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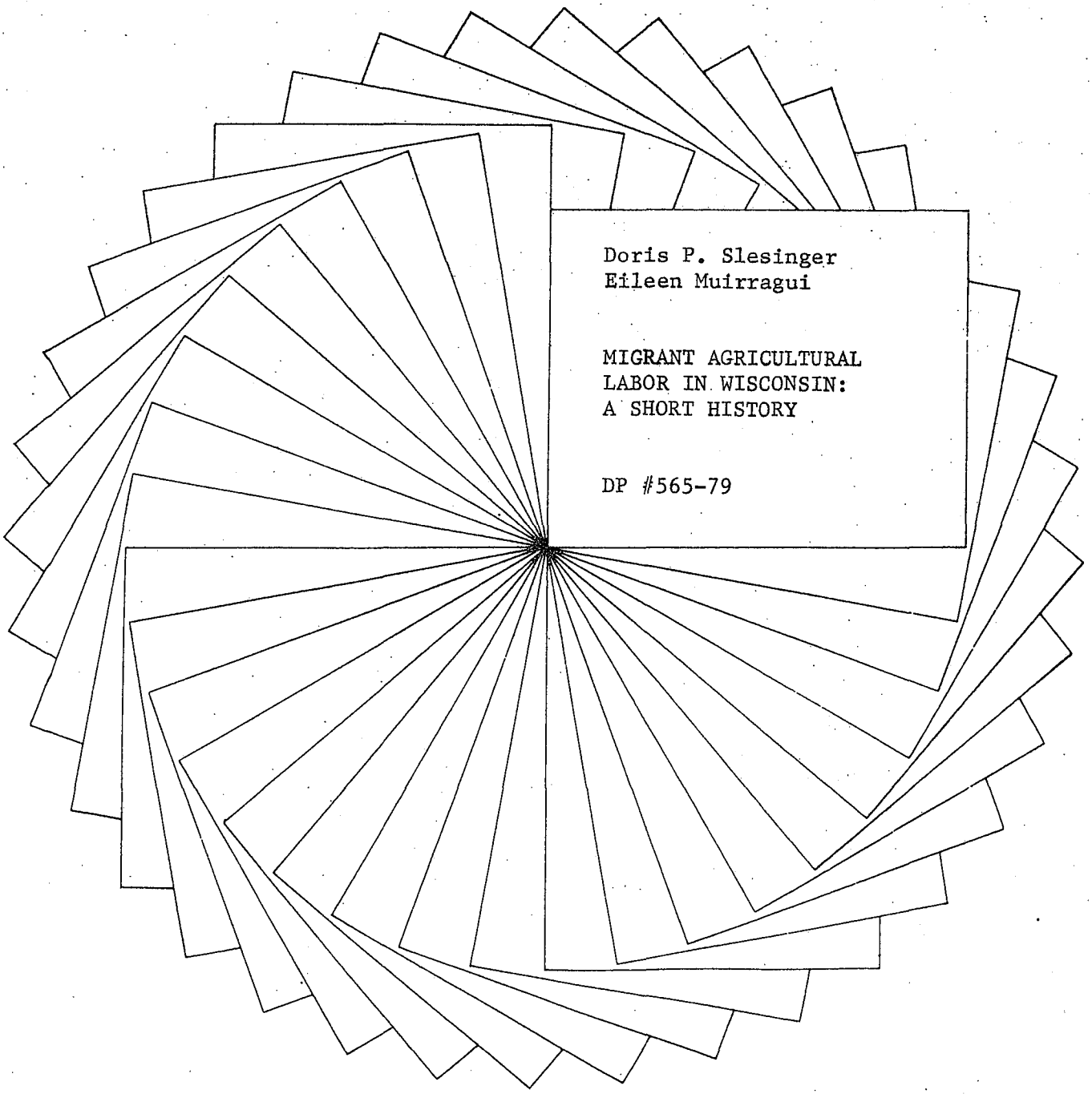

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MIGRANT AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN WISCONSIN: A SHORT HISTORY

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Migrant Agricultural Labor in Wisconsin:

A Short History

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the relationship between certain sectors of Wisconsin agriculture and their need for seasonal workers since the turn of the century. The paper traces the use of major workers of European origin during the expansion of the sugar beet industry, through their replacement in the 1930s by Hispanic workers, i.e., those of Mexican heritage living in southern Texas and Mexican nationals, and the use of foreign workers and prisoners of war during World War II. The reliance on workers of Hispanic heritage, who make up the major proportion of migrant workers today, is linked to the transformation of Wisconsin into a leading state in the production of vegetable crops for processing. The history of the use of migrants in such major crops such as cucumbers and cherries is discussed in detail.

The paper also reviews the rapid decline of employment of migrant workers since the mid 1950s, and suggests some factors that played an important role, such as mechanization of the planting and harvesting of crops, the introduction of chemical products such as herbicides and pesticides which supplanted hoeing and weeding, and the effects of more stringent protective legislation which provided minimum standards of housing, sanitation and working conditions. Changes in proportions of migrants employed in field vs, cannery work are reviewed, and predictions as to trends in future use of migrant labor are offered.

A Short History of Migrant Agricultural Labor in Wisconsin

The history of the use of migrant farm labor in Wisconsin begins at the turn of the century. This paper will examine the relationship between the structure of certain sectors of Wisconsin agriculture and their needs for seasonal agricultural workers. On the basis of these trends, some general projections for the future use of migrant workers in Wisconsin will be made.

Wisconsin statutes (Chapter 17, Laws of 1977) define a migrant worker as:

> "any person who temporarily leaves a principal place of residence outside of this state and comes to this state for not more than 10 months in a year to accept seasonal employment in the planting, cultivating, harvesting, handling, drying, packing, packaging, processing, freezing, grading, or storing of fruits and vegetables; in nursery work; in sod farming or in Christmas tree cultivation or harvesting."[1]

Migrant laborers and their dependents in this state have never numbered more than 20,000 for any given year, a very small proportion of the overall flow of migrant agricultural workers in the United States.[2] It is difficult, however, to estimate the number of migrants employed in a given year. Among the problems are rapid worker turnover, temporary workers not hired under contract, nonworking dependents (and children working illegally), migrants working nonagricultural jobs, double counting the same worker in different parts of the state at different times, and migrants who enter, leave, and reenter the state during the same season.[3] In 1978, the total number of migrants who came to Wisconsin was estimated to be 5,000 to 6,000, of which approximately 4,000 were workers and the remainder dependents.[4]

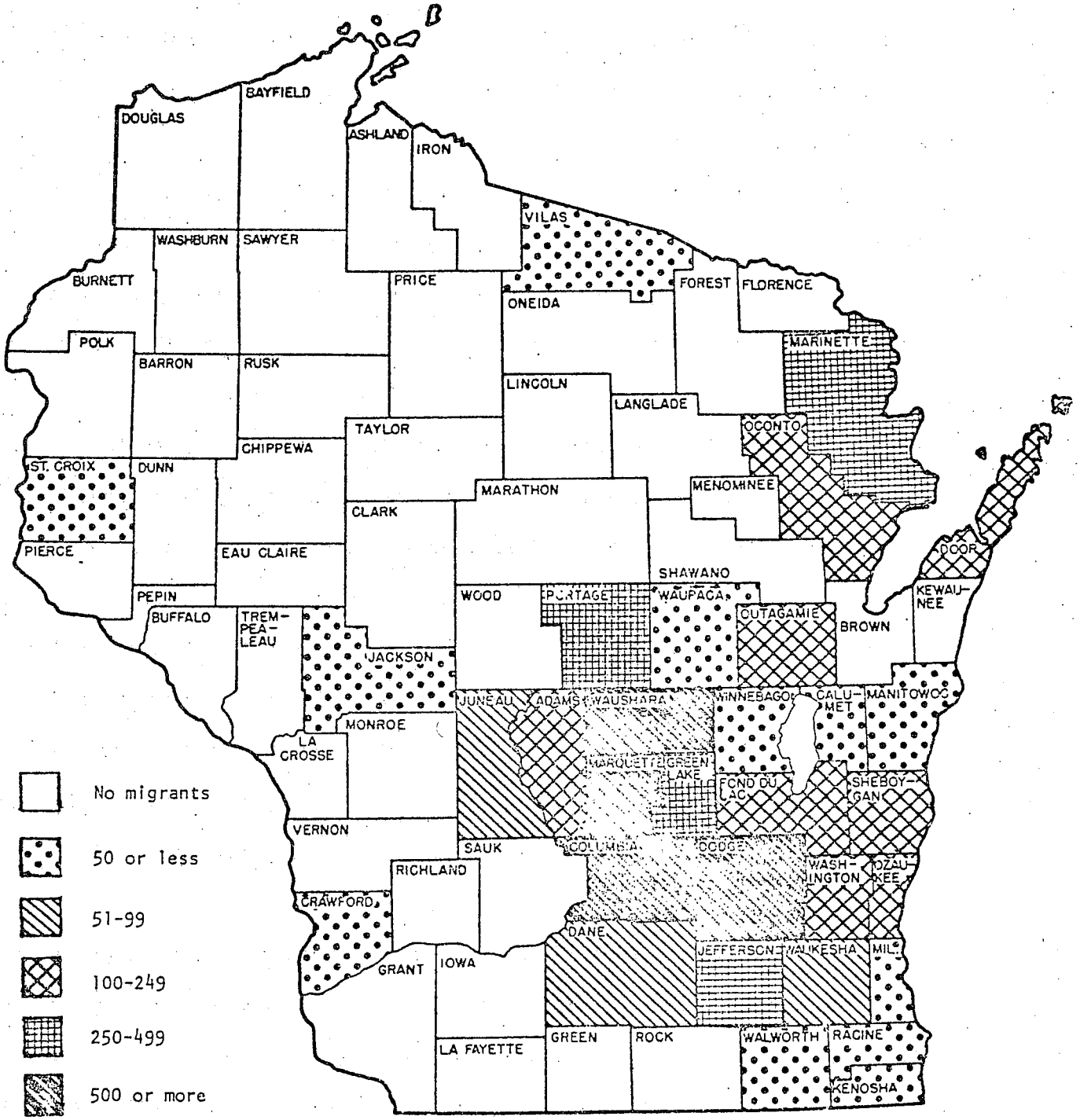
Despite their small numbers in the state, migrants have made important contributions to Wisconsin's agricultural economy, particularly in the production of numerous vegetables for processing, in which the state has ranked first in

the country for many years. At present migrants are employed predominantly by the canning industry for processing peas, sweet corn, green, lima and wax beans, red beets, and cabbage for sauerkraut. Employed in the harvesting of cucumbers for pickles, carrots, cherries, and Christmas trees, migrants also work in cultivation in nurseries and sod farms. Their work is seasonal, extending between the months of April and November. The major areas in which they are found are in south central Wisconsin, particularly in Dodge, Marquette, Jefferson, and Columbia counties. (See Figure 1.) Over 90 percent of Wisconsin migrants are of Spanish-speaking origin, primarily from the area of the Rio Grande Valley in south Texas.[6]

Wisconsin did not originally use migrants from the Southwest but relied predominantly on workers of European extraction recruited from the low income areas of several midwestern cities, including Sheboygan, Milwaukee, Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City.[7] These workers were of Belgian origin at first but were gradually replaced by Germans and Russians. The use of these workers was tied to the period of expansion of sugar beet and vegetable production in the early 1900s. Many of these workers eventually bought their own farms, settled out of the migrant stream, and became permanent residents of the state. Exact figures, however, are unavailable, as is noted by a report issued by the Wisconsin Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor in 1968: "How many came and how many worked in crops other than sugar beets are among the many unknowns in the migrant story in Wisconsin."[8]

Only in the 1920s and early 1930s[9] did the use of migrant workers of Spanish-speaking origin (i.e. Hispanics of Mexican heritage living in Texas, or Mexicans) became more prevalent. Representatives of the sugar beet companies

Figure 1. Estimated Migrant Population by County, 1978



Source: D. Slesinger, Migrant Agricultural Workers in Wisconsin. University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of Rural Sociology, Population Notes 8.

actively recruited these workers from the Southwest, an area which had rapidly become one of the largest reservoirs of seasonal farm labor for more than thirty states.[10] About 3,000 Texas-Mexicans came to Wisconsin annually during the 1930s,[11] and by 1950, they made up the major part of out of state agricultural workers.

By 1942, as war conditions created great pressure on domestic labor supplies, labor shortages developed which were especially serious in agriculture. At the same time, Wisconsin growers had increased production to support the war effort, and food processors were making great efforts also to expand production and meet higher demand for canned goods. Under the circumstances, it became evident that an organized labor recruitment mechanism on a national scale was necessary, resulting in the establishment of the national Emergency Farm Labor Program in 1943, continuing until 1947. This program allowed coordination between federal agencies and state offices for agricultural extension. In Wisconsin it then became possible to import male workers from Jamaica, the Bahamas, British Honduras, and Mexico. In addition, prisoners of war from Germany and Italy were also used. By 1945, then, 6,700 foreign agricultural workers were employed in Wisconsin, only 1,300 of whom were Mexicans.[12] (See Table 1.) During this time period Texas-Mexicans continued coming to Wisconsin, although better job opportunities in Texas reduced their number.

The immediate post World War II period was characterized by occupational shifts by many year-round Wisconsin agricultural workers. At the same time, Wisconsin's production of crops requiring large numbers of seasonal workers did not decrease. Growers, then, increasingly recruited domestic migrants and fewer foreigners. About 85 percent of the migrant workers used in Wisconsin in the immediate post World War II period were Texas-Mexicans.[13] The remaining percentage was recruited from neighboring states, from the South (mostly from

Table 1

Employment of Foreign and Domestic Migrants
in Wisconsin, 1943-1954

Year	British West Indians	Mexican Nationals	Prisoners of War	Total Foreign	Domestic Migrants	Total Migrant
1943	1,300	0	100	1,400	NA	NA
1944	2,200	800	275	3,275	NA	NA
1945	1,900[a]	1,300	3,500	6,700	NA	NA
1946	1,912[b]	1,921	300	4,133	3,500	7,633
1947	196	2,638	0	2,834	5,000	7,834
1948	NA	NA	0	1,300	NA	NA
1949	NA	NA	0	1,533	NA	NA
1950	NA	NA	0	1,154	NA	NA
1951	3,400	200	0	3,600	NA	NA
1952	3,400	260	0	3,660	NA	NA
1953	3,500	500	0	4,000	NA	NA
1954	NA	NA	0	2,963	8,881	11,844

Sources: 1943-1947: L.C. Sorden, E. Long, and M. Salick, The Wisconsin Farm Labor Program, (Madison: University of Wisconsin Agricultural Extension Service, 1948), p. 8; J. Huber, "Migratory Agricultural Workers in Wisconsin" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1967), p. 118.

[a]This figure does not include the number of workers provided by 45 White Bahamian families.

[b]This figure does not include the number of workers provided by 2 White Bahamian families.

Louisiana or Mississippi), and from the Chippewa, Oneida, and Menominee Indian tribes in Northern Wisconsin.

After World War II, the Emergency Farm Labor Program was discontinued and responsibility for agricultural labor recruitment reverted to individual employers and to state employment offices. The war experience and the emergence of fairly regular migratory routes, however, made it substantially easier than before for the Wisconsin State Employment Service (WSES) to coordinate labor recruitment and develop various migrant programs.[14] One goal of the WSES was to help recruit and utilize workers in such a way as to alleviate unemployment and underemployment. WSES also proved to be particularly useful to employers in several new post war agricultural activities needing substantial amounts of out of state labor. In 1949, for example, WSES established a temporary office in Door County to help coordinate employment during the cherry harvest and to refer migrants to other sources of employment upon its completion. In 1950, a similar program was conducted during the Waushara County cucumber harvest. By 1953 the program was expanded to include all WSES district offices in areas employing migrants. In addition to recruitment, the program was designed to ease the transfer of workers among harvest activities within the state. Following Wisconsin's example, the Annual Worker Plan was adopted nationally for migrant agricultural workers in 1954.[15] In spite of its national influence, however, many of the WSES district offices in Wisconsin faced serious problems in meeting the program's goal as a result of lack of staff and/or support for migrant programs.

The 1955-1978 time span had three distinguishing features in terms of demand for migrant workers. Mechanization and the use of chemical inputs in agriculture became increasingly prevalent and lowered the requirements for labor. Concurrently, the demand for labor grew because during this period the average

size of farms increased, and demand for the types of crops on which migrants worked was also growing. Moreover, many of these crops were more difficult to harvest mechanically because of their perishability. Thus, different labor demand factors, often pushing in opposite directions, determined the number of migrants used annually.

A reflection of these trends is clear when the statistical data on migrants are examined. For example, the number of migrants employed in Wisconsin agriculture increased from an annual average of 8,000 in the late 1940s to approximately 12,000 in the 1950s.[16] (Figure 2.) The use of large numbers of foreign workers in Wisconsin continued in the post World War II period, especially under the impetus of the Bracero Program. This program, which operated between 1951 and 1964, evolved from a long series of previous agreements between governments of the United States and Mexico. It allowed for the legal importation of Mexican workers into this country provided there was a shortage of domestic workers. After 1963, and with the demise of this program, there have been few workers coming into Wisconsin directly from foreign countries.[17]

A peak in numbers of migrants employed in Wisconsin was reached in the mid 1950s. At this time a figure of close to 15,000 migrant workers was recorded. Nonetheless, by the early 1960s it was predicted that from "two-thirds to three-fourths of the work that migrants now do by hand may be done by machines within the next four years."[18]

The mechanization that was to cut sharply the number of migrant workers in Wisconsin can be traced back to the early 1950s, beginning with the mechanization of harvest operations in sugar beets, potatoes, and snap beans. These crops were relatively easy to mechanize, since they were not as delicate as other fruits and vegetables grown in the state. Several beet harvesting

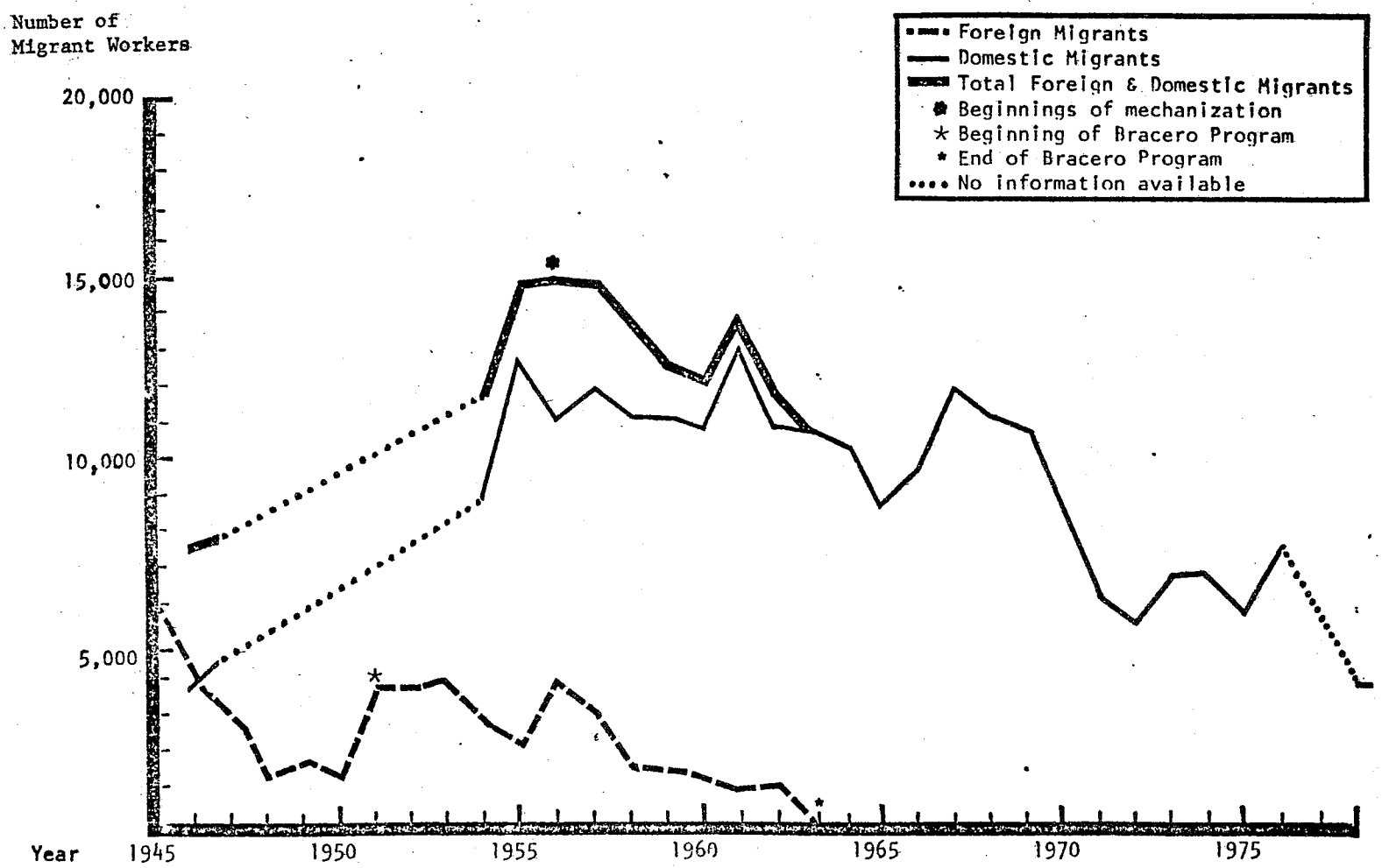


Figure 2. Employment of Foreign and Domestic Migrant Workers in Wisconsin, 1945-1978.

Sources: John Huber, "Migratory Agricultural Workers in Wisconsin" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1967), Elizabeth B. Raushenbush, Wisconsin Governor's Commission on Migratory Labor Report for 1966 and 1967 (Madison: DILHR, 1968), pp. 5, 21, 23; WSES, "Fact Sheet on Out of State Workers in Wisconsin", 1966-1978; N. Flores and D. Hannigan, Report on Migrant Labor in Wisconsin (Madison, 1977), p. 16.

machines were used in Wisconsin as early as 1949. The potato harvesting machine was steadily improved and virtually supplanted hand harvesting by the 1960s. A snap bean harvester was adopted around 1954 and was so successful that it was a major contributing factor in making Wisconsin the state producing the largest amount of snap beans for processing in the nation. Between 1950 and 1960, complete mechanization of pea, green bean, and corn harvesting was also achieved.[19]

The mechanization of cucumber harvesting was not as simply achieved and thus the demand for migrants in this sector (Table 2) has an interesting history. In the 1950s a significant portion of the total Wisconsin cucumber crop went to the H.J. Heinz Company for pickling. In the late 1950s, however, the Heinz Company closed down its operations in the state and relocated in Iowa. This development had a significant impact on the pickling cucumber industry in Wisconsin since the acreage devoted to cucumbers was greatly reduced and demand for migrant workers fell.

Mechanization of the harvest was attempted in the early sixties and three machines were used experimentally in 1966. This number rose to eighteen by 1967. The results were not satisfactory since mechanical harvesters tended to damage the cucumbers used for pickling. Thereafter, harvesting machines tended to be used only with cucumbers used for making relish. In addition, the large scale use of mechanical harvesters could be economical only with the development of a plant that could yield enough cucumbers on a once-over harvest to exceed per acre expenses.[20]

In 1968, growth in acreage devoted to cucumbers was accompanied by a drastic decrease in the use of migrants. Factors contributing to this development included a reaction by growers against attempts to organize cucumber workers by Obreros Unidos, a short-lived local organization, as

Table 2

Employment of Migrants
in the Wisconsin Cucumber Harvest, 1960-1978

Year	Number
1960	5,533
1961	4,889
1962	3,793
1963	4,367
1964	4,141
1965	NA
1966	4,300
1967	5,100
1968	4,500
1969	5,000
1970	3,100
1971	1,260
1972	1,090
1973	1,728
1974	1,428
1975	1,033
1976	NA
1977	NA
1978	980

Source: Elizabeth B. Raushenbush, A Study of Migratory Workers in Cucumber Harvesting (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1964), p. 19; WSES, "Fact Sheet on Out of State Workers in Wisconsin," 1966-1978.

well as the impact of more stringent federal housing requirements for migrant workers. Furthermore, the number of migrants employed dropped drastically as a result of three successive years of bumper crops in which tremendous stocks were accumulated. Since 1971, the numbers of migrants employed in cucumbers have been significantly lower than what they were ten years ago. Nonetheless, at present the Wisconsin cucumber harvest employs more migrants than that of any other crop grown in the state. Estimated workers in cucumbers in 1978 made up almost 27 percent of the total number of migrant workers, whereas potatoes, the crop employing the second largest percentage of migrants, employed only six percent of the total.[21]

The mechanization of the cherry harvest is also a development of the past fifteen years. Its use resulted from an attempt by Wisconsin growers to cut down on production costs through the development of a mechanical tree shaker. It was anticipated that, by cutting down on labor expenses, Wisconsin growers would be more competitive with their counterparts in Michigan, where, owing to soil and weather conditions, there are higher yields per tree. The impact of mechanization of the cherry harvest on labor demand has been substantial. By 1968, 40 percent of the crop was being harvested by machine, and by 1978, almost the entire crop. The estimated number of migrant workers in the cherry harvest fell to 129 in 1975 and to 50 in 1978. (See Table 3.) These figures are striking in view of the fact that the cherry orchards were once the largest employers of migrants, having used 6,000 in 1949 and 2,000 in 1967.[22] Moreover, observers of the industry note that cherry production is being phased out: in recent years many of the cherry orchards have been converted to apple, strawberry, or raspberry production. The future demand for migrant workers in cherries will consequently be almost nil.

Table 3

Employment of Migrants
in the Wisconsin Cherry Harvest, 1966-1978

Year	Number
1966	2,074
1967	2,150
1968	1,700
1969	750
1970	800
1971	750
1972	275
1973	122
1974	45
1975	129
1976	NA
1977	NA
1978	50

Source: WSES, "Fact Sheet on Out of State Workers in Wisconsin," 1966-1978.

Strawberries, another crop requiring large amounts of hand harvesting, also employed many migrant workers in the past. As labor costs increased, however, instead of mechanizing, strawberry growers in Wisconsin eliminated migrant jobs by converting fields into "pick-it-yourself" operations. At present, about 99 percent of the strawberries grown in Wisconsin belong to this category.[23]

Not all of the decline in the use of migrant labor in Wisconsin has been due to mechanization. Another influential factor has been the increased use of herbicides in agricultural production. Many migrants had previously been employed for weed control where crops were grown intensively and were of high acre value. Two crops in which weed control was especially important were onion and mint. Onions are poor competitors with weeds, so migrants were employed to walk the fields and remove the undesirable growth. At present, migrants have been virtually displaced in this task by the herbicides. Weed control was also crucial in mint production, since pure mint hay is essential for obtaining mint oil of good flavor. Chemical products, however, are now able to eliminate all undesirable competitors except wild mint.[24] Thus, the development of herbicides has cut down on the use of migrant labor.

To summarize, since 1950 there has been a declining trend in the numbers of migrant workers employed in the fields by Wisconsin growers. The growing impact of mechanized harvesting on employment was undeniable by 1968 when, for the first time, food processing plants used more migrants than any other group of users.[25] In 1978, however, only 45 percent of migrant workers were employed in food processing. (See Table 4.)

Given the trends evidenced in recent years, one can readily conclude that the era of large numbers of migrant workers in Wisconsin is coming to a close. From a peak migrant population (i.e., workers and their dependents) of about

Table 4

Comparison of Employment of
Out of State Agricultural Workers in Wisconsin, 1966-1978

Year	Migrants in Field Work	Percentage of Total	Migrants in Processing	Percentage of Total
1966	6,776	71.2%	2,746	28.8%
1967	6,500	55.5	5,200	44.5
1968	5,400	48.2	5,800	51.8
1969	4,920	46.0	5,780	54.0
1970	4,500	51.1	4,300	48.9
1971	2,624	40.7	3,811	59.3
1972	2,250	39.8	3,400	60.2
1973	2,701	39.7	4,108	60.3
1974	2,663	38.7	4,220	61.3
1975	3,013	50.5	2,943	49.5
1976	NA	NA	NA	NA
1977	NA	NA	NA	NA
1978	2,050	55.3	1,660	44.7

Source: Calculated from WSES, "Fact Sheet on Out of State Workers in Wisconsin," 1966-1978.

20,000 in 1955, this number decreased by almost one-half, to 10,000 by 1970, and was more than halved to about 5,000 in 1978.[26] In addition, the ratio of peak employment of local versus migrant seasonal laborers increased from 1.66 to 1 in 1968 to 3.46 to 1 in 1975. (See Table 5.)

Today, the number of migrant workers employed annually in any crop except cucumbers is less that 225. Although nearly 1000 migrants are currently employed by cucumber growers, it is safe to predict that with increasing mechanization and/or the adoption of a new type of cucumber more amenable to mechanical harvesting, the demand for migrants in this sector will drop drastically. Of course, this displacement of workers by machines will not occur overnight and will vary according to the size of the growing operation and the ratio of costs of the new techniques to the old in each case. That displacement will eventually take place, however, seems certain, given the history of mechanization in other agricultural areas.

This leaves the food processing sector as the only other possible large-scale employer of migrant workers, suggesting that in future years, certain current employment trends may come to strongly influence the hiring of migrant labor. For example, at present, about one-half of the migrants in the canneries come as "singles", i.e., unmarried workers, or workers having migrated without their families. From the point of view of employers, singles are preferred to families since they require fewer supporting services. From the migrants' viewpoint, it is also more advantageous to work in the canneries instead of in the fields. Cannery work tends to be more regular, less dependent on weather conditions, and generally higher paying. It is thus likely that in the future more single contracts will result, but that the demand for them in the canneries will stabilize at lower levels. There are two factors that support this projection.

Table 5

Comparison of Peak Employment of Migrant vs. Local Labor in Seasonal Agricultural Jobs In Wisconsin, 1968-1975

Year	Peak Local Employment	Peak Migrant Employment	Peak Total	Ratio Local/Migrant
1968	15,460	9,262	24,722	1.66/1
1969	16,350	9,444	22,995	1.73/1
1970	15,596	7,153	21,887	2.18/1
1971	17,498	4,628	21,689	3.78/1
1972	16,145	4,385	19,931	3.68/1
1973	14,708	4,397	18,162	3.35/1
1974	16,396	4,290	20,686	3.82/1
1975	15,015	4,340	19,355	3.46/1

Source: Wisconsin Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations, Rural Manpower Service, Wisconsin Annual Farm Labor Report, Appendix: Rural Manpower Report, 1972, 1974, and 1975.

The most influential of these factors is the adoption of new laws designed to protect migrant workers in Wisconsin. Among the most important of these are the 1951, 1957, 1961, 1965, 1971, 1973 and 1977 state laws requiring increasingly more stringent enforcement of registration, inspection and certification of migrant camps.[27] There has been particular antipathy towards the 1977 law, Assembly Bill 404, which regulates housing, job contracts, guaranteed work and transportation. The reaction of many employers to this legislation has been negative and some predict that it will hasten the end of the use of migrant workers. A spokesman for the Wisconsin Canners and Freezers Association, for example, has noted that with the new laws, the cost of hiring migrants is over thirty cents per hour more than local labor.[28] In addition, much of the investment required for bringing migrant housing up to standards decreases the amount available for cannery improvement. Until mechanization can replace migrants in many of their current tasks, however, they must be used. Their relatively greater expense, nonetheless, will surely encourage the adoption and development of more mechanization.

The second factor likely to cut down on the number of migrant laborers in the processing sector is the greater reliance on year-round labor. As canneries diversify and no longer deal with perishable summer crops, they are able to utilize their plant facilities all year and thus get year-round returns on their capital investment. Migrants are therefore likely to be used only marginally during the peak labor demand period in the summer season.

The era of heavy migration by seasonal workers is almost over in Wisconsin. Ironically, the laws designed to improve the often miserable situation of these hard working people are contributing to their displacement. Some have found and others will find permanent employment in Wisconsin or in other states if

they are willing to settle far from their homes and learn new skills. The employment fate of many others, however, may rest on increased investments in vocational and educational training, and a transitional period of greater public assistance.

NOTES

[1]Quoted in Ness Flores and Daniel Hannigan, Report on Migrant Labor in Wisconsin (Madison, Wisconsin: Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor, June 1977), p. 14.

[2]John Huber, "Migratory Agricultural Workers in Wisconsin" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1967), p. 6; in 1959 the number of migrant workers in Wisconsin was 2.3 percent of the national farm worker population. In 1971 and 1975 the percentages were 3.7 and 3.2 respectively (calculated from Flores and Hannigan, Huber, and Wisconsin State Employment Service (WSES) "Fact Sheets on Out of State Workers in Wisconsin," 1971 and 1975).

[3]When gathering historical material from different sources, the following problems were encountered (among others). First some sources counted peak number of workers while others counted total number throughout the season. Second, the calculations of the Wisconsin Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations (DILHR)--the main source of information on numbers of migrants--are often based on reports from growers and canners at one point in time (probably at peak hiring times), and probably do not include migrants in unregistered, illegal camps, nor informally hired workers.

[4]Wisconsin State Employment Service, "Fact Sheet on Out of State Workers in Wisconsin, 1978," and Slesinger, D.P., "Migrant Agricultural Workers in Wisconsin," Population Note Number 8 (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Department of Rural Sociology, July 1979).

[5]For precise figures in given years see, Wisconsin Department of Agriculture and U.S. Department of Agriculture, Wisconsin Agricultural Statistics.

[6]Flores and Hannigan, p. 14.

[7]Huber, p. 8.

[8]Elizabeth B. Raushenbush, Wisconsin Governor's Committee on Migratory Labor Report for 1966 and 1967 with a Summary of Earlier Developments (Madison: DILHR, 1968), p. 5.

[9]The exact date is not known, cf. Raushenbush, Migratory Labor Report for 1966, p. 5, versus Huber, p. 8.

[10]William H. Metzler and Frederick O. Sargent, Migratory Farmworkers in the Midcontinent Streams (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Research Service, 1960), p. 1.

[11]Huber, p. 8.

[12]Huber, p. 118. For interesting accounts of this period, see Wisconsin Farm Labor Program (Madison: University of Wisconsin, College of Agriculture, Extension Service, 1947); L.G. Sorden, E. Long and M. Salick, The Wisconsin Farm Labor Program 1943-1947 (Madison: University of Wisconsin, Agriculture Extension Service, 1948); and Flores, Edmundo, "Mexican Migratory Workers in Wisconsin" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1945). The latter is particularly informative about the characteristics and employment conditions of Mexican nationals recruited.

[13]Huber, p. 18

[14]For an interesting discussion and graphic exposition of major migratory routes followed by Texas-Mexicans, see Metzler and Sargent, pp. 17-20.

[15]U.S. Senate, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, 86th Congress, 1st Session, August 7, 26, September 28, 30, October 1, November 30, December 7 and 8, 1959, p. 245.

[16]Huber, p. 16

[17]Each year, however, Wisconsin does host a small handful of foreign agricultural workers. Some have been recruited in other states, some can be presumed to be illegal, and others have entered the country under special short-term work or entry permits.

[18]Metzler and Sargent, p. 57.

[19]Interview with Professor John Schoenemann, Department of Horticulture, College of Agriculture and Life Sciences, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 21 August, 1978; Huber, p. 39.

[20]Wisconsin Department of Industry, Labor and Human Relations, Rural Manpower Service, Wisconsin Annual Farm Labor Report, 1966, p. 6; 1967, p. 6.

[21]WSES, Wisconsin Annual Farm Labor Report, 1968, p. 4; WSES, "Fact Sheet on Out of State Workers in Wisconsin," 1978.

[22]WSES, Wisconsin Annual Farm Labor Report, 1968, p. 4; WSES, "Fact Sheet on Out of State Workers in Wisconsin," 1975 and 1978; U.S. Senate, p. 245; Raushenbush, Migratory Labor Report for 1966, p. 33.

[23]Information obtained from Schoenemann interview.

[24]Ibid.

[25]Raushenbush, Migratory Labor Report for 1966, p. 33.

[26]Huber, p. 118; WSES, "Fact Sheet on Out of State Workers in Wisconsin," 1970 and 1978.

[27]For a detailed discussion of the laws protecting migrants, see Elizabeth B. Raushenbush, The Migrant Labor Problem in Wisconsin (Madison: Governor's Committee on Human Rights, 1962), pp. 21-36, Raushenbush, Migratory Labor Report for 1966, pp. 8-12, and Wisconsin Annual Farm Labor Reports.

[28]Interview with Marvin Verhulst, Executive Director of Wisconsin Canners and Freezers Association, 1937-1971, and Counsel to the Association, 1972 to present, 6 September, 1978.