early Spring up to Sept.
Fla.—April to June; Dec. to Feb.

B — Main Spring Migration Northward

C — Colo. & Idaho
Wash. & Ore. —Spr. through Fall

D — Returning Late Fall Migration

Principal Source of Migrant Labor

TEXAS MIGRANT LABOR — AN OVERVIEW

Any contemporary treatment on Texas migrant farm workers should present a brief background on how the migrant came into being and how his particular role in the scheme of things bears directly on the State of Texas. Farmers and growers have always required help with their crops and this need grew as population increased and as the canning and preserving industry grew; however, the far ranging migrant, as we know him today, came into being as the call of urban industry and city living sharply diminished the local domestic labor supply throughout the nation. This century saw a dramatic upswing in the use of foreign workers which coupled with a new ease in transportation brings us to what can be called the pivotal period in farm labor, a period starting in the early 1940's and continuing through the duration of the Bracero Act. In previous reports this Commission has gone to some length to present the effect of Mexican alien farm labor on our Texas migrant worker and has also made detailed comments concerning the bracero program. At present, however, it is felt that a lengthy repetition is unnecessary as most readers are well informed on both matters so we will try to make this Overview as brief as possible by making only the most pertinent observations.

For a hundred years or more Mexicans have crossed the border on a temporary basis to work our fields and harvest our crops. However, it wasn't until World War II and a national shortage of domestic labor that the importation of farm workers began to involve many thousands of individuals. It quickly became imperative that a treaty or agreement between Mexico and the United States had to be drawn up to bring order and control to this increasingly important matter. This became fact when PL-78 was enacted July 12, 1951, setting down rules and guidelines for recruiting, transportation, working conditions, contractural obligations, etc. Any endeavor involving so many men in a strange environment and hampered by a language barrier is bound to produce complaints and some discontent; however, there was a high degree of compliance by both the nations as well as the individuals and there has never been any doubt as to the overall benefits which resulted from the program.

The year before the Bracero Act came into being 76,000 foreign workers came to the United States for temporary employment in agriculture. The first year of the Act that figure rose to 203,000 and the years from 1955 to 1959 all averaged well over 400,000 a year. Starting in 1960 the yearly influx of aliens began to decline, due in part to growth in our own domestic labor supply and also because of modifications to the law outlining stricter standards. This decline continued until 1964 when only 178,000 workers were brought in from Mexico and it was the end of this same year that Congress failed to renew the agreement and PL-78 ceased to exist. During the thirteen years that the bracero agreement was in force, Mexican aliens made up 95% of all foreign agricultural workers entering the United States. Theoretically, there should have been no more Mexicans come over for field work after 1964, but in reality it took three years to entirely phase out the program, as some temporary "immigration" was allowed to certain areas where worker shortage had become critical. Subsequent years have brought no major difficulties and our own farm

labor force is generally more than sufficient to meet the needs of growers and processors, thus proving the feasibility of relieving our Texas farm workers of foreign competition by allowing PL-78 to die.

It was about this time that increasing numbers of Texas farm workers became migrant farm workers. So it was that the new job opportunities were in the areas formerly served by braceros, which meant the Texas workers had to travel to where the work was and the increase in migrants was quickly apparent. Our Texas farm labor pool is made up almost entirely of Mexican-Americans, many of whom are naturalized, but the majority are native born American citizens whose family and ethnic ties are in and around the border area. The most noteworthy exception to this is the concentration of agricultural workers around San Antonio. This change in emphasis to away from home and out of state jobs came none too soon, as the internal farm worker needs in Texas were diminishing, due principally to reduced needs in cotton cultivation and harvesting through use of mechanical harvesters and chemical herbicides. This situation, combined with the attraction of better wages and the use of better recruiting methods, resulted in a remarkable increase in the number of outbound workers. The following figures show the number of Texas individuals (total people) on the move during the last year of PL-78 and the years subsequent:

1964 — 129,000 individuals migrating
1965 — 167,000
1966 — 162,000
1967 — 158,000
1968 — 152,000
1969 — 147,000

It is to be noted that the yearly decrease of 3—4% in the migrant wave remains steady and is expected to continue, with a good possibility it might accelerate somewhat.

In considering the Texas migrant and his problems it is well to compare him with the braceros and the dust-bowl migrants of the thirties. Whereas the braceros were singles who for the most part were housed in barracks and lived in communal groups with little responsibility other than to themselves, our migrants are family groups who are constantly striving to maintain family unity and family welfare. And whereas the dust-bowl farmers left their land and became nomads heading west, the Texas migrant has a home base to which he can return and find friends and community surroundings. Whether our migrants are at home base eight months a year or only two months a year, it is nevertheless home to them and it is theirs. This attitude of being rooted, even though just part time, becomes an important consideration in setting up manpower mobility programs, as we will show later.

Since the agricultural areas producing labor intensive crops remain essentially unchanged from year to year, it follows that the migrant's travel pattern undergoes very little change. While it is true that weather conditions and crop development may force the migrant to alter his work plan once he is on the move, it is also true that the states of high labor demand remain the same, leading off with Michigan followed by Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, etc. This somewhat static condition is not true of Texas, however. In recent years the old two-crop economy of "cotton and cattle" has undergone considerable change. Not only does cotton today require only a fraction of the field labor it used to, but

this year, for the first time in history, King Cotton took second place after sorghum in total crop value in Texas. The coastal areas of the state that once used thousands of migrants to help with cotton is now hard put to provide work for its local farm workers. The agricultural activities in the High Rolling Plains and the Rio Grande Plains initially attracted thousands of intrastate migrants as local population in those areas was scarce, but now many of the Lower Valley farm workers have settled out in those same areas to avoid the constant travel, to find a longer working season, and to escape the off-season job competition in the Valley. In spite of the settling out, the increase in agricultural activity with consequent increased labor demand keeps the intrastate movement quite constant.

In recent years we note that migrant travel habits and group makeup have changed somewhat. It is felt that efforts to enforce the Farm Labor Contractor Registration Act which was aimed at crew leaders and recruiters and the ICC interstate regulations have tended to discourage organizing groups of over 10 persons, so most crew makeup is planned at home base and then brought to reality on arrival at the work area. A study of migrant groups, both leaving and on return, showed 65% of the total individuals in groups of 10 or less. It was also found that the family mix while traveling continues to be 40% children under 16 years and 60% adults, and this adult group is now almost evenly divided between male and female. The exception to this is, of course, the worker groups that have been signed up by professional recruiters licensed by the Texas Bureau of Labor Statistics, since these operators are interested in productive individuals and therefore try to keep the number of children to a minimum. In these groups the adult workers make up 80% or more of the total individuals. In the case of processing plant recruiters, who send their company-owned buses south, their return load is 100% workers.

As we mentioned last year, it becomes increasingly more difficult to determine on-stream family size, as traveling groups are not always families. This is the second year that migrant job planning has been affected by the housing standards of the Department of Labor which went into effect mid-July of 1967. This housing law prohibited our Texas Employment Commission from processing worker orders from interstate consumers whose housing did not meet minimum standards. This, of course, increased the activity of the licensed recruiters, since they are not bound by the housing regulations, and it also created many more "freewheelers" who are impossible to keep track of statistically. Also, we must consider that the families settling out of the stream are generally smaller families that can be sustained by one wage earner, and this tends to increase the size of families on migration.

As distasteful as it may be, we will have to end this Overview on a grim note indeed and those who have in the past looked the other way when migrant matters were brought up will now have to face them directly and bring the real picture into sharp focus. The migrant's problems are with us, they are real problems, and solutions must be found if we are to bring these people into full participation in a society of which they are a part and in which they have a rightful place. The most important side effect that resulted from closing the border to alien labor by not renewing PL-78 was the focusing of the spotlight of attention on the Texas migrant worker. This brought about a new and more profound appraisal by government, grower, and public alike of this long-ignored and overlooked segment of our people. The shocking awareness of the true plight of many of our migrants was indeed startling and the further realization that their bare subsistence living pattern goes back several generations seems to have had a catalytic effect in promoting efforts and

programs aimed at alleviating the multiple problems besetting this group. There is little opportunity for the uneducated person who possesses no skills and speaks little or no English, and an effective confrontation of this reality can no longer be delayed. Things are being done and involvement is on the increase. Later in this report we will detail a number of different current programs designed to upgrade our migrant workers in skills and achievement.

TEXAS AGRICULTURE AND MIGRANT LABOR

The national agriculture picture continues to show a gain in value. In 1968 the value of the nation's harvested crops reached $22.4 billion dollars and in 1969 the amount rose sharply to a total of $24 billion dollars. In Texas agriculture, however, the situation was quite tc the contrary in which our crops had a real value of only $1.23 billion dollars which is below even 1966 and a big $108 million less than last year. Cotton, whose earnings fell from $367,410,000 to $278,591,000, was the principal culprit of this reversal in farm earning and accounted for 45% of the loss. Things were so bad with cotton that for the first time the monetary worth of the crop fell to second place after sorghum grain, whose value was $340,780,000, or roughly sixty million better than cotton. As a matter of fact, the agricultural year, taken as a whole, was so poor that only four of the fourteen leading crops showed any production increase and they were oats, rye, flax and sugar beets. The following table will illustrate what has been happening to our three most important crops.

Contribution of the Three Principal Crops

	1969	1968	1967	1966
Total dollar value: (in billions)	$1.233	$1.431	$1.277	$1.268
Percentage contribution:				
Cotton	23%	31%	29%	30%
Sorghum	28%	22%	27%	25%
Rice	8%	10%	10%	9%
Total contribution:	59%	63%	66%	64%

As is usually the case, be it in good years or in bad years, weather was the controlling factor for the poor 1969 season in Texas. Favorable conditions existed in all areas of our state during the peri: d of land preparation and planting in the spring and optimism was the rule. By early July ' .e lack of rain in North, Central and East Texas began to cause concern and finally reached rought conditions from which the crops never recovered. The opposite was true in the Lc er Rio Grande Valley in August and September when the unexpected and unwanted heav. rains delayed land preparation and the planting of fall vegetables and also hampered the cotton harvest which in turn suffered in quality. However, the hardest blow that weather dealt us was an early October freeze in the High Rolling Plains which killed all tender vegetables and stunted cotton growth. As a result of these conditions many growers were hurt badly and, of course, farm job placements throughout the state dropped drastically during the last half of the year. On the following page we will show a table of Texas Employment Commission figures that indicate what has happened to placements in recent years.

Seasonal Farm Job Placement in Texas

	1969	1968*	1967
Total Placements	206,000	234,000	263,000
Average per month	17,220	19,506	21,977
High month	39,028 June	38,865 June	38,193 June
Low month	6,812 Sept.	7,607 Jan.	7,795 Oct.

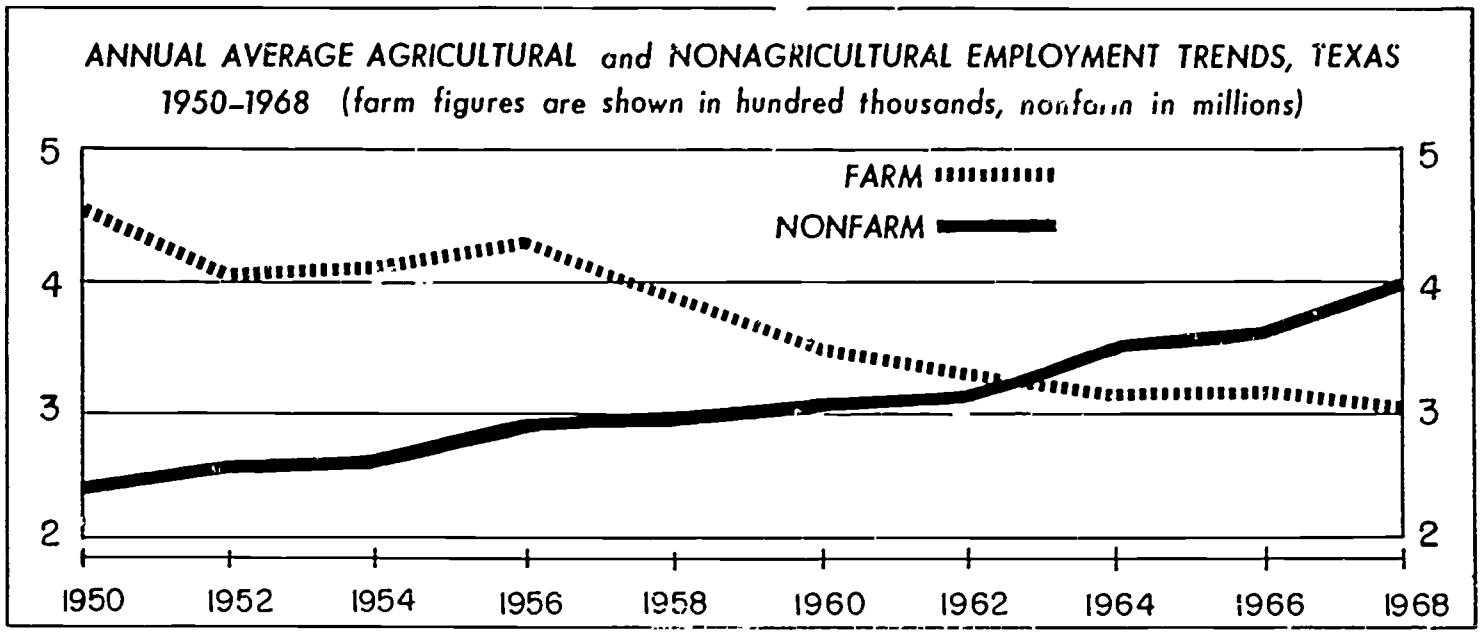
* The devastation by Hurricane Beulah September of 1967 caused a slow start for the Lower Rio Grande Valley in 1968.

Texas is by far the largest producer of cotton of any of the states and contributed 33% of the national total in 1966, 37.5% in 1967, 32% in 1968 and 29% for 1969. However, each succeeding year this crop requires fewer workers. It has been just over a decade ago that cotton was one of our most labor-intense crops occupying literally an army of field workers for planting, hoeing and later hand picking the harvest. Now herbicide use has dramatically reduced hoeing demands and mechanical strippers and pickers are now being used for almost all of the harvesting. Cotton's needs for field help are minimal and will continue that way, so we cannot count on very many job opportunities in this crop regardless of how successful the crop may be. Many of the formerly intrastate workers displaced by cotton mechanization turned to interstate travel for their jobs by replacing the braceros in the states of high labor demand, but as we have seen in the Overview this migration continues to show a steady decrease.

TEXAS COTTON

Year	Acres Planted	Harvested	Yield	Bales	%Change Prev. Year
1964	6,225,000	5,675,000	348	4,123,000	
1965	5,850,000	5,565,000	402	4,668,000	+11.3
1966	4,265,000	3,968,000	385	3,182,000	—32.
1967	3,960,000	3,525,000	376	2,767,000	—11.
1968	4,450,000	4,125,000	404	3,475,000	+23.
1969	5,175,000	4,675,000	298	2,900,000	—16.5

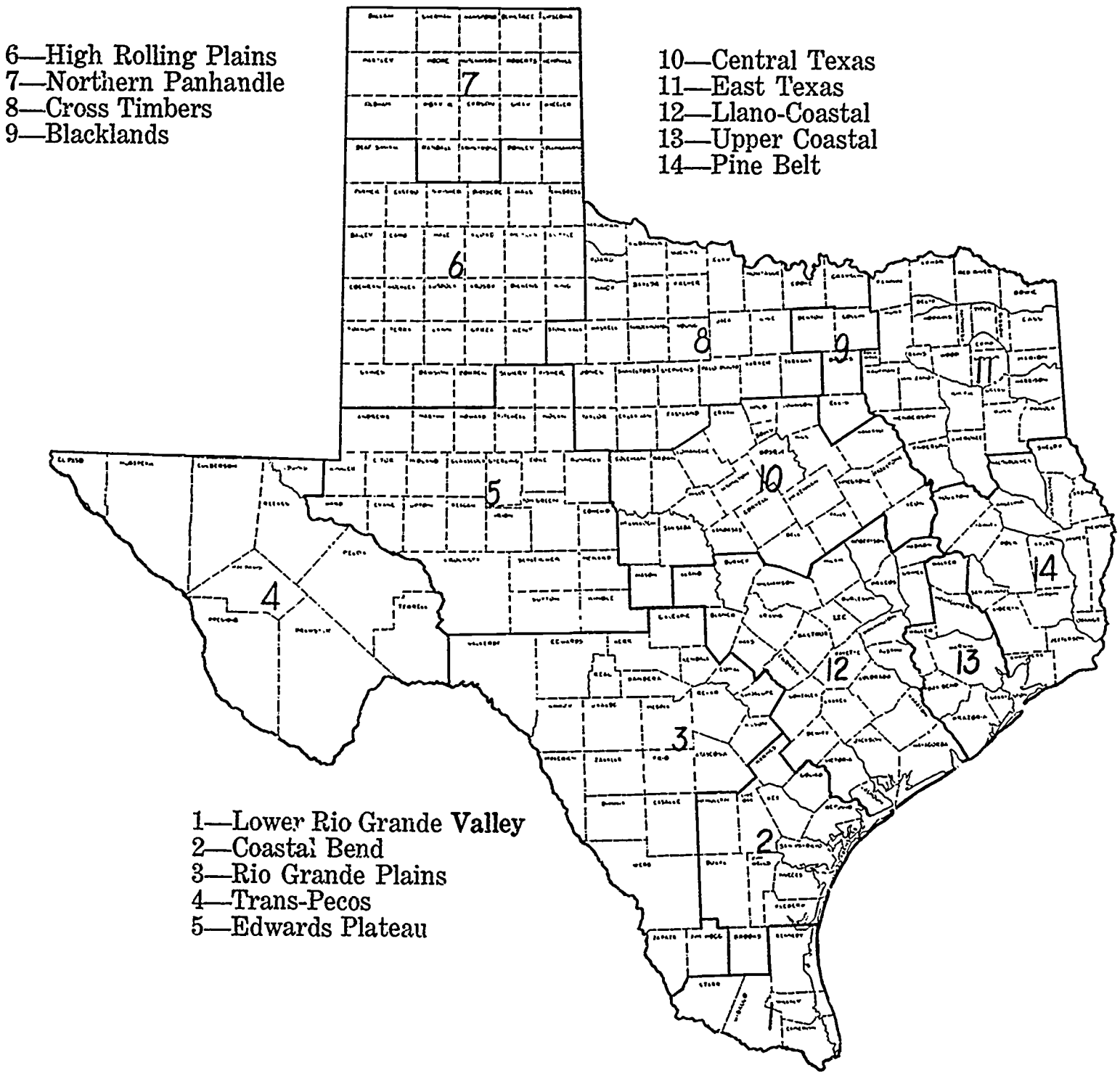
The economy of Texas has for several years been experiencing a growth of near-boom proportions and we are always found among the top four states of highest percentage increase in gross product from year to year. However, the greatest contribution to this economic growth has come from nonagricultural endeavors and principal among these efforts is industry. This being true, it is therefore immediately apparent that we are dealing with a phenomenon directly affecting our farm labor people and in particular our migrant farm workers. By examining the following chart on employment trends, we can see that agri-employment has for many years been on the decline except for a temporary leveling off following the termination of the bracero program.



Labor demands of nonagricultural business and industry have attracted many farm workers away from the farm. The permanent farm employee with modest skills is drawn to industry by better wages, better schools, city living and a chance for advancement if he applies himself. As job opportunities continue to develop, industry has been forced to move into the unskilled labor pool, which has motivated management into establishing various types of training programs to upgrade the worker for the benefit of the individual as well as the company. To replace the skilled and semi-skilled workers who have left the farm, the grower too must turn to the unskilled and underemployed seasonal farm workers and set up his own earning-while-learning program of training. This is particularly true of the burgeoning feed lot and meat packing operations that likewise must employ unskilled labor and train the workers on the job. Thus, we are constantly upgrading from the ranks of unskilled labor and making permanent placements, but at the same time reduction of seasonal job opportunities in interstate agriculture continues to bring new members to this same unskilled labor pool.

Thus, here in Texas, we find ourselves with the apparent anomaly of a tight labor market and a large underemployed labor surplus. The answer is skills and training coupled with education. This present situation is virtually irreversible and not likely to change, so we must maintain the highest priority on all of the educational and manpower development programs, regardless of their origin, that are beamed at our migrants with particular emphasis on those in the Lower Rio Grande Valley where the need is greatest and the opportunities fewest.

Texas Agricultural Zones



MIGRANT PROGRAMS

Ever since the founding of our country, there have been in effect many different means and methods to assist people who were in need, unfortunate or handicapped. This attitude toward helping someone else may have been inspired by religious belief, by a togetherness because of mutual dependency during the formative years of our nation, by government mandate based on the premise that the individual is an important part of the whole and his welfare is the welfare of the whole, or by a number of other reasons. The important point that emerges is that 200 years later the same basic reasons and motives for aid to others still exist but the urgency today is far greater, which can in part be blamed on increased life complexities. A second point that immediately becomes obvious is that the neighbor to neighbor community effort, although still a very important factor, is simply no longer capable of the effort the overall task requires so now the government must assume the principal role in providing for the general welfare.

This present century has seen a more encompassing meaning given to the phrase "general welfare" and many new approaches to the subject have appeared as a result of the deep socio-economic wounds caused by the depression thirties when desperation and despondency were so prevalent on all sides and at all levels. Planning and programs were born from need and necessity but many now argue that the whole matter of welfare and aid has ballooned completely out of proportion while at the same time agreeing that need and necessity are now more acute than ever before. The facts are that during the last two decades programs of every conceivable type have been developed to combat every conceivable need and they have become so numerous that just to list and catalog them and to keep current on their evaluations and results is a staggering job. At the present time there are over 500 operational "Federal Assistance Programs to assist the American people in furthering their social and economic progress," which is the title of a programs catalog published by the Office of Economic Opportunity in its war on poverty. This figure does not, of course, include the hundreds of different programs sponsored at the state, county and community levels. Currently every cabinet-level department is involved in some kind of program but those most involved in programs that are of interest to our migrant population are the Department of Labor, Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Of these federal programs, over half of them are directed at the low income and poverty prone segment of our population which, with few exceptions, includes the whole of our migrant farm workers who are the subject of this report. We will therefore try to present and give a brief description of the programs which are migrant oriented and designed to "assist them in furthering their social and economic progress." Although structural modification in programming takes place with some frequency and direction of emphasis often undergoes change, the basic thrust of helping those who need it is still the same. However, it should be stressed that the strategy of "help them to help themselves" is now far and away the ruling concept in all programs as opposed to hand-out welfare. Today the idea of being a part of society means participating in society by being able to make one's own way and make one's own contribution—this is the mold from which all programs are formed.

Migrant Programs

The governmental department most deeply involved and most deeply committed in programs of assistance is the Department of Labor through its Manpower Administration. Administered under the Manpower Development Training Act which was passed by Congress in 1962 against a background of rising unemployment, a growing labor force as well as technological changes, the Manpower Administration has developed a broad and comprehensive range of programs. The primary purpose of this assistance effort is to train people for jobs—jobs that may exist or can be developed—with particular emphasis on serving the disadvantaged and the unskilled. During the first five years that MDTA programs were operational over one million young people and adults were enrolled and over half of them completed training. During this same period almost a billion and a half dollars was allocated and the cost per person trained averaged about $500 for on-the-job training and about $1,200 for those in institutional training. OJT enrollees for 1968 were 186,000 and the 1969 budget called for 281,000 slots; institutional training participants for 1968 numbered 129,000 and the 1969 budget provided funds for 170,000 enrollees. These figures show acceptance and growth, thus proving that project goals are being achieved and that the programs have the participant's approval. Herewith are the principal manpower programs:

WORK INCENTIVE PROGRAM (WIN)

This program is designed to help people establish their future in a good job at decent wages and thus become productive, tax-paying citizens. The main thrust is to move people off the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) welfare rolls and into job training and work experience. People over 16 who are receiving AFDC payments will be referred by the welfare office to WIN for training and they must participate if physically able, or run the risk of having their welfare payments stop. This program is sponsored by Employment Security (funded under Title IV of Social Security) and the Department of Public Welfare and offers incentive payments in the form of stipends during the training period in addition to the regular AFDC payments. In Texas this program is being conducted in the four principal urban areas of the state plus two Lower Valley centers.

ON—THE—JOB—TRAINING (OJT)

This program is just what the title indicates; work and earn while you learn. The key to this program is close coordination between employers and state employment agencies, which is to say that employers with jobs to fill can obtain worker-trainees and cost-of-training compensation from the employment agency while the agency in turn contacts employers and helps to create job openings for the unskilled who can enter training. The worker-trainee receives wages from his employer who in turn receives financial help from the government for some of the extra costs incurred in his training program. Each trainee placement and the compensatory return to the employer is determined and agreed to under a "contract" written for each worker entering OJT or a group of workers if they are all going with the same firm and performing the same work. By law, emphasis is placed on training the disadvantaged and the hard core unemployed as it is required that no less than 65% of the trainees must come from these ranks. At present almost 200 projects are operating in Texas and the program evaluation is definitely positive; the employer gets an employee trained like he wants him and the trainee gets a full-time job at skilled wages.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES IN THE BUSINESS SECTOR (JOBS)

This idea and the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) together form a new and quite novel concept of how to reach the same underlying goal—jobs for people and people

for jobs. This program, which was launched in January of 1968, brings to bear the combined efforts of the federal government and private industry to mobilize all of the resources possible to insure that everyone who wants work can find a productive job at a decent wage. As in OJT the JOBS plan contains provisions whereby the government helps participating companies with extra training costs and also bears the cost of all supportive services required in the upgrading of the trainee. At the present time there are full-time, executive level NAB teams in 125 of our largest cities throughout the nation who work with business leaders of their own community to recruit the unskilled and disadvantaged and refer them to jobs.

NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS (NYC)

This is a three directional program authorized by the Office of Economic Opportunity and administered by the Manpower Administration designed to provide work and training opportunities for youth from low income families. This is a very flexible program and slight modifications in design permit assistance to be given to (1) In-School students, (2) Out-of-School persons aged 16 through 21, and (3) Summer Vacation students. The purpose of this training and financial assistance to the youth sector is to enable them to remain in school or return to school and thus continue with their preparation for good jobs. Our Texas Employment Commission during FY-1969 made referrals for 5,800 youths throughout the state and 4,620 of these were enrolled in different programs.

SERVICE, EMPLOYMENT, REDEVELOPMENT (SER)

This is a project funded jointly by O.E.O. and the Department of Labor and operative in the five southwestern states. This program is beamed directly at Mexican-Americans and includes basic education, citizenship, pre-vocational and vocational training with some provisions for financial assistance tied into it. Several Mexican-American organizations, coordinated with the Texas Employment Commission, act as programming consultants and secondary sponsors in Houston, Corpus Christi, San Antonio and El Paso where the program is operative.

CONCENTRATED EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM (CEP)

This program funded by the O.E.O. and delegated to the Department of Labor is a delivery system for manpower programs to combat the problems of seriously disadvantaged persons in depressed rural areas or in a target area of concentrated poverty within a large metropolitan area. The objective of the program is to provide these unskilled, poverty level people with all of the services (borrowed from other programs) needed to obtain and hold a job at a viable economic level.

MAINSTREAM and NEW CAREERS

These are two more examples of programs funded by the O.E.O. and administered by the Department of Labor. The thrust of these programs is job creation and work training for chronically unemployed, poor adults who have no meaningful work history. The source of employment is generally in community improvement projects which are not being provided for by regular public funds.

JOB CORPS

The Job Corps was initiated in late 1964 under the Economic Opportunity Act, Title I-A, and continued under that administration until July of 1969, when the project was transferred to the Department of Labor for operation and funding. This is a nationwide

residential work training and educational program for underprivileged, out-of-school, out-of-work men and women between the ages of 16 and 22. Referrals to Job Corps training are made by state level employment services that later make job placements whenever possible. At the present time the restructured program is handling fewer but more carefully screened enrollees and obtaining a higher percentage of placements after completion of training. Here in Texas the Gary Job Corps Center for men and the McKinney Job Corps Center for women are still active under the direction of the Texas Educational Foundation, Inc.

EXPERIMENTAL and DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS (E & D)

E & D is an exploratory tool to test new ideas and approaches to manpower problems and is used much in the same way as a pilot plant is in industry. In this manner we can prove the value of new procedures and techniques on a small scale and at modest cost while allowing for modification, correction, change of purpose, etc., if it should seem advisable. The E & D concept was officially incorporated into the MDTA in 1965 and since then has been used to test a myriad of different ideas and methods designed to aid the needy and the disadvantaged. All projects are carried out under direct contract with groups, state and local agencies, colleges, labor unions and others. Some projects are conducted for a few weeks, such as special summer programs, while others may run up to two years. The Texas Employment Commission is moving into the second year of a very ambitious E & D Migrant project to try and pinpoint the kinds of back-up services the migrants need while in travel and at home base in order to design the mechanism for delivery of the services as well as to determine the costs involved. Next year we will report on the outcome of this migrant project and discuss if further projections are indicated from the evaluation study of the data gathered over the two year period.

As stated previously, almost every cabinet level department participates in aid and assistance to the needy through use of their own programs which are generally administered from Washington, but delivery at the community level is accomplished by local officials and citizens' committees. We herewith make brief comments on other federal departments whose programs are noteworthy:

DEPARTMENT of AGRICULTURE (USDA)

The best known and most effective programs of the USDA with direct impact on the poor are (1) Surplus Commodity Distribution, (2) Food Stamps, (3) School Lunch, and (4) Farmers Home Administration.

DEPARTMENT of COMMERCE

It has been only recently that Commerce entered the field of assistance when the Economic Development Administration was created in 1965 with the purpose of giving aid to areas of economic distress in the nation by making available funds for public works, technical assistance and loans to business and to provide community improvements by developing industrial parks, water or sewer systems, etc. By direct or indirect approach the goal of these efforts is the same—creation of jobs.

DEPARTMENT of HEALTH, EDUCATION and WELFARE (HEW)

As the name implies, HEW has the fundamental responsibility in the three most sensitive areas affecting the poor and disadvantaged. At the federal level the HEW maintains operational control over 150 programs which range from "a" of Adult Basic Education to

"w" of the Work Experience, all of which function at the consumer level under the direction of equivalent state and community agencies. The extent and importance of HEW and its endeavors is indicated by the fact that its appropriations budget is the second largest in the government.

DEPARTMENT of HOUSING and URBAN DEVELOPMENT (HUD)

This department at present has seventy-three programs and a number of these are of interest to the migrant farm worker and other poverty level people because the programs focus on home improvement and home ownership. Of particular interest to us are the Model Cities program to upgrade entire neighborhoods and create low cost housing, and the recently defined Section 235 of the National Housing Act which promotes home ownership by offering financial help. Assistance under this section consists of an extremely low mortgage interest rate plus a subsidy payment amounting to the difference between the mortgage payment due and 20% of the purchaser's monthly income averaged out from his total yearly income. With this type of help, ownership equity is built up even though payments are very low. Each application under Section 235 must be treated individually but the guidelines are sufficiently flexible to accommodate almost any applicant and have proved very useful to migrants whose income is sporadic and often uncertain.

Although not a cabinet level department, no coverage of programs in which migrants participate would be complete without consideration of the efforts sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity. In 1964 congressional action created the O.E.O. as an executive office attached to the presidency and at the same time declared a national policy to eliminate poverty conditions in the nation. Poverty is a condition of the poor and for the war on poverty the poor were chosen as the "target group" and programs were so designed as to provide them with three specific "opportunities"; for education and training, for a chance to work, and to live in decency and dignity. Hence, the central trust of all programs and activities of O.E.O. has been to shape new opportunity forms and pursue existing ones on behalf of all members of this target group. In recent years the tendency has been to reduce direct O.E.O. involvement in programs; instead the office has turned more to promotion, funding and technical assistance in cooperation with other agencies. The one outstanding exception to this trend at the local level has been the Community Action Program (CAP) which becomes functional through Community Action Agencies (CAA) made up of local people who are interested in local welfare and growth. In this manner all available resources can be brought to bear on any local problem for a local solution with O.E.O. providing the financing. With a few exceptions, the scope of the CAA's is quite broad and can encompass such different, but closely related, activities as Daycare centers, Head Start schooling, Adult Migrant Education, Health clinics, Family Planning, Welfare, Self-Help housing, etc.

By now the reader should find himself well confused and with head shaking misgivings over so much apparent duplication, lost motion, and overlap between programs and agencies. The reader is not alone in his feelings as this same polemic of program propagation has been the subject of many high level conferences and committee meetings. Early in the manpower effort federal agencies with similar programs attempted to work together, but because of different legislative authorization and conflicting internal procedures, cooperation was limited and a remedy had to be sought. To meet the need for coordination and joint action in aid to the disadvantaged, the idea of Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS) was worked up as a unifying device and became a reality by executive

order in August of 1968, thus becoming official policy in the field of aid and assistance. This CAMPS clearing house is headed by the National Manpower Coordinating Committee whose membership represents all government agencies with major manpower and other related programs. The Committee prepares national programs each year and keeps pace with their progress by maintaining open communication between all agencies and their local counterparts. CAMPS committees operate in eight national regions and in every state; however, the basic CAMPS units are the area coordinating committees or groups which are made up of the people who actually direct and administer local programs.

CAMPS is cooperation. By proper planning a needy person may be able to qualify and to participate in several programs at the same time and thereby hasten the realization of improved ability and a better job.

MIGRANT FARM LABOR CENTER
Hope, Arkansas

In order really to understand what is meant by the word Center as herewith used, it will be necessary to fully describe the Center and outline its activities. The idea of a rest stop is nothing new and in fact the center in Hope, Arkansas, is not new either as this last season marked a full decade that this service to migrant workers idea has been operational. What is new and innovative is that it is a "full service" center designed and operated for the benefit of the migrant farm worker and his family while on their trek to and from work areas.

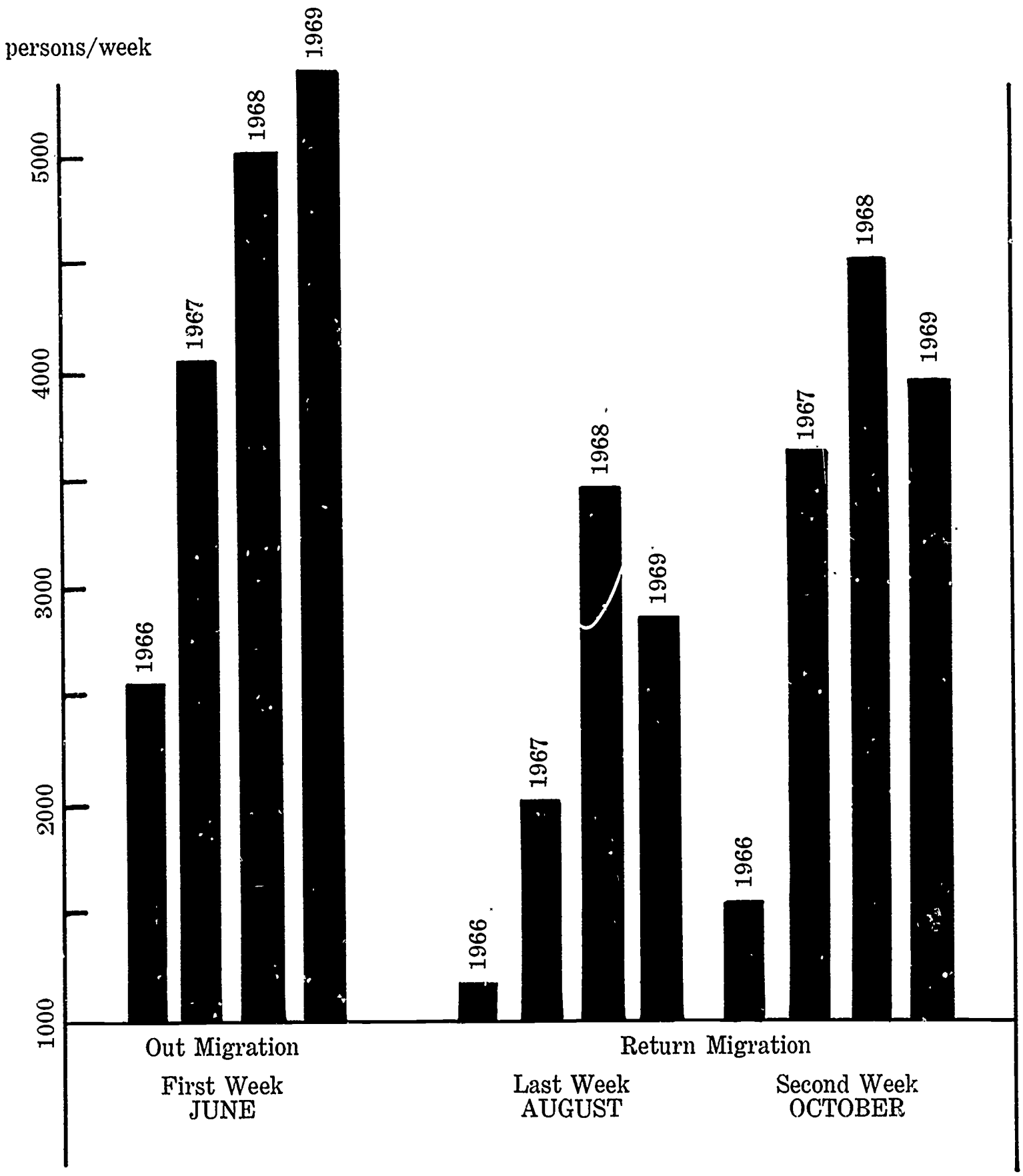
The original rest stop and farm labor information station was established in 1959 by the Arkansas Employment Security Division on property leased from the city of Hope. This first start was of very modest size, but it did provide stall showers, comfort facilities, cooking pits and picnic tables as well as an employment officer who provided crop and work information. The success of this venture was far from guaranteed at the beginning, as there was no proof that the migrants would take advantage of the Center, nor was it possible to estimate the amount of misuse the facility might suffer. Also, inscrutable to some of the local residents was the fact that money was being spent to accommodate the migrants when most everywhere else on their travel trail the migrants were urged to "keep movin' on until you're out of town." Thus it was a job of education and a job of public relations that the staff undertook and the success of the Center can in part be measured by the following figures showing "contacts" (total individuals) each season:

1959 — 1,119	1962 — 14,563
1960 — 6,229	1963 — 17,800
1961 — 10,769	1964 — 18,286

During the last two years shown there was much overcrowding at peak times and it became imperative that expansion be planned for 1965. A proposal was drawn up which included more services and enlarged facilities, application was made and a grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity was approved to cover the cost of the present Center. The plant now consists of twenty separate house-type trailers, most of which are partitioned in the middle thus making two quarters each equipped with four bunk beds, a table and two chairs and a butane wall heater. This is illustrated by the pictures on page 5. The washrooms are large and completely modern and there is a large covered pavilion for food preparation using gas flame grills. There are coin machines for soft drinks and sandwiches as well as wash tubs for utensils and laundry. They have a small clinic with a trained nurse on a daily schedule and also an agreement with the local hospital covering 24 hour emergency service. The Center's manager and assistant manager live on the property and there is an employment officer on duty around the clock during the six months of high contact load to register the migrants and see to their needs. These figures show the increase in contacts at the new Center.

1965 — 17,905		1968 — 48,593	up 17%
1966 — 28,237	up 58%	1969 — 55,652	up 14%
1967 — 41,676	up 48%		

COMPARISON OF PEAK TRAFFIC LOADS
Migrant Farm Labor Center, Hope, Ark.



MIGRANT FARM LABOR CENTER — Hope, Arkansas

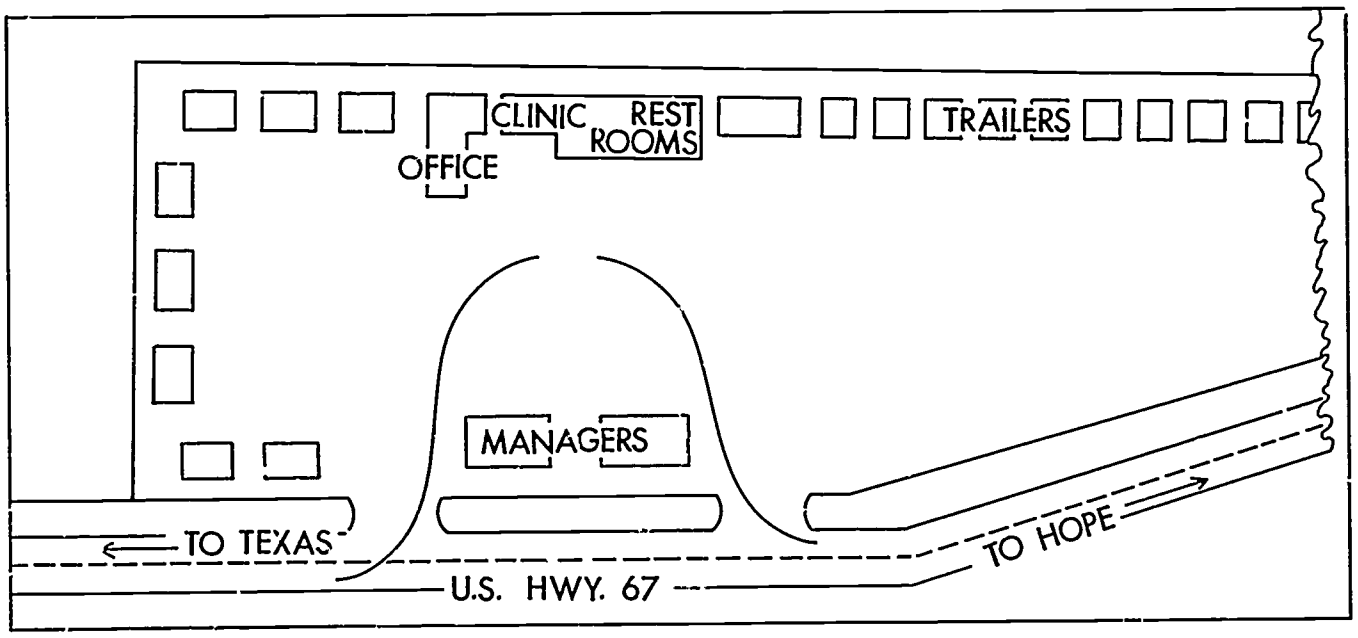
Mix of 55,652 individuals passing through the Center from March 3 to December 23, 1969, based on weekly reports.

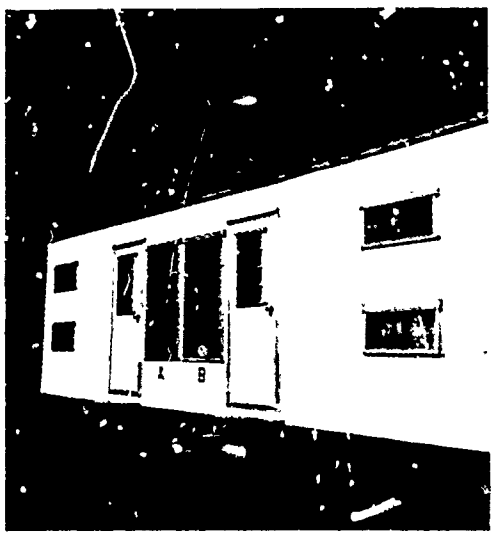
Week Ending	Total Individ.	Under 16	Total Workers	Male	Female
3/9	94	28	66	40	26
	226	99	127	78	49
	213	91	122	68	54
	219	89	130	72	58
	517	226	291	182	109
4/13	1,073	414	659	368	291
	1,200	480	720	399	321
	1,643	561	1,082	539	543
5/4	1,761	727	1,034	571	463
	1,351	545	806	419	387
	1,502	594	908	463	445
	1,172	492	680	343	337
	2,608	1,007	1,601	818	783
6/8	5,195	1,957	3,338	1,603	1,735*
Sub-Total	18,874	7,310	11,564	5,963	5,601
		38.7%	61.3%	52%	48%
	1,563	573	990	475	515*
	1,026	359	667	343	324
	884	391	493	260	233
	872	376	496	250	246
7/13	1,353	656	697	399	298
	793	308	485	267	218
	943	340	603	318	285
	490	203	287	175	112
	759	303	456	238	218
8/17	1,181	398	783	420	363
	1,777	721	1,056	498	558*
8/31	2,774	1,124	1,650	853	797
Sub-Total	14,415	5,752	8,663	4,496	4,167
		39.8%	60.2%	52%	48%

Week Ending	Total Individ.	Under 16	Total Workers	Male	Female
9/7	2,334	818	1,516	737	779*
	1,544	662	882	444	438
	923	378	545	299	246
	1,037	381	656	365	291
	2,530	1,057	1,473	740	733
10/12	3,971	1,635	2,336	1,188	1,148
	3,639	1,464	2,175	1,107	1,068
	1,187	513	674	346	328
	1,297	479	818	431	387
	999	386	613	349	264
	885	373	512	286	226
	977	359	618	312	306
	426	181	245	149	96
12/7	280	104	176	99	77
	183	68	115	78	37
12/23	151	52	99	59	40
Sub-Total	22,363	8,910	13,453	6,989	6,464
		40%	60%	51.5%	48.5%
TOTAL	55,652	21,972	33,680	17,448	16,232
		39.6%	60.4%	52%	48%

As can be seen from the graph and the weekly reports the all-time peak load was during the first week of June 1969 when 5,295 people were handled. Even with the new facilities, attempting to handle 10% of your season's work load in one week can be a real nightmare. This concentrated wave of migrants starting the day after school is out helps to emphasize the fact that more and more families formulate their travel plans with the termination of classes—and this is good. The reader will note that at this time (*) the number of women is superior to the number of men, which means the mother with working age children is catching up with the father who has gone on ahead at an earlier date. The same phenomenon occurs again the last part of August when the mother takes the school age children home while the father stays with the work. Somewhat in the same vein significance must be given to the fact that during the months of August and September over 20% of the registrants at the Center were north-bound. After taking the school age children home and enjoying a quick visit these migrants were on their way back north for a few remaining weeks of work—it cannot be denied, these people want to work and want to earn what they can when they can.

The weekly reports have been arbitrarily separated into three groups for no other reason than to show that the "under 16 to total worker" percentage and that of "male to female" remain essentially the same throughout the season, holding close to 40 to 60 in the former and 52 to 48 in the latter.

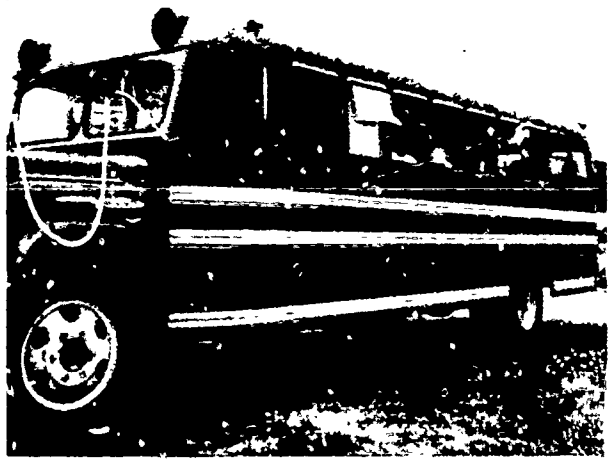


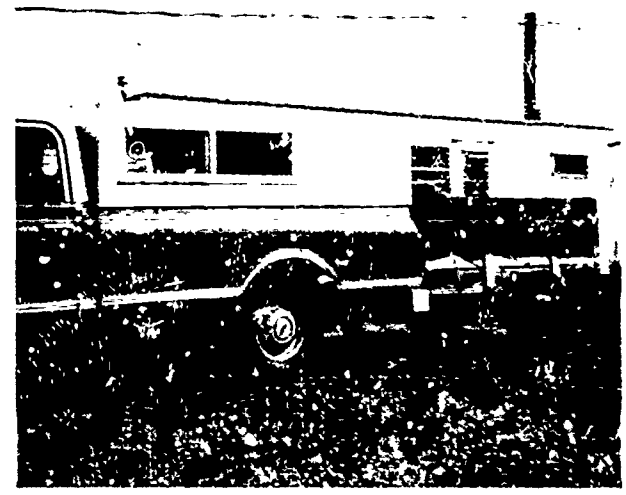


Double Trailer

Trailer Interior

Hope, Arkansas





(Some of Hope's customers)

From a study of the information summarized on the Center's weekly reports and that contained in the forms used to register the migrants, we encounter some interesting figures and statistics that are valuable to many agencies. It is felt that the Hope findings and experience may be helpful in convincing Texas officials that some migrant travel facilities are needed within the borders of our own state. We notice from the chart and table that for the first time the return migration is spreading out somewhat, thus tending to depress the two peaks. This could be the result of preparing for school enrollment, as we have mentioned, as well as the very erratic closing of the harvest season up north. At any rate, it was a welcome turn for the Hope staff who find themselves pretty weary after a capacity week. Another figure which we obtained by personal interviews and checking records is that last year 24% of our migrant registrants went north through Hope without any official agency job commitment or clearance order. Thus these people not handled by the Texas Employment Commission or by private recruiters licensed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics are technically "freewheelers." Although there is no way to determine how many there are we are convinced the number has more than doubled since 1967 when we put them down as making up about 8% of the interstate migrants leaving Texas.

As in the case of most all service programs the Center suffers funding jitters from year to year. Everyone is pleased with the job being done by the staff and agrees the project fills a very real need but it costs $75,000 a year to operate it. This is in addition to the income derived from trailer rental of $2.00 per night for four bunks with clean linen. Of course not all migrant visitors actually rent trailers or spend the night, so that the average income for a whole season will barely surpass $4,000.00. By taking the total traffic load, whether they stayed all night or just stopped in for lunch and leg stretching, we find it costs $1.50 for each individual to go through the Center—the rental income doesn't really help very much so the difference must be made up from official sources.

ALIEN LABOR AND IMMIGRATION

A. ALIEN LABOR:

Foreigners have been coming to our shores for work and employment for well over a hundred years. Although many aliens came of their own volition the principal reason for the mass worker movement was the result of advertising by labor consumers and recruiters which offered inducements for employment in this country. It wasn't long, however, until these dealers in workers found that by making false assertions and over recruiting they could cause a glut in the labor market and the resulting competition for the existing jobs could force wages down and their profits up. This and other schemes detrimental to domestic and alien labor alike forced the enactment in 1885 of the first statutory restriction on bringing in foreign labor; this was known as the alien contract labor law. From that time until the present our government has maintained a continuous control over labor imports using at different times and in different capacities the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Department of Labor, the Department of State, and the Attorney General.

It continued to be unlawful to introduce contract labor into the United States until the pronouncement of the labor Act of 1917 which contained provisos under which contract workers and other inadmissible aliens could, at the discretion of the Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, be admitted on a temporary basis. Also, this Act of 1917, for the first time, delineated the procedures for the importation of skilled and professional workers. Later, in an effort to overcome the manpower squeeze caused by World War II, special legislation was written into a new Act of April 1943 which allowed agricultural and industrial workers from Mexico and the West Indies to enter for temporary employment. This special legislation expired December of 1947 and thereafter the regulations governing the temporary admission of foreign labor were the provisos of the old Act of 1917 until this Act was repealed by the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 which was much more detailed and comprehensive.

In the meantime, by agreement with the Mexican government, our Department of Labor and our I&NS had set up recruiting stations in Mexico to supply our farmers and growers with emergency field labor, and this action culminated in the signing of Public Law-78 (Bracero Act) in July of 1951. This Bracero Program which controlled wages, working conditions and transportation for the Mexican nationals who came over here to work was to endure fourteen years. However, after reaching a midway maximum of well over 400,000 alien workers crossing from Mexico, the last years of the program were marked by a continuous decrease in the number of entries (see Table I on following page). It was then that the bracero agreement terminated at the end of 1964, but in spite of that, Mexicans continued to be admitted for temporary field work empowered by sections 101 and 214 of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 and it was not until 1968 that crossings by non-immigrants stopped entirely.

Table I

Foreign Workers Admitted for Temporary Employment in U.S. Agriculture

By Year and Nationality

Year	Total	Mexican	B.W.I's.	Canadians	Oriental
1945	72,900	49,454	19,391	4,055	
1948	44,916	35,345	3,671	5,900	
1951	203,640	192,000	9,040	2,600	
1954	320,737	309,033	4,704	7,000	
1957	452,205	436,049	8,171	7,300	685
1960	334,729	315,846	9,810	8,200	863
1963	209,218	186,865	12,930	8,500	923
1964	200,022	177,736	14,361	7,900	25
1965	35,871	20,284	10,917	4,670	0
1966	23,524	8,647	11,194	3,683	0
1967	23,603	6,125	13,578	3,900	0
1968	13,323	0	10,723	2,600	0

Farm Labor Development, U.S. Department of Labor

Although the effect of Mexican farm workers on Texas and her migrants appears to be static, we should mention in passing that the temporary entry of alien field workers in other areas of the U.S. increased somewhat last year. Of particular interest is that 2,000 workers from the British West Indies came to Florida for the Valencia orange harvest in May and June, where none had come in the spring of 1968. Likewise, the number of Canadian workers entering the northeastern states of Maine, Vermont and New York increased some due to a large potato crop and a very good apple season. Again this year the Canadians made up 20% of the total alien work force but they accounted for less than 4% of the total work. This is due to the short harvest season afforded the Canadians as compared to the B.W.I.s who have a long sugar cane season in Florida (and oranges this year), plus the option of migrating up the East Coast to work vegetables once cane cutting is over.

B. IMMIGRATION:

Immigration is the device used by an alien to gain entrance to another country and this introduction may be either temporary or permanent. As the statutes and regulations governing immigration have a direct bearing on our Texas farm workers, it behooves us to examine this topic in some detail. It was not until 1921, when numerical limitations were imposed on immigration, that the aliens in our two contiguous countries and the rest of Latin America were treated separately from the rest of the world. This temporary legislation of 1921 was succeeded by the Act of 1924 which established a permanent system of quota allocation and control. Although natives of all Western Hemisphere countries were exempt from quota limitations under this Act they were, however, required to obtain an immigration visa to enter the United States whether for the purpose of citizenship or for employment. Section 101 of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 was written to establish three separate

categories for alien workers and trainees and to govern their temporary admission to perform services or receive training. The first category, known as H-1, is for aliens of distinguished merit and ability coming to the United States to perform exceptional services on a temporary basis. The second category, H-2, is concerned with aliens coming to perform other temporary services or labor *if* unemployed persons capable of performing such work cannot be found locally. The H-3 category covers the procedures for aliens who have been offered training in industry, commerce, government or any other technical or professional field. It is with the second group that we are interested as here are lumped together all workers who are incapable of "exceptional services" and therefore includes the unskilled and the farm worker. A petition for temporary entry as an H-2 must be accompanied by a "certification" from the Department of Labor stating (a) that qualified persons are not available for the work, and (b) that employment of the alien will not adversely affect the wages and working conditions of U.S. citizens similarly employed.

How well the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 was working is debatable; however, it was amended in October of 1965 restating the responsibilities of the Secretary of Labor (with essentially no change except in wording) concerning the issuance of immigrant, or permanent, visas and also setting a numerical quota of 120,000 yearly for the Western Hemisphere which was to become effective at the start of FY-1968. As we see from Table II, the number of permanent visas issued to Western Hemisphere natives has been on a steady increase during the decade of 1957-66 and this very fact was in part responsible for the 1965 amendment to the Act.

Table II

Immigrants Admitted from the Western Hemisphere, 1957-66

Year Ending December 31	Total	Canada	Mexico	Central America	Caribbean	South America
1966	121,877	20,240	42,183	7,758	35,666	16,030
1965	174,237	38,003	42,086	12,519	48,414	33,215
1964	148,041	38,173	33,920	12,164	32,470	31,314
1963	146,124	37,577	42,808	10,503	27,602	27,634
1962	150,047	33,191	59,448	9,653	27,787	19,968
1961	129,836	30,597	49,460	7,449	25,923	16,407
1960	108,719	32,588	35,421	6,829	19,582	14,299
1959	85,099	27,647	26,710	6,091	13,128	11,523
1958	78,673	23,361	24,531	5,688	15,333	9,760
1957	102,253	34,762	32,383	6,976	17,544	10,588

If we average out the data from this ten year span we find that Mexico and Canada, as would be expected, are the two principal sources of immigrants (see Table III). However, if we examine the individual averages for only 1965 and 1966, we find that the Caribbean area has displaced Canada due to the recent upsurge in B.W.I. entries. This, as we will see later, is caused by the increased demand for live-in domestic servants.

Table III

Averages Broken Out of Table II

Area	Decade	1965	1966
Mexico	39,000	42,100	42,200
Canada	32,000	38,000	20,200
Caribbean	26,300	48,400	35,700
South America	19,100	33,200	16,000
Central America	8,600	12,500	7,800
Totals	125,000	174,200	121,900

As the figures in the last column show, 80% of our Western Hemisphere immigrants came from North America and the Caribbean Area. This fact should kindle an interest to know what kind of people we are certifying and what they are coming to the United States to do. Table IV, based on data from FY-1967, shows very dramatically that over half of all the North American certifications for permanent employment are now from the British West Indies and the Caribbean area.

Table IV

Alien Immigrant Certifications for Permanent Employment, FY-1967
(Western Hemisphere)

		North America Breakdown:		
North America	29,449 = 85%	B.W.I.s	=	63%
South America	4,991 = 15%	Canada	=	22%
Hemisphere Total	34,440	Mexico	=	11%
		Others	=	4%

Employment Field:	B.W.I.s	Canada	Mexico
Professional-Technical-Managerial	11%	45%	7%
Live-in Domestic Servant	78%	8%	70%
Machine and Bench Work	8%	31%	17%
All Other Jobs	3%	16%	6%

At a glance the fact stands out that Canada exports principally high calibre and skilled workers whereas Mexico and the Caribbean area supply an overwhelming percentage of unskilled people to jobs where apparently a language barrier and a low educational level are not important factors. The new wording in the amended Act of 1965 contains "willing and able" in the first prerequisite for certification; it would appear that there are not many citizens "willing" to take menial jobs or be household servants, hence the topheavy averages of unskilled B.W.I.s and Mexicans being certified to come and take jobs in these low income categories.

Before we leave this subject of immigration, it would be well to put Texas in true perspective concerning how many new permanent immigrants she receives. Our latest avail-

able data is for 1967 and it shows slightly less than 2,000 new immigrants (all entering skilled, semi-professional and professional fields), which is a bare 1.8% of the national total. In other words the ranks of the unskilled farm workers from Mexico who for years have displaced our own workers are no longer on the increase. This is because new petitioners are unable to obtain certification since they cannot pass the no-local-worker-available hurdle. With this in mind we will now discuss the situation surrounding and pursuant to the existing legal entrants.

C. COMMUTERS:

The aliens referred to as "green carders" have been lawfully accorded the privilege of residing and working permanently in the United States. These individuals have gone through the steps of qualifying, petitioning and being certified before receiving their "alien registration receipt card," Form I-151, commonly called a "green card." Under present procedures this Form I-151 has replaced the former border crossing identification card which was devised by the I&NS authorities to be used by aliens who cross the border frequently and thus obviate the need for a visa every time they returned. The green card holder, therefore, is a permanent immigrant from any land who shares the same privileges as a U.S. citizen (except the right to vote) and can enter and leave the country at his pleasure as long as no absence is of more than a year's duration. Strict compliance with the yearly registration rule is a must and the count of last January 1st revealed a total of slightly over 685,000 green card holders dispersed throughout the length and breadth of the land who are involved in every imaginable job and business.

A certain group of these green card holders (less than 10%) prefer to reside in Canada and Mexico and cross the boundary daily to work; they are known as "commuters." As there is no standard green carder there is, likewise, no average commuter. Some work at the end of the bridge, others travel fifty miles to work grapes in the Coachella Valley in Southern California; some do menial tasks while others are foremen or superintendents in Detroit or maybe own a brokerage or other business. Clerk, domestic, cook, carpenter or taxi driver; they are working at everything, but the one endeavor that involves more commuters than any other is unskilled farm work. This competition for farm jobs has a direct impact on our border area field workers and on our migrants when they return to home base and seek jobs in agriculture.

Commuting across our borders has been an accepted practice since the boundaries were established. Commuter problems were few and even the visa requirement under the 1924 Act posed no great obstacle for the employers or the alien workers. The commuter arrangement seemed to be in harmony with our efforts to maintain friendly relations with our northern and southern neighbors; it was useful in times of labor shortage; there seemed to be no objection from the private sector and congressional studies revealed no indications of dissatisfaction on the part of the government. However, during the last twenty years, irreversible conditions and circumstances on the Mexican border have been developing which at this writing have placed the commuter program under sharp scrutiny. Strong objection to the basic idea of commuting has been voiced by the residents of U.S. towns on the Mexican border, particularly in Texas. Organized labor is intensifying its opposition and the Department of Labor is carrying on an in-depth study of the matter. Legislative bills have been

presented and subcommittee hearings have been held so the subject is now out in the open and is fast becoming an issue. What has brought about this sudden awareness of a program that for forty years caused no comment or concern?

For decades the dream of better jobs and higher wages in the United States has beckoned the unemployed and unskilled Mexican northward. Some of them crossed over permanently while others found jobs and became commuters, and still others found work in the Mexican border towns. It was not long until these emigrant streams to California, El Paso, and the Lower Valley of Texas became flooding rivers. Then came the bonanza of job opportunities during World War II that brought more Mexicans north and soon after that came the Bracero Act. It was precisely during this bracero program that the sharp rise in commuters occurred. In most cases the U.S. employer assisted his best alien workers to obtain immigrant visas while in other cases the bracero himself foresaw the end of PL-78 so legalized his status to permit him continued entry for farm jobs regardless of the bracero program. During this period few indeed were the Mexicans who went north and later returned to their former homes in the interior.

Thus we have a "snowballing" situation when job seekers continue to arrive and families join those who have found jobs thus creating unbelievable population pressure on the Mexican border cities that are ill-prepared for this mass influx of people. In the last two decades the population of the principal cities has in many cases tripled while that of our border cities and counties, with the exception of El Paso, remains essentially static. This crush of population brings with it high unemployment (reaching 25-35%) and keen competition for jobs. This in turn exerts a depressing effect on wages that is felt on both sides of the border but more acutely by the U.S. worker. The wide disparity in cost of living between the two sides permits the alien to come over here and work for less than his U.S. counterpart—be it in agriculture or something else—and still be better off economically. So with increased frequency the question is asked: "First the alien pushes wages down and then he comes over and takes the jobs. Should this be allowed to continue?"

This is a difficult question to answer since we do not really know who or what to blame and since we are so poorly informed on the socio-economic implications of the situation. However, of one thing we are certain, it does not make any difference if the worker is a commuting alien or a citizen living in Mexico, whether he is an alien living in the U.S., whether he enters and works illegally; the impact is the same—the entire wage structure is depressed and job dislocation takes place. In our desire to analyze this problem and develop a viable solution, we are hampered by a lack of statistics and acceptable norms and definitions. The general public would define a commuter as anyone living in Mexico and working in the U.S., whereas in the legal sense only the aliens are considered commuters. Hence, legally, the bona fide U.S. citizen (almost all of Mexican extraction) living in Mexico and working in the U.S. are not considered commuters. Then, should we draw our norms from the way the commuter lives or from the way his American counterpart attempts to live? Accurate statistical data are virtually impossible to obtain. How much faith can we place in a simple, "Are you or are you not?", question or a total nose count on a particular day or week? Most alien commuters have family or friends living on this side and occasionally stay over here so they are temporarily no longer commuters. In like manner, the farm work commuter ceases to commute when he takes his family north on migration, which he has a legal right to do. Also season local commuters (temporary residents of the

border area) discontinue commuting when they return to their home areas to await another season. Would not the vagaries of weather, supply and demand, local economy, etc., also tend to affect the total commuter picture? When would an attempted count be most accurate?

Aware of these and many other variables the I&NS makes no attempt to maintain current statistics on the number of aliens classified as commuters. The Service does, however, take a count occasionally, not so much for a total figure but more for the purpose of percentage comparisons between areas and to check for shifts in job categories. The most recent "sample" counts were made in 1966 and 1967 and from these we learn, for instance, that:

a) 80% of all commuters are from Mexico.
b) They are divided; 48% to Texas, 39% to California and 13% to Arizona.
c) 42% of Mexican commuters are in farm work.
d) U.S. citizens make up 31% of the total commuter count on the Mexican border; from a low of 14% at Nogales to a high of 50% at Brownsville.
e) The percentage of farm jobs to total jobs varies from a high of 93% at Yuma and 80% at Calexico to a low of 12% at El Paso and Laredo.
f) 60% of all commuters to Texas cross at El Paso.
g) In round numbers the alien commuters on the Mexican border amount to 44,000 and the citizen count is 18,000. The Texas portion being 19,000 and 11,000 respectively, which shows a higher citizen percentage.

The following Table V made up from data of the sample counts indicates the job mix and how it varies within the extremes of our Texas border and as compared to the complete Mexican border.

Table V

Commuter Workers by Occupation, U.S.-Mexico Border

	Agri.	Sales & Service	Industry	Bldg. Trade
Complete Border	42%	33%	17%	8%
El Paso-Brownsville	18%	47%	22%	13%
Del Rio-Brownsville	24%	49%	16%	11%
Roma-Brownsville	26%	35%	27%	12%

Another interesting fact that came from analysis of the I&NS survey data is that of the alien commuters on the Texas-Mexico border who work in agriculture, 48% of them had been doing migratory farm work in different areas of the United States during the previous summer harvest and had then returned to their homes in Mexico to take up the commuting routine again. Hence, we see that our Texas resident migrants not only have to face job competition from alien commuters at home base, but also from these same green card holders while "on stream" at harvest time. This competition for migratory work is true not only in out of state areas, but also within the State of Texas which then directly affects our intrastate farm workers.

In an attempt to summarize the commuter situation at the Mexican border, we would like to remind the reader that the large labor pool immediately across the line is a "legal" one although commuting does not fit into any precise category of the immigration statutes. We would also like to state that although the bracero program was a positive one for the economy of both nations and the individuals involved, we are nevertheless now confronting some of the latent negative effects of the program which our legislators and decision-makers must try to correct. Some of the "pro" and "con" arguments they will be giving consideration to are these.

In favor of **COMMUTERS:**

1) If all commuters were actually forced to take up residence here or lose their visas, our border cities would be unable to absorb this flood because of lack of housing and municipal services. Here we are considering 44,000 aliens plus 18,000 citizens *and* their respective families which could easily amount to 250,000 persons.

2) Various surveys have shown that the bulk of the income earned over here by the commuter is being spent over here. Retail sales is the border's biggest "industry" and Mexico could destroy our border economy by applying stricter customs regulations.

3) The need for "certification" by the Department of Labor eliminates further green cards being granted to unskilled workers and farm hands.

4) If entry of legal aliens (commuters) is cut back or prohibited, it would only serve to increase the number of illegal aliens (wetbacks) and add to the burden of the Immigration Service and the Border Patrol.

5) All commuters have relatives over here and by quoting a Texas address they become instant non-commuters; they could even stay over here if the need arises.

6) It has been diplomatically hinted by some Mexican authorities that the alien commuter has "acquired rights" based on time and precedent and any disruption of the status quo would be viewed with disfavor.

7) Mexico is our fourth best worldwide customer and with whom we enjoy a favorable balance of trade but other countries keep bidding for a larger share of the Mexican market. Any change in Mexico's buying habits could have national repercussions for us.

8) The commuter idea is economically sound. Since most Mexican border areas have depressed economies, earnings taken from here stimulate their economy and also reflect favorably on our economy.

9) We recognize that Valley farm wages are roughly 30% below the rest of the state, but are we sure that restricting green carders would actually generate jobs and raise wages?

Opposed to **COMMUTERS:**

1) Our cities on the Mexican border have the highest unemployment and the lowest median earnings in the entire nation and by restricting commuters and later eliminating them altogether more job opportunities will be forthcoming.

2) Commuters, for whom almost any wage is a good wage, perpetuate the depressed border economy and our residents who are in job competition with them are economically discriminated against.

3) The commuter has no intention of becoming a citizen (the supposed end purpose of immigration) as he cannot cover the residence requirements, hence his green card is essentially a sort of "alien working permit."

4) The commuter makes no contribution toward the many services and guarantees

that he encounters over here. He shares in the advantages but not in the cost.

5) The farm worker commuter can legally compete for work with our migrants while on the stream and continue to do so back at home base during winter harvest.

6) This source of "strike breakers and scab labor" must be eliminated to pave the way for rightful and lawful collective bargaining.

7) Danger of retaliation from the Mexican government is overstressed, after all our cooperation with the Border Industrialization Program has created 15,000 jobs in border cities of Mexico, so why shouldn't we have some of our jobs over here returned?

There are other points to be made for either side of this polemic and in the months to come much debate will be heard on the subject.

D. ILLEGAL ENTRANTS:

This Commission can state without fear of contradiction that one of our most serious problems concerning the border common wit Mexico is the illegal entry of Mexican nationals. Each year many aliens violate the immigration laws by entering the country by surreptitious or fraudulent means. Others, having been accorded temporary entry, disobey or ignore the conditions of their admission and remain here. All of these persons must be located, apprehended and expelled if we are to protect our citizen job seekers and to maintain domestic order and respect for our laws. Now that it is more difficult under present regulations to immigrate legally, the number of illegal entries has literally skyrocketed. This is shown by these recent figures on the number of wetback (illegal) apprehensions by the Border Patrol and the I&NS officers.

1964 — 42,000
1967 — 110,000
1968 — 151,700
1969 — 283,000

In 1968, the 151,700 Mexicans deported made up 72% of all deportable aliens that were located in the nation. In 1969 the corresponding figure is just short of 85%. It is further interesting to note that of the total number of illegal Mexicans, 80% were apprehended in California. In some places the deportation machinery is so overloaded that offenders must be kept in detention for several weeks before their cases can be disposed of.

For two decades there has been a continuous movement from the interior of Mexico northward to the border area in search of personal betterment, as we have discussed. During this period many seekers obtained legal documentation for admission, many took part in temporary employment programs such as becoming braceros, while still others failed to get across at all. The braceros and contract workers who entered the U.S. encountered many things in this country that were unobtainable in their own country and most of them determined to return; for many, however, the only means was illegal. This resulted in an inexorable buildup at the border of itenerant persons thwarted in their desire to cross over and reluctant to return to their homes in the interior; thus, population and unemployment took steep parallel paths upward. The means used to circumvent existing restrictions are many and varied. They vary from wading the river or walking across the line, to setting up "sham" marriages to avoid the need for certification and alien mothers having a baby on this

side for reasons of citizenship, to the use of falsified documents and professional smuggling, etc.

The lucrative business of smuggling workers on a flat fee per person basis has increased alarmingly and since there is an abundance of clients and the profits are high it makes the risk relative. Some deals are simply an illicit trip "from here to there and you're on your own" while others offer a package including limited housing at destination and a job guarantee. Some deals end in failure because of apprehension and some end in tragedy as occurred in San Antonio in September of 1968, when four of 22 aliens locked in a van-type truck suffocated. In the last five years the number of smugglers caught has increased by 2.5 times, and the number of smuggled aliens returned to Mexico increased by six times. This is indicative of a new trend, that of being transported far into the interior of the country (St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland) to be swallowed up in some Latin barrio and finding work in industry. It used to be that almost all illegal Mexican entrants were caught near the border working in agriculture but now only 30% of those caught were in farm work. It used to be that almost all were apprehended in the Southwest Region where they had originally crossed; the record now shows: 81% in 1966, 68% in 1967, 58% in 1968 and 50% in 1969. This scattering is real, not imaginary. False citizenship claims using fake birth certificates and forged signatures have increased for the seventh year in a row. Of the 2,052 cases last year, 2,025 involved Mexicans.

Border violations have been with us since history began; when a person wanted to enter another country and could not do so legally, his only recourse was to do so illegally. But nowhere in the world has the illicit traffic reached the proportions it has across our border with Mexico, as nowhere in the world is the economic difference so marked between neighboring nations, and economy is, after all, what motivates the Mexican to cross illegally. This matter of border jumping is a deadly serious issue and our government and people must take a realistic look at the border, then legislate and act accordingly. The government of the Republic of Mexico shares this concern.

Not only does the number of illegal entries from Mexico increase each year, but also the number of "repeaters" increases. Deported aliens will continue their attempts at illegal entry as often as opportunity presents, or they can create the opportunity, and who knows, maybe one of the attempts may prove successful. They have nothing to lose, no punitive action can be taken against them, so the worst they suffer is being deported and the time lost in preparing for another try. At the present time, the difficulty in formulating remedial action was summed up recently by a Service official when he explained that anyone can get a Social Security card without question and that employers cannot be prosecuted unless they "help, encourage or transport illegally entering aliens." Nor can the employer be charged with harboring even if he knowingly and wittingly hires illegal labor.

The most direct way, in this writer's opinion, to stem this illegal influx is to dry up the job opportunities and thus remove the number one motive for entry. To accomplish this we must have legislation with teeth in it making employers subject to criminal prosecution for hiring or providing employment for any alien who does not have legal and proper entry documentation. Only in this manner can we prevent the unscrupulous exploitation of foreigners by employers and at the same time make the jobs they now occupy available to our own citizen and legal resident aliens.

CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS

The underlying intent of this annual report is to be as informative as possible on as many matters as possible that may pertain to our Texas migrant farm worker and his family. In pursuit of this intent we could comment on a long list of subjects, however, we prefer to restrict ourselves to a half dozen topics of prime importance and present what we know of recent developments under these separate headings. In preceding sections of this report, we have generalized somewhat whereas we now want to be more specific in these limited aspects of the migrant's situation and his confrontation to it. In ethnic makeup our Texas migrants are over 95% Mexican-Americans who are a part of the 1.6 million Spanish surname population within the state. More than half of this population lives in a group of eighteen counties in South Texas located below a line extending from Eagle Pass on the Rio Grande to Corpus Christi on the Gulf, plus the San Antonio area in Bexar County. Except for two or three counties in the Lower Rio Grande Valley these counties are sparsely populated; however, in the entire area the ethnic mix is predominantly Mexican-American (in some cases as high as 90%) which fact is of utmost importance when we seek solutions to the migrant's problems.

For many decades the Texas migrant has performed a vital role in the economic growth of this and many other agricultural states but seldom has the real extent of his contribution been considered. However, the important thing is that during all of this time he did not grow and develop at the same pace as did industry, commerce or technology. His responsibility had always been to prepare the soil, plant the seed, then hoe and harvest in essentially the same fashion as his father and grandfather before him. This required no change in working habits or improvement in efficiency as has been true of all other endeavors in recent years. After all, is innovation possible in weed chopping, potato grubbing or picking tomatoes? Can we call field work a progressive science? Was there a stimulus for "onward and upward" either in job function or life style? Here is a classic example of standing still while the rest of the world goes by; and since change is the catalyst for progress, we cannot really say that our farm workers have been a significant part of our progress. It is apparent that these people always tried to make do with what they had and that there was little motivation for self-improvement as they felt their lot had been so ordained and so would it be.

Somewhat over a quarter of a century ago a gradual mutation began in a number of social and economic factors (not least in importance being persistent labor reform) which helped to bring about the beginnings of agricultural mechanization as well as the recognition that our field workers had not kept up with the ever more numerous middle class. However, in spite of the mechanical planting and harvesting of many crops and the use of herbicides for weed control, there will always be a need for hand labor in agriculture and the field workers will continue to travel to where the crops are; hence, there will always be migrants. There are those who will disagree with that statement but being true or false does not mitigate the fact that we have a substantially large segment of our citizenry that for one reason or another has not been able to, and cannot even today, march forward with us.

Current Developments

Field work is unskilled as well as uncertain, advancement to a better job is virtually impossible, and since we are dealing with menial labor, the pay is the lowest on the scale. These and other factors combine to create an almost untenable situation for the migrants so means must be provided for these people to participate more fully in our national present and our national future. This brings us to stating one of our fundamental errors; being so preoccupied with national affluency and progress that we ignored (or looked the other way) the poverty level people and expected them to take care of themselves and remain in their place. The awakening has been a rude one. Why did not those of years back who planned and projected our future warn of the grave problem we are now confronting and spell out at that time the steps to be taken to rehabilitate these handicapped people? Their handicap is lack. Their being poor and disadvantaged results from being handicapped by a lack of education, lack of hygeine and health experience, lack of adequate housing, lack of language proficiency and, until recently, a lack of consideration. This must be rectified. Currently we are trying to do so but it is proving very difficult as it is no longer just a matter of keeping pace but rather a matter of catching up after generations of falling behind. This is particularly true of our Lower Valley agricultural Mexican-Americans.

The Mexican-American of the Southwest is quite different from those who have chosen to live elsewhere in the United States. Although they, as an ethnic group, all share a common background and a common language, the Texas border area Mexican-Americans are more provincial, more bound to the land and are heavily burdened with a fatalistic "que sera, sera" attitude which is often mistaken for a general feeling of apathy. Further, the proximity of Mexico, whose customs and heritage are those of our border citizens, continues to be an influential factor deterring these people from any marked degree of assimilation into our predominantly Anglo society. For example, in the rural areas and the unincorporated "colonies" of the Rio Grande Valley, it isn't uncommon to find families living in the same manner as they did when the area was still a part of Mexico. This is not written to create a polemic, but rather to suggest that our present situation is the result of mutual indifference; neglect and apparent indifference on society's part, disinterest and indifference on the part of the border Mexican-Americans. This should be contrasted with the Mexican-Americans who have gone into the interior of the country and been subjected to an anglicizing environment and are now for the most part bilingual and bicultural. With this distinction established, the reader can easily appreciate why our Texas approach in seeking to correct the present situation cannot be a copy of other programming, our techniques for solutions must evolve from knowledge of our problems as they really are. Herewith are the areas of major importance and what is currently developing.

A. EDUCATION:

Teaching, which has been going on since our history began, is the function of passing knowledge and experience from one person to another. The process of learning from a teacher is a short cut, a time saver, by which the student or learner can equate with the knowledge source through communication and demonstration and not have to empirically develop the knowledge himself. The result of this process is education which in our time is synonymous with preparation, and those with little or no preparation are generally left behind. Being left behind is exactly what has happened to a high percentage of our Mexican-Americans and particularly our migrant farm workers. The reasons are numerous why this group of people is not educated or is undereducated and most of the reasons appear to be

valid excuses, but the fact remains that education is the first and most essential step toward self-improvement and if we are to accomplish this, we can no longer tolerate excuses.

Until the 1970 Census is complete and we have exact figures, it can be estimated that Texas has approximately 1.6 million Mexican-Americans, which is equivalent to 15% of the state's total population. The rate of demographic increase of this group is 1.5 times faster than that of the Anglo and the non-white and results from a very high birth rate, a decreasing death rate and the continued legal and illegal immigration from Mexico. The high birth rate is easily the principal factor as it is in the youth bracket that we find the percentage of Mexican-Americans outstripping the Anglo and the non-white when related to their respective total numbers, actually, they now represent 20% of the school population in the lower grades. This fact is further borne out by a comparison of the median age of these three groups: Mexican-American = 18 years, non-white = 24 years, and Anglo = 27 years. In program planning we must consider that Texas Mexican-Americans fall into three groups: (1) Natives of native born parents, (2) Native born of foreign or mixed parents, and (3) Foreign born. The 1950 Census showed less than half of them in group (1) and almost 20% in group (3), while at the present time two-thirds are in (1) and less than 10% in (3), which indicates that the group with the most citizenship history is not only the most prominent group, but continues to grow in percentage. Understandably, the foreign born group percentage is much higher in the immediate border regions where our migrant population is also highest. In attempting to alleviate this problem of chronic undereducation among the Mexican-Americans, we must realize that we are not dealing with a static situation and our programs must be geared for a continued increase in the demographic balance as there is nothing at present to indicate a change in trend.

As has been mentioned, only in recent years, since the early fifties, has the government and the public become cognizant of the true extent of the educational neglect suffered by our migrants. No longer is it valid to shrug off the problem by saying that it is impossible to provide this group with educational opportunities as they are always on the move and away from home. It is imperative that they be reached by one means or another. In 1962 the State Board of Education authorized a study of education offered to migrants and at about the same time the Federal Office of Education was researching the same subject, The outcome of these investigations was that the Texas Education Agency instituted the Texas Program for the Education of Migrant Children (TPEMC) and the national Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965. This Act set up the machinery for federal participation and assistance in state level educational programs. Of particular interest to us are Title I dealing with "Education of the Disadvantaged," which includes migrant children, and Title VII dealing with "Bilingual Education" since these two headings authorize the use of federal funds to promote our state efforts in these two important areas of concern.

Migrant Child Education:

The Texas Education Agency was quick to realize that regular school programs failed to meet the special needs of the migrant child and that it was necessary to design supplementary and special programs for them. The Texas Child Migrant Program (which replaced the original TPEMC) takes into consideration the child's mobility or lack of availability while migrating, deficiency in English, high age-to-grade ratio and the need for ancillary

services. The first experimental programs of the T.E.A. were launched in 1963 in five school districts of the Lower Rio Grande Valley and included approximately 3,000 students. The child migrant program has continued to grow in depth and in scope and for the 1969/70 school year seventy-one school districts are involved in one or more programs and the number of students participating has reached almost forty thousand.

Due to the short time programs for migrant children have been operational, it has been impossible to designate any one procedure or technique as being best, so innovation continues to be the watchword at T.E.A. and all districts are encouraged to implement new ideas, activities and changes which might show promise of improving the education of our migrant children and then program worth is indicated by using continual evaluation studies.

Although program variations are many, depending on local needs and on the local school board's recommendations, the current programs evolve from three basic concepts:

1) Preschool Program
2) Six-Month Program
3) Enrichment Program

1) The Preschool concept is to prepare five-year old migrant children for entering the first grade in regular classes. It is not to be envisioned as a downward extension of the first grade, but rather a unique plan to develop concepts and learning experience with no focus whatsoever on the "three R's"—instead an overriding emphasis on an adequate command of oral English is stressed. Bilingual teachers are essential to the success of this program as without exception the first language of these children is Spanish. Whether a six-month or nine-month program is chosen depends on the enrollment potential in the area which in turn depends on the travel plans of the parents. However, as in all migrant child programs, supplementary ancillary services are vital to success and our preschool design includes such related components as physical exams and services, hot lunches, transportation, home-school rapport and in some cases a clothing bank is tied into the program. Originally, the federal Office of Education authorized our T.E.A. to implement 40 preschool units in the spring of 1968, the following year the number was increased to 178 units, and now in 1969/70 there are 207 units provided with capabilities to serve over 4,000 children. McAllen, Texas, has set up as an experimental adjunct to this basic program a modified design beamed at three- and four-year-olds to determine the age when learning experience becomes viable, as there are many educators who insist that a child's first educational experience should start no later than at age four—particularly children with dual-language and dual-cultural background.

2) The Six-Month program is just that; compressing into six months a regular nine-month curriculum for migrants whose time at home base is limited. At this time, there are twenty school districts offering this program. The calendar is derived from local needs, but in general these programs never start before October 15 and never continue beyond May 15, during which time the student must complete 1,050 hours in 131 days of classroom instruction; this requires the student to attend eight hours of classes five days a week and also have his holidays restricted. Enrollment records show that the migrant child is more apt to enter late in home base classes than he is to withdraw early before completing the term. This fact can be appreciated by a look at the peaks in the migratory wave at Hope, Arkansas, which we have shown in section 4.

3) The Enrichment Program is a companion component with the Six-Month program and each year more schools are offering it mainly because of its flexibility and because it requires somewhat less specialized personnel. Each school district must review its own situation to determine its needs and then evolve a program using one, or a combination, of the following plans:

a) Extended Day. Migrant children are integrated into regular classes and participate in school activities with non-migrants, then at the end of the day one extra hour of instruction is provided. The classes should be made up of no more than fifteen students and the work should be devoted primarily to developing oral language competence.

b) Extra Service. This is a parallel to the extended day program in that the classes are integrated, but it differs in that during the day the migrant children identified as needing special language help are drawn into separate classrooms for one or two periods of special instruction. Here again the student/teacher ratio should not exceed fifteen-to-one and constant coordination between this supplementary teacher and the regular classroom teacher is essential.

c) Separate Migrant Classrooms. This plan has stirred up some criticism insisting that it is de-facto segregation since it keeps the migrants separated from the other children. Also, the organizational structure is non-graded and that too has caused controversy; however, in many cases the rigidity of the graded structure has made it difficult for migrant children to achieve success in school. We are dealing with the same areas of concern such as language deficiency, low comprehension level, irregular attendance pattern, high age-to-grade ratio, etc., but here somewhat more accentuated by being common to all. Some favorable factors tending to promote this plan are: being at ease with one's peers, no stigma for non-promotion, progress based on ability, easier vertical movement of brighter children and permitting emphasis where need is greatest. It must be said that acceptance of this plan has been slow and in the final analysis it may be dropped, or at least modified, principally because of the high demand on the teachers trying to adjust to each individual child, his needs and his evaluation.

In the constant effort to upgrade the migrant child's education and prepare him for adulthood, groups like the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory in Austin and the Regional Education Service Centers are prominent in research and program development. Of our twenty Centers in the state, five of them are located in areas of high migrant concentration and can thus be of great assistance to the T.E.A. in staff and materials development. In an attempt to realize more continuity and constancy (keep teaching them or they'll forget what they've learned) the T.E.A. in 1966 entered into an Interstate Cooperative Project with twelve destination states who in turn were hosts to twenty-four of our teachers from Texas migrant project schools. These bilingual and experienced teachers worked with the host state's Department of Instruction to help coordinate continued schooling for our children in the wo[illegible]s. They also conferred with the sponsors of migrant programs and took part in [illegible]uction and evaluation; they interviewed both employers and migrants and gave freely of their time and know-how. In 1967 six additional consumer states joined the project and all are still being visited by our teachers during the summer months. This last migrant season a mobile team made up of director, instructors and staff along with equipment and materials attempted to follow a group of migrant families and provide regular classes; however, the results of this effort are conjectural. This year in conjunction with away-from-home education, HEW is introducing a new expediency under the name of Uniform Migrant Student Transfer Record whose purpose is to make the

migrant student's permanent record available wherever he may be enrolling to assure his being placed in the proper class and to assure academic credit for his away-from-home classes. For the initial trial period seven states have been tied into this data processing system, and each has a central depository where the master records are kept for instant reference.

Adult Migrant Education:

Although adult educational programs have a different approach than those tailored for children, the same basic goal is to better prepare the migrant for becoming an active participant in today's society through the medium of education. It has been impossible to gather reliable statistics on the educational level of the Texas migrant farm worker, but if we had them, one can be assured they would be shocking. The most acceptable estimate is that one-third of adult migrants have had no formal education at all, the other two-thirds average about a fourth grade level with a meager five percent of these advancing beyond the elementary school level. Therefore, with the possible exception of this five percent, all migrant adults can be classified as undereducated and "functionally illiterate."

Funds and effort are being expended on an increasingly large scale to confront "the undereducated backlog" of adults, but because of the magnitude of the problem and the number of people involved, it would appear at first glance that little progress is being made. Truly though, much is being accomplished. The adult migrant presents the same problems as the child—limited time to expose himself to instruction and his deficiency in English—but with the further burden of providing for his family while he studies. Hence, almost all adult programs include a financial aid component to take into account family upkeep by means of a weekly stipend.

Nationwide we are aware that job opportunities in unskilled farm work are diminishing, and yet the unskilled labor force isn't. As we brought out in "Migrant Programs", skills must be taught so the migrant has something to offer—competence for a job. However, vocational skills cannot be conveyed if basic education is lacking and even more difficult if there is a language barrier with which to contend. Therefore, the basic premise on which all the educational programs are developed is to create employable skills proficiency using a completely bilingual approach.

Adult Migrant Education (AME) is a program for basic education sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity and administered by the T.E.A. The two principal objectives of the program are: (1) To prepare the trainee to meet entry-level requirements in MDTA programs, and (2) To prepare the trainee for the GED (General Education Development) examination for high school equivalency. During its four years of operation, it has enrolled approximately 15,000 migrants with the ratio of men to women running about 4 to 1; however, percentagewise more women actually finish the course than men. Classes are offered on a basis of thirty hours per week for twenty-four weeks to try and bring the student to a level of competence which will allow him to advance to skill training. The cost per trainee varied widely from a low of $350 to a high of $950 with the average working out near $750. Since the inception of this basic education effort it has been plagued with a high dropout rate because it had no vocational component and because of delayed funding the late starting programs ran into migrating time and the enrollees had to leave. The latter

problem has been pretty well solved and the former one is partially solved by being tied in with other technical-vocational programs.

Texas State Technical Institute (T.S.T.I.) was this year established by legislative action by taking James Connally Technical Institute away from the Texas A&M system and making it a separate entity. The idea of making use of the James Connally air force installations in Waco for the purpose of establishing a vocational training center was originally fostered by Texas A&M. Being a new approach it got started under a cloud of often-expressed skepticism, but its success in training individuals and creating a skilled labor pool to attract industry was soon apparent and a branch was formed at Harlingen in the Lower Valley. Now these two projects are known as T.S.T.I., Waco campus and T.S.T.I., Rio Grande campus, and this year in September a third project will become operative in Amarillo to be known as the Mid-Continent campus. As many as fifty courses are offered in such varied fields as: auto mechanics, Diesel mechanics, body repair, welding, agri-machinery repair, utilities installation, dental technician, nurses aide, and underwater welding. Staff and student enthusiasm and administrative know-how have made this vocational program one of our most successful, as there are few dropouts and job placements are 100%.

In addition to these programs just discussed and the federal programs in which Texas participates, a new twenty-one member Advisory Council for Technical-Vocational Education has been appointed by the State Board of Education under an amendment to the Vocational-Technical Education Act of 1963. At this writing the Council's exact course of action has not been clearly defined, but the basic thrust is to bring the state's job needs and manpower resources into balance. Next year we will know more about the direction of this effort and its bearing on migrant skill training.

Migrant Teacher Preparation:

Funds and facilities, plans and programs are our building blocks, but the keystone of actual implementation of educational projects is the teacher. The field of migrant education is relatively new and our universities are still formulating curricula to increase the proficiency of teachers in this specialized branch of public education. The important thing not covered by the curricula is an understanding of the background of the migrant people, their language and customs, and to thoroughly understand them it is almost necessary to be one of them. The ideal situation would therefore be for the Mexican-American to be trained to teach the migrants, but the unfortunate fact is that we do not have enough qualified teachers among the Mexican-Americans available for further training.

It is true that the Mexican-American group has the highest percent of school-age youth, but it is also true it has the lowest proportion of this youth enrolled in school. Then, with the highest dropout rate to contend with, is it any wonder that "undereducation" is so prevalent? There is no doubt that basic among the many reasons for our poor showing in Mexican-American education is the dearth of teachers capable of empathy and understanding of this student group. Of the 123,000 teachers in Texas, only 5,600, or approximately five percent, have Spanish surnames and even though most of them are bilingual, they have need for special training since their education has been oriented toward the traditional teaching of the English-speaking child. In theory our Texas system would need a total of 10,000 specially prepared instructors to handle the quarter of a million Spanish-

speaking children who started school with limited or no knowledge of English. Surveys show that by the senior year in high school a mere 46% of the Mexican-American youth are in school, compared to 64% of the Anglos and 57% of the non-whites. Hence, our potential teacher pool is infinitely smaller than it should be even before we reach the teacher preparatory level. The T.E.A. in an effort to correct this situation has co-sponsored summer institutes since 1965 with stress on the dual-language, dual-culture aspect of teacher training and thus make for more competent teachers with more ability to relate to their students.

In the meantime at the federal level, the Office of Education has found, by annual assessments of educational manpower needs, the teacher shortage may well be the nation's most basic education problem. These findings in part inspired the recent passage of the Education Professions Development Act (EPDA) to be administered by the Bureau of Educational Personnel Development. This Act is essentially a coordinating mechanism to tie together a dozen programs aimed at the same objective: the training and retraining of educational personnel. These programs include summer training institutes, fellowships for prospective and experienced teachers, the Teacher Corps, Career Opportunities, etc. Unlike other measures that were tightly categorized, this Act has a provision for continual reassessment of priorities as needs change or new needs arise.

The two programs of this group in which Texas is most seriously involved are the summer institutes and the Teacher Corps. In 1966 Pan American College, Edinburg, and Texas A&I University, Kingsville, under contract with the T.E.A., conducted the first summer institutes designed especially for teachers serving migrant children. The following year the same institutes were offered, but now included teachers' aides, and in 1968/69 The University of Texas joined in by holding institutes on the Austin campus oriented toward bilingual techniques. These institutes, which are of either six- or eight-week duration, are tuition free and have a weekly sustenance of $75 for teachers and $50 for teacher aides. The benefit derived from these institutes is unquestioned, but unfortunately they can handle only a limited enrollment, e.g., all of the Texas institutes plus related programs enrolled a total of only 625 migrant school personnel which included (besides teachers and aides) administrators, supervisors and some out-of-state observers and participants. The Teacher Corps is operational at Texas A&I and at Texas Christian University and provides an in-service type of training opportunity for undergraduate and graduate college students. A Teacher Corps intern must devote 60% of his time in a poverty area elementary or secondary school, 20% in his own academic studies and the remaining 20% in community activities. In this way the trainee becomes intimately involved in the student's environment, his cultural background as well as his academic achievements, this is precisely what is needed for our Mexican-American and migrant educational programs. Another endeavor with a positive impact has been the annual workshops held in McAllen in the Lower Valley and directed by the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory to consolidate theory and practice in the field of migrant education.

Bilingual Education:

We can define bilingual education as that which equips a person to function effectively in two languages. Perhaps this definition appears oversimplified; however, it tells the whole story. The Texas State Board of Education in stating its policy for bilingual education describes it as "the total educational process using two languages" and stipulates it shall be

the method of instruction wherever it is appropriate and at the discretion of the local board of trustees.

The first tentative bilingual education program in Texas was started in 1964 and was immediately confronted by a formidable array of obstacles, not the least of which was a Texas law prohibiting the use of a language other than English as a medium of instruction. The actual letter of this law was temporarily evaded by calling the first bilingual classes "experimental" and this designation continued until the Bilingual Education Law (HB-103) was passed by a unanimous vote in both the Senate and House of the 61st Legislature and signed into law by the Governor on May 7, 1969. This legislative action in Texas came close on the heels of federal amendments in 1969 to the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which created bilingual education under a new Title VII. This Title VII authorizes the use of federal funds for the development of bilingual programs designed to meet the special needs of children who have limited English-speaking ability and who come from low-income families where the dominant language is other than English. Although "other than English" is very general, it is nevertheless beamed at the Spanish-speaking Mexican-Americans who have traditionally been handicapped by having to acquire their education utilizing a second language (English) which in many cases was completely foreign to them. This is particularly true of our migrant children whose exposure to English has always been limited and who use Spanish as their only means of expression.

The federal appropriation for fiscal year 1969 under Title VII was 7.5 million and for 1970 it is 10 million. This money is being used to fund seventy-six projects in fourteen different states, including twenty-four projects in California and eighteen in Texas which are the states where the needs are greatest. Further, federal recognition of the importance of this facet of public education is demonstrated by the fact that the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare established a new post in his department called Special Assistant to the Commissioner of Education for Bilingual Education and cited that "prompt, massive upgrading of bilingual education was one of the major imperatives confronting HEW." In turn, our concern in Texas is shown by virtue of the Texas Education Agency organizing a separate bilingual education office within the agency which promoted the formation of the Commissioner's Advisory Committee on bilingual education, and also by the fact that Texas has always more than matched federal monies with state and local funds to keep enlarging our programs.

Among other obstacles to be contended with and which must be overcome are: the lack of qualified teachers, adequate texts and materials, diagnostic pre-testing, curriculum development and evaluation techniques. The matter of teacher preparation has been discussed and the other matters are under constant attack from educators and innovators using many different approaches. Within a few years proven results will no doubt reduce the number of procedural techniques and experimental materials now being tested and should permit us to standardize a bilingual instruction pattern adaptable to anywhere in the nation where minority group children of the same ethnic background can get the extra help they need to make their educational experience more viable.

B. HOUSING:

Our national housing predicament is somewhat like a glacier—it seems to have imper-

ceptably moved down on us and now that we admit its presence, there is little we can do to stop it, let alone turn it back. Construction curtailment during World War II, the rural to urban movement, the population explosion, last generation's big families now converted to many smaller families all in need of housing are among the factors that have combined to produce a critical housing shortage. Further pressure on total housing has indirectly come about by our upgrading housing standards which thus downgrades existing housing, which in turn places more housing in the category of inadequate or substandard. The apparent inability to catch up with housing demand by new starts, multiple units or renovations has given a second dimension to this admittedly critical situation—it is also chronic. In both of these aspects our migrant farm worker and his family are painfully aware of this situation at home base as well as in the work area. Lucky indeed is the family that can work a full season at one single location as contrasted to the family that has the burden of finding housing and setting up "houskeeping" a half-dozen or more times during their seasonal trek.

Work Area Housing:

It is not the purpose of this report to repeat the often used descriptions or to draw a vivid word picture of the deplorable housing cond. ons with which our farm workers must contend. It would be a redundancy, as we all have many times been exposed to articles, pictures and opinions on the subject. Likewise, we realize the farm worker housing and facilities that were adequate a quarter-century ago are woefully inadequate in the light of today's housing picture. Here again we are confronting a glacier. Although most farmers have kept pace by renovating and upgrading their own homes, there has been little voluntary improvement in worker housing by processors or growers since it is only human nature to not spend money unless forced to or unless there is a profit to be made. However, the insistence of present public sentiment and some governmental urging may bring about a change in this attitude, but only time will tell. This new public sentiment seems to have emerged in recent years from a realization that something must be done about our socio-economic imbalance and also from a long overdue awareness of basic human rights that are being ignored. Among these rights is the right to "decent" housing. Reforms and programs aimed at bettering the lot of the disadvantaged minority groups have been set in motion and, as we have shown, many of them are directly concerned with housing and many others have a housing component included.

In considering housing available to migrant farm workers at destination, we should differentiate between interstate and intrastate facilities; and under these two headings distinction should be made between on farm and processor housing, multiple housing (labor camps) and rentals. Too, we should attempt to determine the relative importance of housing compared with other factors such as good pay and fair treatment. Every family has its own feelings; there are those for whom wages are all important, those for whom a trustworthy and considerate boss leads in importance, and still others who are willing to earn less if they are afforded above average housing. From our interviews we find the larger families tend to emphasize earnings, whereas the old timers prefer a good boss, and the young adult migrants prefer good housing to higher wages, as they can generally depend on better home base employment to augment their earnings.

To eliminate the wide disparity in housing facilities and to point toward general improvement were among the reasons for passing the Department of Labor's housing regula-

tions in July of 1967 on the recommendation of the President's Committee on Migratory Labor. A calculated means for enforcement of these minimum standards was to deny non-conforming growers and employers the interstate recruiting services of state employment security agencies. Whether this was an unwarrented pressure tactic and whether it was successful or not are debatable. Last year we reported that many growers were getting "approval" and it seemed that housing would be substantially improved. Now it appears we may have been hasty in our appraisal, as much of the approval was temporary or based on waivers due to lack of sufficient inspectors, so the actual amount of genuine compliance has been minimal, and it might be said that restricting state agency recruiting services does not seem to have fomented the amount of housing improvement that was expected. Among the factors contributing to the growers' dilemma and indecision are the high cost of remodeling, short term occupancy, long term depreciation, farm income/profit squeeze and the unanswered question of whether or not improved housing is actually a strong bargaining point for securing and keeping good workers. To avoid having to make a decision, some growers provide rental allowances and let the worker find his own accommodations; others with unapproved housing do not offer it on their job orders and when the worker arrives he is offered the poor housing on a use it-if-you-want-to basis (and the migrant generally does); still others permit their workers who return every year to fix up the housing the way they want it and the owner pays the bill for the materials. Like these there are many other schemes, and most of them designed to either circumvent or to ignore Labor's housing regulations. Could it be that Labor's action was not as prudent as it was thought to be? It is our opinion that the relative improvement in work area housing is more than offset by the adverse effect to our interstate controls on the movement of interstate farm workers. The last two years our state offices have witnessed a marked drop in job orders and clearances along with a proportionate increase in both private and professional recruiting. Couple this with the fact that the "freewheeler" estimate during this period increased from about 5% to almost 20% and it means that our interstate placement program is in jeopardy. If this trend continues and everyone (grower, worker and processor) fends for himself, we are heading back to the chaotic days before job and labor were coordinated and we suffered worker glut in one area while crops rotted in another area for lack of workers.

In general, processor housing is better than onfarm housing as packers and canners are under constant scrutiny by state and federal inspectors and regulations must be complied with or fines and sanctions may be forthcoming which could damage the company image and brand name. Housing renewal and upkeep is considerably cheaper for processors than for growers as their plants have all utilities available, they can use their full-time maintenance crews during the off season for housing renewal and also the companies get a better depreciation break. Too, it should be brought out that processor housing has always been more family oriented as such a high percentage of their plant workers are female. This is contrasted with some grower housing which often is of barrack design from the bracero years for single, adult males and now proves so difficult and expensive to convert for family occupancy.

Labor camps and multiple unit housing vary from state to state depending on their respective laws and their enforcement. Thirty-two states have some kind of labor housing laws or regulations; however, Texas is not numbered among them. Most labor consuming states have within their bureaucratic framework housing agencies or councils that operate and maintain state owned camps, but it is invariably a thankless task burdened with criti-

cism and legislative apathy and always short of funds. Private camps operated by Co-Ops or grower associations generally show better care, but we are still dealing with non-productive facilities that are a means to an end and not an end unto themselves—and it costs money to run them.

Home Base Housing:

At home base the kind of housing the migrant has generally depends on what he can afford and since most of them earn less than the poverty level minimum, most of their homes grade from poor to deplorable. Although economic deprivation is the main cause of inferior migrant housing, we cannot rightfully overlook the part motivation and pride play. The examples are all too numerous of neighbors in identical circumstances, one whose house is constantly receiving attention and improvements, while the other just lets nature take her course. In populated areas of high migrant concentration, such as San Antonio and Lubbock, the migrants tend to settle in Mexican-American barrios where the housing is often inferior, but nevertheless it is tied in with municipal utilities and services which is not the case when we consider rural housing. This is very apparent in the Lower Valley where, although many have urban housing with public utilities, the major portion of the migrants live on the municipal fringe beyond the reach of utilities or in unincorporated "colonias" which in some cases are a hodge-podge collection of shacks and houses with no utilities at all. Depending on how one defines them, these "colonias" in the Lower Valley can number a hundred or more, ranging in size from a group of two or three families to as many as 200 families. Some of the larger ones are long established, steeped in two centuries of history and tradition and proud to have provided themselves with everything except community sewerage disposal. Others are essentially non-self-supporting squatter slums that remain a constant burden to the county as they have no organization and are annexed to no particular township. This subject will be extensively covered in our next report, as measures have to be taken to correct a foreboding and ever-worsening situation.

With the exception of derelict, permaparked cars which blight many a front and back yard, it can be said that urban and suburban housing has much improved in recent years through Self-Help, Urban Renewal, Model Cities and other programs sponsored by HUD, O.E.O., and F.H.A., which we have discussed under "Programs." The many and varied housing programs offered since the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 allows HUD the boast that they can, by one program or another, help anybody of low-income status who holds an earnest desire to upgrade his housing as funds are available and there is always a way to qualify.

Intrastate Housing:

Temporary or transient farm labor housing in Texas during the last thirty years has run the gamut from small tent cities, to POW camps, to gin company housing to permanent block and concrete projects. During that space of time the changing pattern of agriculture and mechanization have forced the closing of some camps and the building of others. Originally the multiple unit camps were built right where the labor need was and followed a standard design consisting of a large community/office building, a number of individual houses and a series of grouped units with common restroom and shower facilities. The Robstown Labor Center near Corpus Christi which we showed pictures of last year would be

a typical example. This camp was built on 132 acres of land and consists of twenty-five houses and 198 single rooms in groups of six to a building, but the occupancy has been so low recently the county is closing the camp and converting the migrant section of it into a county park plus a low cost housing project sponsored by one of our Mexican-American service organizations. Other camps like it are Raymondville in the Lower Valley and Lubbock and Lamesa, both in the High Plains. These, like many other smaller camps, depended on cotton workers for occupancy, and since cotton is now almost totally mechanized, the only renters left are low-income families in the bungalows, most of whom have no connection with agriculture. The big dilemma is that such camps have not paid their way for years and yet it is too costly to raze them; besides, what is to be done with the "permanents" that depend on the low rental houses to make ends meet?

The paradox is that while in several areas of the state there is unused housing for migrants, in other areas it is now necessary to construct new facilities. Most of the planning and building activity is taking place north of Lubbock and is the result of the almost incredible agricultural growth in this area in recent years and because of crop diversification which has required much more field labor and thus has attracted many more migrants. Last year we reported on the modern and newly inaugurated Castro County Agricultural Housing in Dimmitt which was the first such project brought to reality through a loan and grant from the Farmers Home Administration. At this writing another large facility is being finished in Plainview and others are planned for Hereford, Muleshoe, Farwell and Littlefield—all in the Panhandle-Plains region. At the same time a medium sized facility is being finished in the Winter Garden area at Sabinal. All of this construction is of block and concrete, complete with modern installations including water heater, kitchen stove and refrigerator. A salient point to mention is that these new facilities have a somewhat higher permanent/transient ratio that accomplishes two important things; a higher year around income from more year around rentals to assure funds for upkeep and also to make available low rental housing for those families of low income.

C. HEALTH:

The last of the three points that seemingly enclose the migrant in a triangle of frustration is the always deficient and often times nonexistent health attention. It seems appropriate to introduce the subject of health after the companion topics of Education and Housing as these two subjects bear directly on health and health habits. Without some basic education it is impossible to comprehend about health, without proper housing facilities it is impossible to control environmental health. Likewise, without education how can one learn about hygiene and its importance, about nutrition, about sanitation, immunization, etc., and without adequate housing how is one to prevent the constant threat of vectoral and bactorial disease and infection? Although health is being presented last in this series, it is felt that from a standpoint of importance it should be first. Objectively we can say that education and housing, family and country become secondary—even meaningless—if the physical being is unable to function properly.

The migrant's philosophic approach to health has been the same for generations, a fatalistic one, which is in accord with his thinking on all of the other variables in his existance. A person either had good health or bad, so he was either lucky or unlucky, and if it were the latter, it was just too bad, as there was little which could be done about it and

few means with which to do it. Even today many migrant families, particularly in the rural areas, still rely on "curanderas" who in turn rely on leaves, herbs and roots, as they have done for centuries, to relieve aches and pains. Here again the migrant finds himself in the middle; the curanderas are a diminishing lot and yet there is little done to replace them in our modern concept of health services. So we have a group of people whose work demands good health and stamina but who are nutritional cripples and devoid of health knowledge, thereby becoming easy prey to serious and devastating illnesses and with virtually no resourses with which to fight. Something had to be done both in Texas and the labor consuming states to close this "health gap" which has always been apparent, but never clearly delineated until recently.

Before the Migrant Health Act was passed in September of 1962, the Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor held hearings in many areas and members made extensive field visits before submitting their report which pointed up the fact that migrant farmworkers were a forgotten minority in health care, "the neediest and the least served of any in America." Originally the Act of 1962 authorized an appropriation of 3 million for a 3-year period to start upgrading "health services and conditions" of migrants. From the very inception of this program positive input was hampered by negative aspects; lack of knowledge on the part of health professionals, communities and the migrants themselves concerning health care needs, lack of adequate resources and facilities, frequent community rejection, insufficient funds, mobility, etc. The first three years of experience, if nothing more, underscored the desperate needs of the migrants and led to a 3-year extension of the program with a 9 million appropriation and the addition of a hospital care component to the scope of services. In 1968 a vote for a further 2-year extension was carried authorizing 9 million for FY-1969 and 15 million for FY-1970. The results of this steady increase in funding is aptly expressed by the Subcommittee chairman when he stated, "For the first time in a long history of neglect, the Migrant Health Program provides a mechanism to place this group higher on the health care priority lists of the states and communities." Legislation has been presented calling for another extension of the program after June of 1970 with substantial increases in appropriation funds.

In answer to the query, "What has been accomplished in over seven years?", we can say that the program is off to a good start and some progress has been made, but it has been found that the language barrier, ignorance and suspicion, in some cases even resentment, are problems requiring more time to overcome than had been anticipated. The use of a bilingual approach by staff and having the individual health history forms printed in both languages has proved to be of great help in bringing the migrants into the program; but it doesn't end there, we must produce. The future success of the program depends to a great extent on our present attitude and compliance (don't offer if you can't deliver) as a negative voice travels fast and can quickly undo and leave meaningless all that has been done before; this is too often the case in the handling of referrals from one area to another.

Texas is unique in that our home base migrant population is larger than any other state and our intrastate movement stands second only to California, so we must be geared to extend services at home and at destination within our own state. Thus, our intrastate referrals are more apt to bring results, as it is all in the family, so to speak. The Texas Department of Health was among the very first organizations to outline in-depth studies of the migrant health situation and concluded that our own farm workers were in immediate

need of attention. This motivated tentative project planning, so when the Migrant Health Act was passed, Texas was well prepared on paper. By June of 1963 the department had set up a migrant division, staffed it and had received its first 3-year grant. As with the federal program, timely extensions have been forthcoming, coupled with increased funds (which, incidentally, never seem to be sufficient).

In the beginning Texas had three local clinics, but for the past two years the number of local Migrant Health Projects has been twenty-six in operation throughout the state. Twelve of these projects are integrated into local county health departments and the remaining fourteen are operating in counties where there is no other health agency. The sites chosen for county projects are almost equally divided between home base areas (Rio Grande Valley) and the job areas (High Plains), but the actual case load is far heavier in the Valley as the migrant population density is higher there.

The "objectives" of the Project, as incorporated in the original grant are:

1) Assist official agencies and other community organizations in analyzing and understanding the full range of the traditional problems of migrant people ——
2) Provide public health nursing services, including screening and referral of migrants to local physicians, dentists and health and welfare agencies ——
3) Provide sanitation services through which the owners of migrant housing may be informed of necessary changes or improvements ——
4) Provide health education services in support of the community organization and development process ——
5) Develop a system of referral for in-state and out-of-state referral of migratory laborers.
6) Assist in the establishment of local family health clinics.
7) Promote the integration of migrant health services into the services of full time local health units where operative.
8) Provide technical and consultive assistance to counties where there are no public health services other than the local Migrant Health Project.
9) Stress cooperation with the Tuberculosis Eradication Program in view of the prevalence of TB in the migrant population.
10) Provide technical assistance to special projects to promote the inclusion of dental components providing care and education ——-

The last objective, concerned with dental services, has been the most difficult to make operative, but with each succeeding year more Projects have been able to include dental attention. The data for .969 are as follows:

Projects with dental components	17
Migrants receiving some dental services	1,079
Number of dental clinic visits	2,410
Number of dental services rendered	6,105
Average visits per patient	2.23
Average corrections per patient	5.65
Average cost per patient	$37.31
Average cost per visit	$16.70
Average cost per service	$ 6.59

The dental care segment of the Project must be expanded immediately that funds are available as studies have shown that *all* migrants are in need of dental corrections.

As we have mentioned, Texas has no law governing minimum standards for farm labor housing; therefore, Department of Health sanitation personnel have no right to inspect private housing facilities. Without inspection it is impossible to make constructive suggestions to the owners regarding improvements, so the staff initiated a survey of all counties previously known to have labor camps. This will allow us to upgrade our records under the new definition of a labor "camp" as being two or more buildings capable of accommodating fifteen or more persons, and while taking the survey the sanitation staff has the opportunity of making an inspection if the owner so permits. Legislation giving the Department of Health authority to prescribe and enforce minimum standards for migrant housing has been introduced in the last five sessions of the Texas Legislature. To date, this legislation has not been enacted. This last year, in the 61st session, the bill passed the House but was caught in a last day logjam in the Senate and did not come up for a vote. Until legislation is passed, the staff sanitarians can only suggest to and urge owners that housing improvement be made.

A review of migrant health needs would not be complete without some words said on Family Planning. Large families, which are the rule rather than the exception among migrants, are more apt to be caught in the poverty web than a family of modest size, and the inability to escape the economic pressures leads to frustration and despair. The migrant population was early marked by the Public Health Service as the target group most in need of instructions on family planning and programs were implemented; nevertheless, acceptance of birth control has been slow. The reasons for the slow evolution of this campaign are the same as in all migrant programs, but now with the added factor of religious belief.

Family planning programs in Texas funded under the Economic Opportunity Act have increased from five in 1966 to twenty-four in 1969 (an increase of seven over last year), with an expenditure of $850,000, of which Bexar County (San Antonio) received 20%. The basic objectives are to space the birth of children for "better family benefit and to protect the health of mothers." Services are channeled through local Community Action Agencies (CAAs) coordinated with the Department of Health and with a privately supported foundation called Planned Parenthood-World Population, with main offices in New York and the Southwest Regional office in Austin. The funding aid of O.E.O. with the expertise of Planned Parenthood makes a good combination. At this writing there are in Texas 107 centers in sixty-six cities where low income families can obtain information and supplies. San Antonio, where a large number of Mexican-Americans and migrants live, has thirteen separate locations. In the home base area of the Lower Rio Grande Valley there are seven centers offering contact service five days a week with a client load of over 8,000 last year, which is a part of the statewide load of 50,000. In spite of the ever-increasing case load, we are still reaching less than 20% of the needy, but progress is constant and participating women are enthusiastic promoters of the program.

Any kind of family planning must rely for success on constancy and continuity, which is very difficult for a woman always on the move. The Austin office of Planned Parenthood, realizing this and knowing that supplies must be replenished frequently, undertook the task

of compiling a national directory so the migrant woman could be informed of the nearest family planning center, regardless of her whereabouts. First publication was in 1968, and a revised edition with 50% more listings was printed in 1969.

In conclusion, the Migrant Health Project has undergone no change in intent, but in deference to insufficient funds and the desire for better efficiency, the four state districts have been reduced to three regions. Under this new adjustment certain areas (Trans-Pecos and East Texas) are eliminated, thus allowing the department to concentrate its efforts where the migrants can be reached and where the needs are greatest. This new realignment is shown on the accompanying map.

D. BORDER INDUSTRIALIZATION IN MEXICO:

Recently, a great deal of interest and attention has been focused on the rapidly growing number of plants being established by U.S. firms in Mexican border cities from Tijuana to Matamoros. This development is made possible by the interaction of two important dispositions. One is a promotional program by the Mexican government to attract foreign companies to the northern border areas, and the other is a handy U.S. Customs Regulation that has been on the books for about forty years. The incentive for Americans to operate on the other side of the international boundary is the over abundance of cheap labor, since the wage levels in the United States make it increasingly more difficult for domestic manufacturers of labor intensive products to compete in the world market place. Although the establishment of U.S. assembly plants immediately across the border in Mexico may not at first appearances have any bearing on our Texas migrants, the indirect implications and their impact on the labor market make this a subject worthy of comment in our report.

Since the early 1960s Mexico has realized the urgency of improving the economic welfare of her northern border area. In 1961 Mexico adopted a National Border Program (Programa Nacional Fronterizo, known as PRONAF) designed to rehabilitate the Mexican cities along the U.S. border and to slow the rise of unemployment by better integrating the northern regions into the national economy. This program resulted in a much improved physical appearance in the border cities and a marked increase in tourist trade, but the main objective—higher levels of employment and income—proved elusive. The situation continued to worsen and with the termination of the bracero program at the end of 1964, the government realized that its border development program was woefully inadequate as the always high unemployment rates had now skyrocketed. So in 1965 the Mexican planners began moving unilaterally toward the development of border industry by creating an environment offering American companies an attractive alternative to their use of low-cost labor in foreign countries, particularly in the Far East.

The Border Industry Program (Programa de Industrializacion Fronterizo) for all practical purposes dates from June 1966 when the Mexican government made known the procedures for allowing foreign companies to operate assembly plants in the 12 mile wide strip known as the border zone. The program is simple in its approach; namely, to merge American capital and technical know-how with an endless supply of relatively inexpensive Mexican labor. As such, American operations under this program are in many ways analogous to operations in other places around the globe such as Hong Kong, Tiawan, Korea, Denmark, etc. Mexican labor costs are about a third higher than those in the Far East (while still being

a fifth as high as those in the United States), but the added incentives stemming from proximity continue to keep the proliferation of new plants at a fast pace. Savings on transportation both ways, no expensive overseas packing necessary, maintenance and repair parts close at hand, good communications and fast customs clearance, fiscal and political stability are some of the added reasons why every month more industrialists look south toward Mexico with genuine interest. The rules governing the operation of subsidiary plants in the border zone are many and detailed, but the two outstanding ones are that all production must be exported and that all aspects of the operation must adhere absolutely to Mexican laws. Once a firm has qualified under the program, it is permitted to introduce into Mexico, duty free, all of the equipment and materials necessary to start production and later allowed to return the product free of export duties to the United States. To insure compliance with the provisions of the program, all companies are required to post bonds as a guarantee that all imports into Mexico are temporary; from this comes the popular phrase "in bond" plants.

As stated earlier, two separate dispositions are involved to create the attraction for establishing plants outside of our natural borders. The successful development of the border zone of Mexico or any overseas area depends as much on a favorable U.S. tariff schedule as it does on low-cost labor. Indirectly it amounts to a fiscal consideration applied to the import duties on products assembled from American components that are exported from a foreign country and imported into the United States. Under the tariff code of the U.S. Customs Regulations, Sections 806.30 and 807 apply and require that import duties be assessed only to the "added value" the components received while being manipulated in a foreign area. So, in the case under discussion, the import duty is thus based on the dollar amount of value added by Mexican labor. In 1954 the Customs Court ruled on the Tariff Act of 1930, stating that duties were not required on the importation of components originally manufactured in this country; then the 1962 Tariff Classification Act included the two Sections which made the added value consideration effective. At present opponents of the Mexican border plant idea are making a frontal attack on these two Sections by presenting legislation for their removal. If this effort is successful, then these semi-manufactured products would no longer be considered as returning American goods, but as foreign goods liable for duties according to classification. If this were to happen, the whole structure of the out-of-country sub assembly idea might come tumbling down. Meanwhile, President Nixon has asked for a study committee report on the Sections no later than August of 1970.

According to information released by the Mexican government, the number of plants has doubled in the last two years. Where 73 companies had been authorized by October of 1967, by July of 1969 the number had reached 147, for a total investment of $14.2 million, and applications continue to flow in. The size of the plants is increasing as more large companies finish their let's-wait-and-see investigations. During this same period the average investment rose about 35% and approached a figure of $100,000 per plant utilizing a total work force of some 16,500 persons. Two thirds of all of the plants in operation are in Tijuana and Mexicali and of the rest our own Texas border accounts for near thirty. A break out by industry would show 40% in electronic sub assembly, 30% in garment manufacture and all other products are bunched together in the remaining 30%. Electronics and the needle industries require a great deal of care and dexterity which accounts for the fact that 80% of the workers in the border plants are women. Considering the foregoing figures and viewing the present trend of the Mexican Border Industry Program, one cannot avoid

wondering what the effect is on the worldwide total product under Section 807. The fact is that this Mexican program got started well after most of the foreign plants were in operation and in spite of its phenomenal growth it actually contributes only 3% of the Section 807 total according to customs collection figures for 1968.

Probably the most important development on the American side of the Rio Grande has been the establishment of plants to complement the ones in Mexico. Some U.S. firms found that not all work on the products can be done in Mexico, that there is need for some supplemental work to be done over here. The establishment of counterpart plants on the U.S. side is now known as the "Twin Plant Concept." In reality our government has no official policy in favor of or against this border program so the decision to set up a twin plant is one to be made by company management. The principal motive for a second plant on this side is, of course, corporate expediency, but it is followed closely by corporate image. A twin plant creates jobs which builds community image and also helps to combat the image of U.S. companies taking jobs to another country.

With the growth of these border industries labor unions in the United States have become increasingly alarmed. The AFL-CIO considers these as "runaway plants" that are depressing wage levels on our side of the border and, what is worse, that this program is taking jobs away from relatively unskilled Americans who then have difficulty in finding work in their own communities. Although foreign labor has been utilized for several years in far off places working in similar endeavors, the Labor people made little issue of it until the Mexican program got under way, but now a strong campaign of opposition has been set in motion. If, however, the matter is approached on a basis of the "lesser of two evils" it is obvious that dollars spent inside a 12 mile wide border zone have a much greater chance of returning through commercial channels than dollars spent on the other side of the world. The newness of the program and the lack of detailed data make quantitative assessments and valid projections impossible to come by and likewise it is impossible to accurately measure its impact on labor and on our economy. It is hoped that a comprehensive attitude will be forthcoming on this subject after the President's committee reports.

E. ECONOMICS OF THE MIGRANTS:

The subject of migrant economics can be put in perspective by use of one brief statement: the migrant farm worker receives the lowest earnings of any working person in the nation. Considering that farm work is the poorest paid of any industry and the migrants are only part time farm workers, there is little doubt as to where their position is on the economic ladder. In other words, partial employment at the nation's lowest pay scale adds up to a poverty level existence where many of the essentials of life are completely out of reach. It is true that farm wages keep improving every year, but never in proportion to the increases in other fields of work, so there is no closing of the earnings gap. Paradoxical as it may seem, our national economy has been moving upward so rapidly that steps have been taken to slow it down, whereas the migrant economy needs steps taken to speed it up.

Texas continues its industrial boom, commerce and finance are enjoying healthy expansion and tourism last year brought to our state 22.3 million outside visitors who spent a record 1.6 billion dollars. Texas agriculture, on the other hand, was substantially below normal (see section 2 of this report) and the earnings of farm workers, both local and

migrant, were correspondingly low. Thus the migrant already handicapped by low earning power, must also contend with the uncertainty of weather and crop yield and uncertainty as to the number of working days he will have.

When we speak of income it should be clarified that "transfer payments" (social security, unemployment benefits, welfare and relief payments, etc.) for which no services are rendered, are a part of personal income and that if these disbursements were seriously curtailed, the income figure for the Lower Valley would be substantially lower than the state average. The growing difference in average personal income between Texas and the nation as a whole indicates that our percentage of low income workers is too high as is our unemployment among the unskilled. The three worst poverty pockets in the nation are in South Texas where these two conditions are endemic. Considered as Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA) the per capita personal income for 1966 taken from the U.S. Bureau of Census was:

Brownsville-Harlingen-San Benito	$1,725
Laredo	1,379
McAllen-Pharr-Edinburg	1,250

These figures point to a "metropolitan average", as defined under SMSA, and needless to say the incomes in the rural and unincorporated areas are even lower than these we have shown. It is a disheartening situation, but where you have a combination of a large unskilled labor pool, few permanent jobs, low wage scales for seasonal jobs, high birth rate and large families, the inevitable result is a chronic poverty condition that up until now has defied solution.

One of the main reasons for the desperate economic situation of the Lower Valley farm worker and the returning migrant who depends on winter agriculture work is the low wage offered. As the following figures show, the average hourly wage for farm workers in Texas remains 20% under the national average and employment security data show Lower Valley wages another 25% below the state average.

	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969
Factory workers	$2.61	$2.72	$2.83	$3.01	$3.28
National farm workers	1.14	1.23	1.33	1.43	1.59
Texas farm workers	.96	1.04	1.16	1.23	1.31

Lacking any labor intensive industry the Lower Valley is not able to absorb even its own natural growth, so for many years there has been a constant and continuous outmigration to the Panhandle-Plains area and also toward the interior of the country. For example, the Spanish surname population of Lubbock is fast reaching twenty thousand as compared to a mere handful two decades ago. For purposes of economic practicality, emigration of Mexican-Americans from the depressed areas of South Texas can be expected to continue. For himself, the emigrant holds hope for personal betterment and at the same time his departure helps somewhat to relieve the pressure of poverty in the area. However, this is not to imply that moving away from the Lower Valley is the panacea for the economic woes of the migrant nor would all of the migrants leave their valley birthplace even if they could. Indeed, the writer has interviewed many migrants who have no intention of settling out of

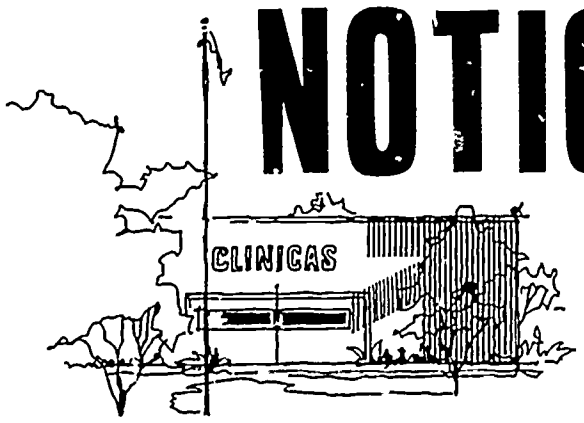
the migrant stream or of moving north as they are doing better with their present work pattern than they could at anything else. They realize that they are unprepared for other work and further realize that even with a skill one wage earner cannot maintain a family of ten. They are also aware that the northern fields afford the only source of job opportunities for the whole family, where four or five producers working four or five months can earn more than a father working twelve months at home.

This then brings up what migration means to the migrant and his economy. So far, we have treated with average per capita yearly earnings and the local situation in the Lower Valley home base area. However, it is while on the stream, not at home base, that the migrant and his family either make it financially or they don't. This is a family effort and the total family take home pay is what determines their economic condition when they are back home. Here is where family size and make-up are critical variables. Although hourly wages and piece work schedules are important, the migrant's first concern is the number of producers in his family and how many days of work they get. It is obvious a family of ten with eight workers will do better than another family of ten with four workers, as it is also obvious that identical families are not equal if one is rained out for half of the season while benign weather permits the other family continuous work.

While on this subject, we would like to oppose the practice of categorizing the migrants and applying misleading "average" economy and earnings figures to them as if they were one, big homogeneous group. How can we lump together a San Antonio tailor who goes to the same farm every year for a month of exercise and change after eleven months behind his cutting table with a freewheeler family of six with four small children that leaves the Valley broke and returns broke after five months of wandering around? Can you compare a family of four adults that goes north for two months each year to visit relatives and work in the town's cannery with a family of twelve (eight workers) that goes north for five months, returns home to enroll the school age children and then goes to Florida for six more months of work? Then too, how can you assemble meaningful statistics and averages by combining information from a family in abject poverty and from another that earned $10,000 while on migration. Forthcoming figures will become even more subject to doubt because of the large increase in freewheelers from whom no control data is available.

In conclusion, we find that the economic position of the migrant varies widely; from desperate poverty, up to poverty level and up to comfortable security. Unfortunately there are too many in the first group and too few in the last group, thus our programs for assistance and training should continue at the highest priority until we have a majority of these people at the comfortable security level.

Example of bilingual materials being distributed through employment offices in the consumer states . . .



NOTICE!

¡NOTICIA!

Public Health Clinics for agricultural workers and their families.

Clínicas de salud pública para trabajadores de agricultura y sus familias.

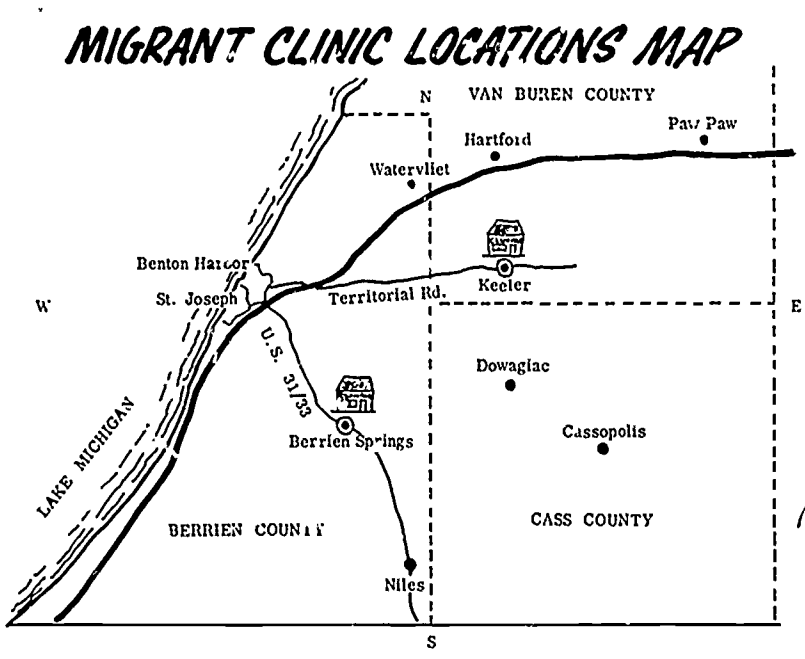
Fee Based On Ability To Pay **Usted Paga Por Este Servicio Lo Que Puede**

CLINICS ARE OPEN JUNE 2 — AUG. 29

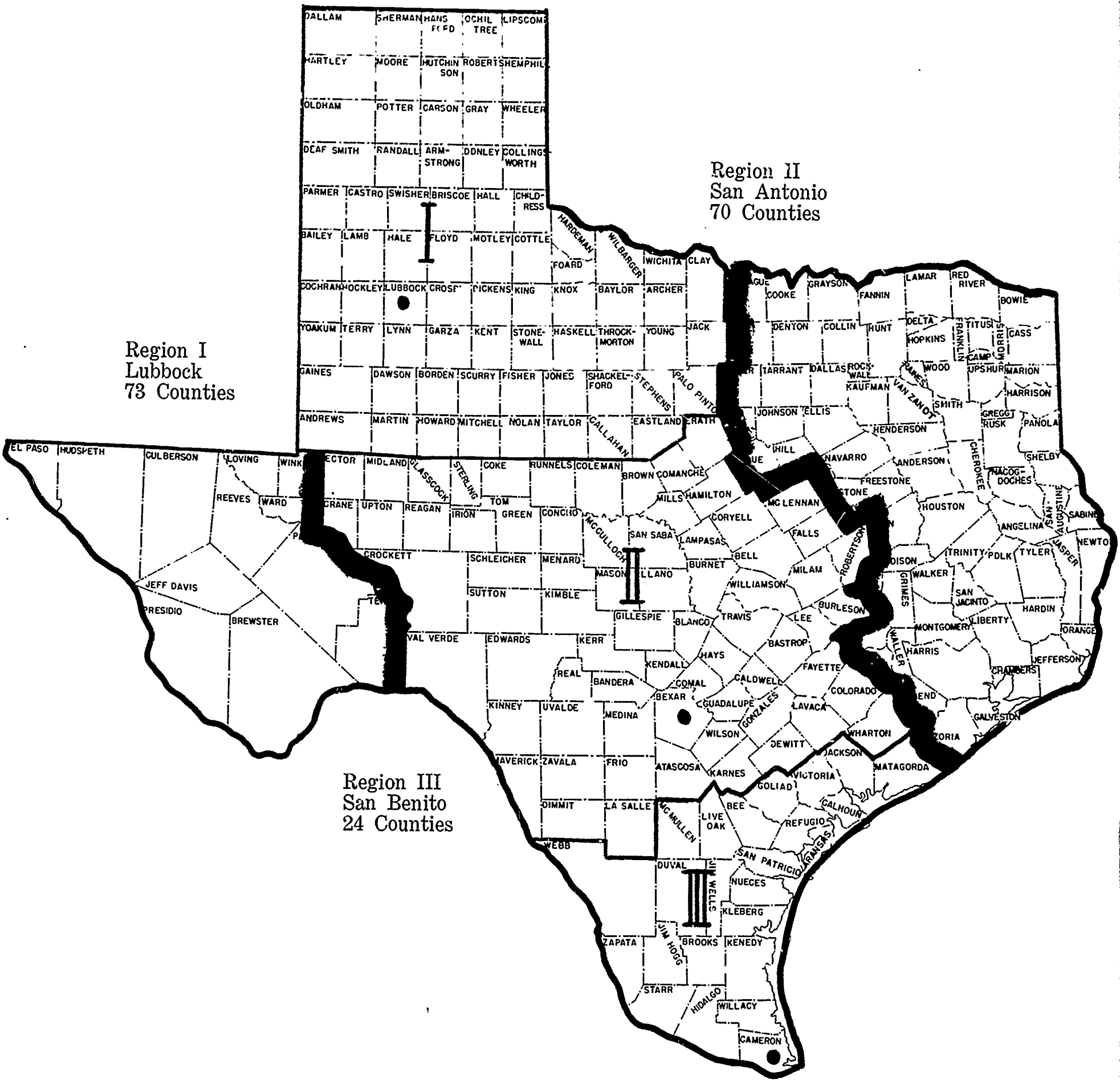
FUNCIONAN LAS CLINICAS DESDE EL 2 DE JUNIO HASTA EL 29 DE AGOSTO

CLINICS — Clínicas

- **KEELER SCHOOL** — Keeler, Mich.
  7-9 P.M. EVERY MONDAY, WEDNESDAY AND FRIDAY
  7-9 P.M. CADA LUNES, MIERCOLES Y VIERNES
- **PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOL** — W. Marrs St., Berrien Springs, Michigan
  7-9. P.M. EVERY TUESDAY AND THURSDAY
  7-9 P.M. CADA MARTES Y JUEVES



TEXAS STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
MIGRANT PROJECT
NEW REGIONAL ALIGNMENT — 1969



TRENDS IN MIGRATION AND SUMMARY OF DATA — 1969

TOTAL TEXAS MIGRATION:

Year	Total Individuals	Change From Prev. Year	Interstate	Intrastate	Intra Percentage
1964	129,000		104,000	25,000	20%
1965	167,000	+30%	128,500	38,500	23%
1966	162,000	— 3%	129,500	32,500	20%
1967	158,500	— 2%	132,300	26,200	16%
1968	152,000	— 4%	125,400	26,600	18%
1969	147,000	— 3%	120,000	27,000	22%

The above figures show the expected decrease in total migration for Texas farm workers; however, most predictions were that the percentage would be double that which is shown. Also of note is the fact that the intrastate movement percentage returned to almost the same level as the "post bracero" year of 1965. As we have mentioned previously in this report the "freewheeler" estimate is much larger this year than last and reasons were suggested to explain the increased figure. Now that the "freewhewheelers" have become much more of an important percentage factor than ever before in reaching our total migration figure, it is understandable that even a modest error in this estimate could perceptibly alter our 147,000 figure. Since no means exists to record or control this segment of the migrating work force, there is no way to disprove our estimate, but if our figure is high compared to reality, it would tend to bring our percent decrease more in line with that of other predictions.

The various state agencies and employment offices in the consumer states with whom we are in contact predict an even larger drop in worker demand for the coming season. For instance Michigan, our principal consumer, is tentatively using a figure of 20% under last year. We feel sure that this is predicated on the fact that their job orders from farmers and growers are substantially less and this, of course, is their most reliable gauge for measuring work requirements. But here again we ask ourselves how significant or accurate is the use of job orders as a measure of job demand when increasingly more recruiting activities are sidestepping the state agencies. Just to mention that most of the high labor consuming sugar beet producers and processors are now recruiting directly or through private employment firms is indicative that official agencies are losing clientele. Later in this section we will show what has been happening in our own Texas Employment Commission during the last three years as concerns farm placements and allied information pertinent to our migrants. Right now we would like to present for comparison a recap of the interstate migrant make up.

Interstate Agricultural Migrant Make Up
1966 — 1969

	1966	1967	1968	1969
A. Total Individuals	104,224	114,979	97,818	85,393
a) Male, 16 and over	38,248	41,657	33,050	31,163
b) Female, 16 and over	29,267	33,299	29,568	23,509
c) Youth under 16	36,709	40,023	35,200	30,721
B. Total Workers	69,956	78,270	67,829	59,737
a) % of Total Indiv.	68.3%	68.0%	69.5%	70.0%
C. Families	14,756	16,524	13,638	11,700
D. Unattached males	7,075	7,384	8,042	7,871
E. Unattached females	1,682	2,074	2,257	2,198

Note: These figures do not include Bureau of Labor Statistics data or "freewheelers."

Since the inordinately big movement in 1967 the trend has been one of decrease with a tendency for a few more primary grades and preschool children to stay home as is seen by the small increment in the percentage of total workers to total individuals.

The Texas Bureau of Labor Statistics shows 36,000 workers recruited under B.L.S. regulations for out of state work and this is an increase over last year, which was to be expected. An adjustment must be made since some workers may be counted by both agencies in making out the Annual Worker Plan forms, and when this is done the real T.E.C. figures now show 76,000 *workers* and 106,000 *individuals*.

Workers Only Recruited From Texas
(Texas Bureau of Labor Stastics)

Totals:
1964 — 28,810 workers
1965 — 40,251
1966 — 36,463
1967 — 34,158
1968 — 35,846
1969 — 36,000

To this B.L.S. figure we must add 20,300 intrastate workers (actually 27,000 individuals as shown on the chart on the first page of this section) and an additional 18% representing our considered estimate of "freewheelers" thus we arrive at the *total* migration figure of 147,000 individuals.

By using proportions resulting from T.E.C. figures for the interstate migration and summing the people signed by the B.L.S. licensed recruiting agents, we are able to present the following breakdown of *total* figures and show a four year comparison.

BREAKDOWN: Total Migration

	1966	1967	1968	1969
Total individuals	162,000	158,550	152,000	147,000
Men, 16 and over	59,500	57,300	51,800	47,700
Women, 16 and over	45,500	46,050	45,600	44,100
Youths under 16 years	56,700	55,200	54,600	55,200
Families	22,800	21,457	21,300	20,000
Unattached men	11,000	10,180	10,600	13,400
Unattached women	2,600	2,870	3,500	3,700
Work groups	11,800	11,700	13,000	10,000
School age youths	30,600	31,800	31,100	31,000
Family size on migration	6.5	7.0	7.2	7.4

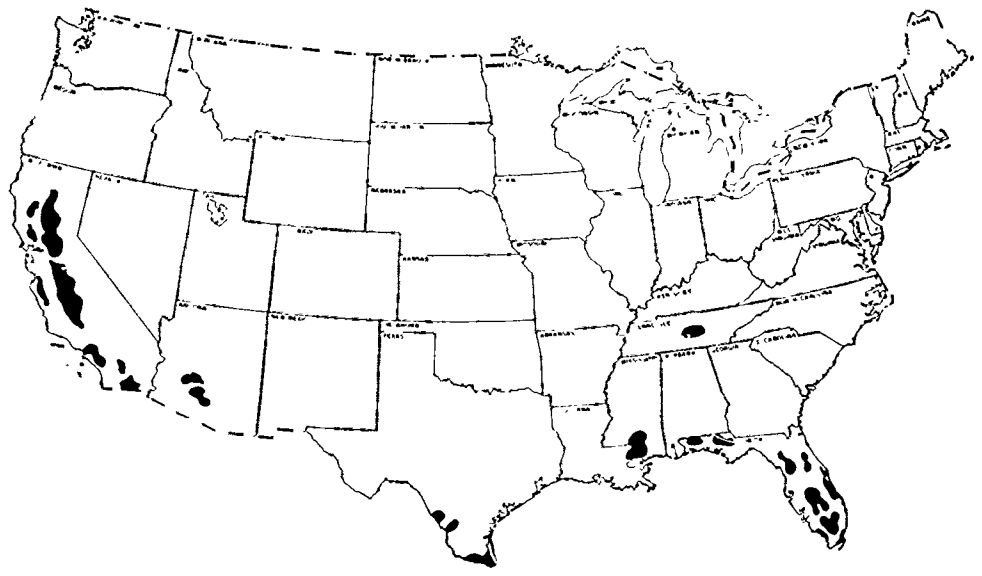
Considering the total migration we find that the trends of the last four years continue in the same direction. Female to male ratio continues to increase as does family size on migration. More family members on stream means more contributing wage earners. The tendency to travel as single families and then form crews at destination continues as does the work participation by school youth who are enrolled in compressed term classes.

Year after year the national migration pattern is essentially the same as the crops and seasons remain the same. In general the areas of high migrant labor consumption remain unchanged as their local economies depend to a large extent on farm production, so the factors that influence job opportunities the most continue to be adverse weather, crop failure and mechanization. Mechanization will continue on the increase, agronomical technology will improve and canned and prepared foods will continue to erode the market for fresh foods that are hand picked and hand packed. So job opportunities will continue to diminish and it is obvious, therefore, that if the work force does not decrease proportionately, each worker's share will shrink and total earnings will be reduced. Because this fact cannot be refuted or ignored is precisely why our manpower and educational programs, our training and job mobility programs must be given every possible priority.

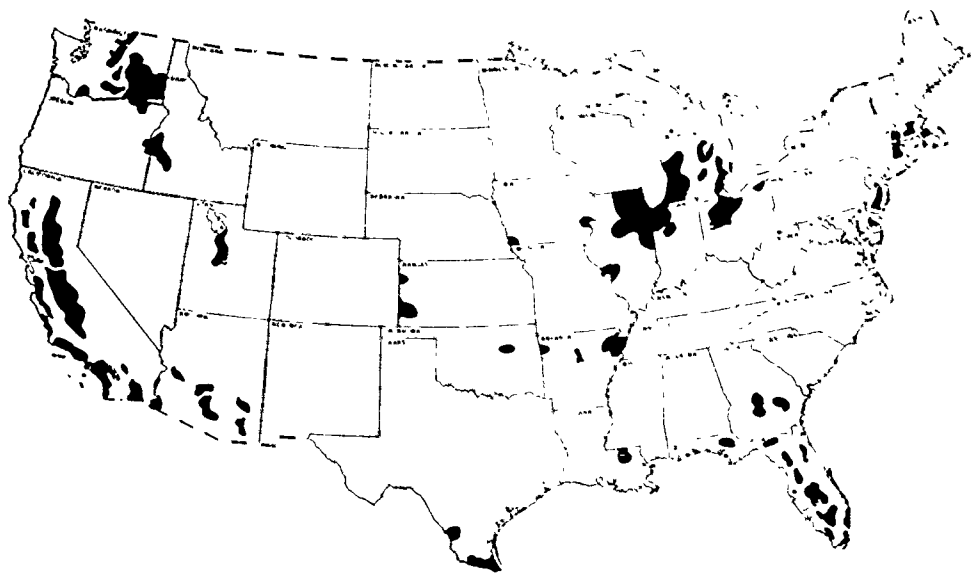
Texas is unique in that it is the principal supply state for farm workers that are needed in other states. The Texas Employment Commission is unique in that it has for years made more referrals and documented more workers than any other employment agency. Now let us look at a few random items that fall within the purview of the T.E.C. and for which it is responsible; the trend is immediately obvious.

MAJOR AGRICULTURAL MIGRANT LABOR DEMAND AREAS

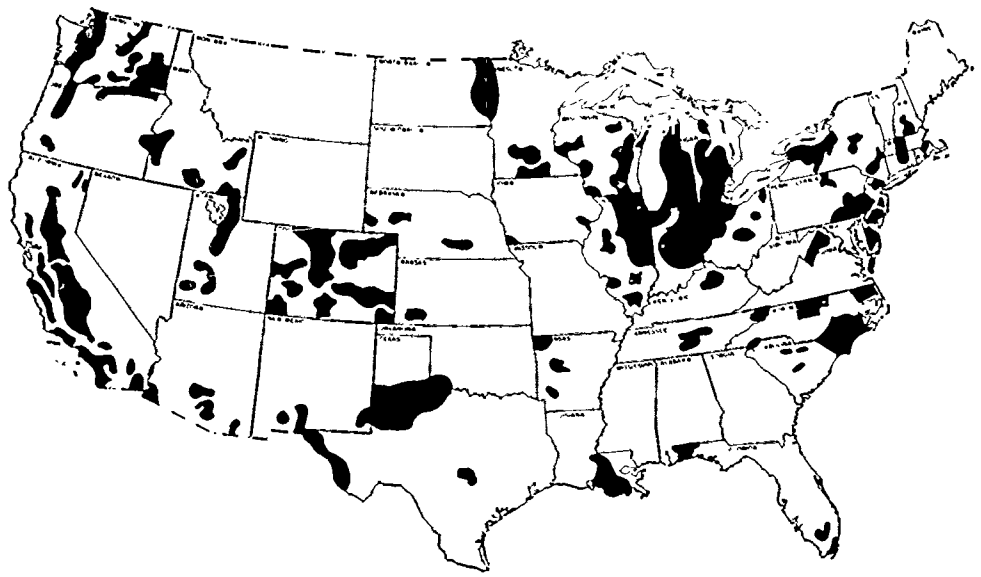
WINTER



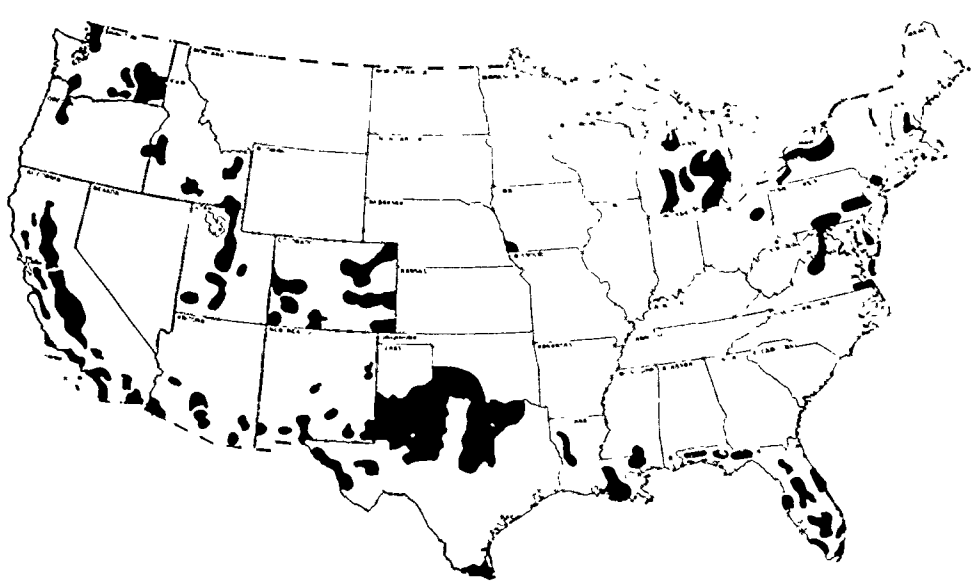
SPRING



SUMMER



FALL



	1969	1968	1967
Total farm placements	206,000	234,000	263,000
% less than prev. year	12%	11%	
States sending job orders	33	34	39
Job Orders	1,147	2,072	2,451
% less than prev. year	45%	15%	
Job Openings	67,345	102,791	132,660
% less than prev. year	35%	22%	
Jobs Referred (filled)	44,378	73,460	85,574
% less than prev. year	40%	14%	
T.E.C. Orders	699	1,261	1,365
% less than prev. year	45%	13%	
Crews + Family Heads	3,162	3,902	5,182
Out of State Groups	3,010	3,426	3,674
	6,172	7,328	8,856
% less than prev. year	16%	17%	
Average number of jobs filled per worker	1.1	1.5	1.4

PRINCIPAL COUNTIES OF RESIDENCE OF MIGRANTS

Workers Only — Estimated — 200 or more:
Outside Rio Grande Valley —

Bexar	12,000
Webb	9,100
Nueces	5,000
Maverick	4,200
Zavala	3,400
Valverde	2,200
San Patricio	1,900
Dimmit	1,000
Travis	800
Uvalde	800
La Salle	800
Jim Wells	800
Gonzalez	800
Calhoun	800
Lubbock	700
Williamson	700
El Paso	600
Kleberg	600
McLennan	600
Zapata	600
Brooks	500
Frio	500
Hale	500
Hays	500
Medina	500
Atascosa	400
Bell	400
Caldwell	400
Castro	400
Duval	400
Harris	400
Karnes	400
Deaf Smith	400
Wilson	400
Bowie	300
Yoakum	300

Principal Counties of Residence

Bee	200	
Dallas	200	
Guadalupe	200	
Hockley	200	
Kinney	200	
Tarrant	200	
Victoria	200	
Total Outside Rio Grande Valley		55,500

Lower Rio Grande Valley —

Hidalgo	24,500	
Cameron	11,000	
Starr	3,000	
Willacy	2,000	
		40,500

In addition, counties having fewer than 200 resident migrant workers total about	
TOTAL	3,000
Figures revised as of April 1969	99,000

Note: No further revision of these figures is planned until the 1970 Census results are available.