



International Agricultural Trade and Policy Center

The U.S. Farm Labor Market Post-IRCA: An Assessment of
Employment Patterns, Farm Worker Earnings and Legal Status

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Abstract

Immigration reform may significantly impact the specialty crops sector since more than half of the workforce is foreign-born and undocumented. Based on data from the National Agricultural Workers Survey, the trends pertaining to workers' legal status, employment and wage rates in the U.S. and Florida farm labor markets are examined.

Keywords: Immigration reform, legal status, specialty crops, employment, wage rates.

JEL Code: J430

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The U.S. Farm Labor Market Post-IRCA: An Assessment of Employment Patterns, Farm Worker Earnings and Legal Status*

Background

U.S. immigration policy has long been intertwined with the labor needs of the U.S. agricultural industry (Levine, 2004). This is particularly evident in the specialty crop sector where growers are the largest users of hired and contract workers on a per-farm basis (Oliveira et al. 1993) due to the heavy reliance on manual labor for seasonal tasks. Employers have hired a largely immigrant workforce in recent years, of which more than half of all workers lack the required authorization for U.S. employment. According to the 2002 National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) Report, unauthorized workers comprised 53 percent of the U.S. crop workforce – a slight decrease from 2000 when an estimated 55 percent of the workforce was unauthorized (Carroll et al. 2005). Comprehensive immigration reform was last undertaken via the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) of 1986, a major objective of which was to discourage the use of unauthorized labor by U.S. employers. Employer sanctions, a supplemental guest worker program, modification of the H-2 program and legalization of unauthorized workers were the key measures that were mandated by IRCA. Approximately 1.3 million unauthorized workers were granted legal status under the Special Agricultural Worker (SAW) program that was specific to agriculture.

There is considerable evidence however, which suggests that IRCA has not been as effective as lawmakers had intended since illegal immigration has increased rather than decreased since IRCA's passage, and there has been no significant decrease in the employment of unauthorized workers in the agricultural sector in particular. Consequently, there has been renewed national interest in immigration

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reform; recent proposals to the U.S. Congress have included recommendations for various combinations of increased border and interior enforcement, legalization programs and guest worker programs. In light of these developments, agricultural employers are concerned that labor availability and cost may be affected if the supply of unauthorized immigrant labor is restricted¹, and that the subsequent wage increases may lead to significant crop losses in the short-run.

Given this overall context, the aim of this paper is to assess how the U.S. and Florida farm labor markets have evolved since IRCA's passage. We utilize all available data from the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) for 1989 to 2004, and evaluate summary statistics on employment duration and wage patterns, payment methods and employment levels by employer type and the tasks to which workers are assigned. The legal status of the workforce is central to the discussion and the participation of unauthorized workers is a key area of interest.

The National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) Data

The National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) is an employment-based, random survey of the demographic and employment characteristics of the U.S. crop labor force. It pertains to mostly field workers in perishable crops such as fruits and vegetables, nursery crops, field crops and cash grains. The survey is conducted annually in three cycles to reflect the seasonality of agricultural production and employment, and uses site-area sampling to obtain a nationally representative cross-section. The number of interviews within a cycle is proportionate to the amount of seasonal agricultural service activity at the time of year.

In this paper, our findings are based on a national sample of 42,104 workers and a Florida sub-sample of 5,082 workers for 1989 through 2004. Florida is singled out for comparison as a major producer of specialty crops, and with high labor intensity relative to the rest of the United States. According to the 2002 Census of Agriculture, hired and contract labor expenditures as percentages of production expenditures were 10.7 percent and 2 percent, respectively, for the U.S. agricultural sector,

¹ Authorized workers, such as those on guest worker permits, may also be affected if new legislation is somewhat more restrictive in scope.

whereas Florida had hired and contract labor expenditures that were 24.4 percent and 8.9 percent, respectively, of overall production expenditure. The data analysis is organized into two categories: demographics and labor market characteristics. The demographics section constructs a brief profile of the average farm worker employed in the U.S. and Florida labor markets between 1989 and 2004, whereas the labor market characteristics section summarizes employment duration and levels, wage patterns and payment methods by employer type and the tasks to which workers are assigned at the time of the interview over the sample period. The findings are interpreted in the context of distinctions between authorized and unauthorized farm workers to better understand what particular aspects of agriculture may be most affected under alternative immigration reform legislation, and to the extent possible, results for Florida are contrasted with the U.S. Throughout the study, ‘authorized’ denotes workers who were either citizens, permanent residents, or were otherwise permitted to work in the United States, whereas ‘unauthorized’ denotes those workers who lacked employment authorization at the time of the interviews. Where references are specific to foreign-born authorized workers, those distinctions will be made.

Demographics

The average worker in the U.S. farm labor market over the sample period was 33.5 years old and foreign-born. Approximately 71.5 percent of all workers characterized themselves as Mexican, whereas 15.3 percent and 6.5 percent characterized themselves as non-Hispanic and Mexican-American, respectively. With respect to race, almost half (49%) of all workers categorized themselves as white, while 5.39 percent preferred to be categorized as American Indian/Alaskan/indigenous. Only 19.8 percent of all U.S. farm workers indicated that they could speak English well, whereas 41 percent reported that they could not speak English at all. Approximately 80 percent of all U.S. farm workers considered Spanish as their primary language. The findings are similar for the Florida labor market: for example, the average worker age was 32.8 years and most workers characterized themselves as Mexican (58%). Other workers preferred to be described as ‘other’ Hispanic (16%), non-Hispanic (15.3%) and Mexican American (4.6%). Only 11 percent of all Florida farm workers over the sample period considered English as their primary language, whereas roughly 76 percent considered Spanish to be their

primary language. Further, most of the workforce could not speak English at all (47%), whereas 13 percent indicated that they could speak it well. These results would seem to suggest that the majority of the workforce would be limited in their ability to participate in the mainstream economy (Emerson, 2000).

Labor Market Characteristics

Employer Type & Legal Status

Between 1989 and 2004, approximately 42 percent of the U.S. farm workforce was unauthorized for employment in the United States. Of the 58 percent who were authorized, the distribution was fairly even among workers who were citizens (24%) and possessed green cards (25%) whereas 9 percent had some alternative form of work authorization, such as guest permits. Roughly 80 percent of all farm workers in the U.S. over the sample period had been hired by growers directly, whereas farm labor contractors had hired 20 percent. Comparing workforce composition by legal status,² the proportion of authorized to unauthorized workers was higher among growers over the sample period: approximately 63 percent of workers employed by growers were authorized for U.S. employment whereas only 43 percent of the workforce employed by contractors was authorized. Table 1 presents the trends for the U.S. farm workforce by legal status and employer type for specific periods: 1989-1998, 1999-2001, and 2002-2004. The proportion of authorized workers was higher for growers than contractors on average, although more unauthorized than authorized workers were employed by both types of employers in the 1999-2001 period. Despite a slight downturn in the 2002-2004 period, the overall proportion of unauthorized workers for each employer type remained significant overall.

In Florida, the proportion of authorized to unauthorized workers in the labor market was more even across the sample period, in that roughly half of all workers fell in either category. Citizens comprised 20 percent, whereas green card holders and workers with alternate authorization comprised 17 percent and 13 percent, respectively, of the workforce. Seventy-six percent of all workers were hired

² Legal status is self-reported by the worker in the NAWS. Workers are asked whether or not they are citizens, and if not, what form of work authorization, if any, they have.

directly by growers, and slightly less than half (47%) of them were unauthorized for U.S. employment. Similarly to the national sample, contractors employed a relatively small portion of the workforce (24%), but tended to hire a larger percentage of unauthorized workers (67%) on average. On a period by period basis (Table 1), and in comparison to the national sample, the participation of unauthorized workers in the Florida farm labor market was more pronounced among both types of employers, particularly in the later years. Between 1999 and 2001 for instance, approximately 86 percent of the workforce hired by contractors was unauthorized for U.S. employment, whereas for growers, this percentage was about 56 percent. For the 2002-2004 period, workers of both types of employers self-reported that they were mostly unauthorized – approximately 73 percent of all workers employed by growers and 76 percent of all workers employed by contractors self-reported that they were unauthorized for work in the U.S.

At the time of the NAWS interviews, workers were employed in either pre-harvest, harvest, post-harvest, semi-skilled, supervisory, or other jobs. Most of the workers (41.9%) employed in Florida were harvest workers, with pre-harvest, post-harvest and semi-skilled workers representing 19.8 percent, 8.76 percent and 7.61 percent, respectively, of the workforce. This is similar to the composition by task at the U.S. level, except that the U.S. proportion of harvest workers is less (34.5%). The percentage of workers by legal status employed in each task at the time of interview for both regions over the sample period is shown in Table 2. An obvious characteristic at both the state and national levels is that unauthorized workers constitute significantly larger proportions of the pre-harvest and harvest work crews, than is the case for the remaining categories. Similar results were found when the data were analyzed for specific time periods, but the high proportion of unauthorized workers at the unskilled task levels (pre-harvest and harvest) was most apparent for the 2002-2004 period, as shown in Figure 1.³

Employment Duration

The duration of labor force activity is organized in terms of farm and non-farm employment spells⁴, unemployment spells, and the time workers spent abroad over the sample period as well as within

³ The supervisory category is not presented as it has too few observations to be meaningful.

⁴ A “spell” in the NAWS data is a continuous period of activity with the same employer and task (if employed).

specific time frames. For the U.S. as a whole, authorized foreign-born workers spent 15 years on average in the United States between 1989 and 2004, and were employed for almost 13 years in the farm sector and 1.5 years in the non-farm sector.⁵ Not surprisingly, unauthorized foreign-born workers had spent considerably less time in the U.S. or being employed for that matter: their average length of U.S. stay was 4.8 years, and they had spent 4.3 years doing farm work and less than one year doing non-farm work. These trends bore some similarity to those for foreign-born workers in Florida: on average, authorized workers had spent 12.67 years in the U.S, 10 years in farm work and slightly more than a year in non-farm work, respectively. In contrast, unauthorized workers had spent 4.6 years on average in the U.S, 4.3 years in farm work and less than one year in non-farm work.

Comparison of the trends across specific periods show that legal status notwithstanding, foreign-born farm workers have opted for longer stays in the U.S. in recent years (2002-2004), and that their tenure in farm work and non-farm work increased and decreased, respectively. Prior to 2002, unauthorized workers typically spent fewer than 5 years on average in the United States. By 2002 -2004, however, their average U.S. stay had increased to 5 years or more, and they had longer farm employment spells. In the case of unauthorized workers, it was only at the national level that there was some indication that average farm and non-farm work spells had both increased. In Florida, there was a tendency for unauthorized workers to do more farm work but less non-farm work. Conversely, there was some evidence at the national level that authorized workers had increased their tenure in both types of employment, whereas in Florida, they had shorter spells of non-farm work.

Since a major goal of the Immigration Reform and Control Act was to discourage the employment of unauthorized workers in industries such as agriculture, any change in the proportion of unauthorized workers employed over time is of particular interest. Figures 2 and 3 clearly indicate that unauthorized workers have continued to gain access to the agricultural labor market in the years following IRCA, and have comprised the majority of newcomers in most years of the sample period (i.e. workers who had joined the farm workforce within the year prior to the NAWS interview). Between 1989 and

⁵ In agricultural worker surveys, a 'year' is defined as 15 days or more of employment.

1992, authorized workers represented 82.2 percent of the farm workforce, implying an unauthorized component of 17.8 percent (Figure 2). This proportion fell by roughly 23 percentage points between the 1989-1992 period and the 1993-1995 period, such that authorized workers comprised approximately 59 percent of the farm workforce for the latter period. Unauthorized workers comprised a larger proportion of the workforce in the subsequent periods, and it was only in the 2002-2004 period that the proportion of authorized workers increased. Figure 3 focuses specifically on the average proportion of authorized to unauthorized workers who reported being in the U.S. less than a year prior to the NAWS interview. The general pattern emerging from the data indicate that the majority of workers have been unauthorized, and had increased over most periods except for the 2002-2004 period.

Summary statistics were also generated on the average spells for farm and non-farm employment, unemployment and time spent abroad by farm workers across the sample period. A key area of interest is the number of consecutive days in each spell. Figure 4 displays the average work spells by legal status for the U.S. labor market between 1989 and 2004. The averages pertain to only those individuals who participated in each activity. Overall, farm workers who had non-farm work had longer average spells of non-farm work than farm work, with the difference between the two being as much as 35 days for both authorized and unauthorized workers. Work duration is similar for workers of either legal status, but there is significant divergence with regard to the unemployment spells. In the latter, the average period of unemployment for unauthorized workers was markedly less in comparison to authorized workers – a difference of 33.5 days on average. Unauthorized workers who spent time abroad, spent almost 115 days (~3.7 months) abroad on average over the sample period, which is almost 26 days more than authorized workers who also spent time overseas. In Figure 5, the employment spells presented for Florida are generally comparable with those of the U.S., but farm work spells are clearly longer on average (more than 60 days), and unemployment spells are shorter by about a week for authorized workers. There is virtually no difference between the average unemployment spells for unauthorized workers (whether U.S. or Florida) over the sample period.

To capture any changes in labor force activity since the events of September 2001, we compared work spells in both labor markets for the periods before (1999-2001) and after (2002-2004), coined henceforth as pre- and post-2001 (Table 3). The averages pertain to only those individuals who participated in each activity. No major changes are evident in farm employment overall, or for time spent abroad for workers in the U.S. farm labor market. The more obvious differences are for non-farm employment and time spent abroad for workers in the Florida farm labor market, and unemployment spells in the U.S. farm labor market. Interestingly, non-farm employment for Floridian workers with non-farm employment lengthened by 21 days on average between the two periods, and those who spent time abroad cut time spent overseas by 54 days on average. These two categories remained relatively stable for workers in the U.S. as a whole, but unemployment increased by 13 days between the two periods.

Figure 6 displays the average work spells by employer type for the U.S. between 1989 and 2004. The averages pertain to only those individuals who participated in each activity. Regardless of employer type, workers with non-farm employment generally had more consecutive days of non-farm relative to farm employment. This was more pronounced for workers who were usually employed by contractors, in comparison to their counterparts who had been employed directly by growers and had more days of farm employment. Unemployment spells were also longer on average for workers who had been employed by growers. Further assessing employment of workers by legal status as in Table 4, we see that authorized workers generally secured more consecutive days of farm employment with either employer type, though average tenure tended to be longer with growers overall, particularly if they were employed in Florida.

Table 5 displays employment duration (counts of days) in the last year of interview by legal status, employer type and type of employment for workers who were involved in each type of work, i.e., farm or non-farm work. A striking result in the table is that the duration of farm work in Florida in contrast to the U.S. average was 20 days longer for unauthorized workers and 18 days longer for authorized workers. Authorized workers reported slightly more days of farm work than unauthorized workers, both in Florida and the U.S. Among those workers who had some non-farm work, the Florida unauthorized workers had more days of non-farm work than the authorized workers. With respect to

employer type, total farm work duration was marginally longer on average with growers of both the Florida and U.S. labor markets. Again, among those workers with non-farm work, workers employed by contractors in Florida had an average of nearly 11 more days of non-farm work than those employed by growers.

Finally, U.S. workers who had been employed on a year-round basis in the last year reported more days of farm employment (54 days more) on average than seasonal workers. By comparison, the margin between year-round and seasonal workers was less for Florida: only 32 days difference between year-round and seasonal workers. However, seasonal workers who had non-farm work reported 16 more days than their Florida counterparts. The duration of farm work for year-round U.S. workers was 189.4 days, which is slightly more than was reported for Florida year-round workers in the same type of work. Likewise, year-round U.S. workers who had done non-farm work also reported more days on average than their counterparts in the Florida labor market.

Compensation Methods and Rates⁶

In most cases and across the sample period, U.S. farm workers were paid an hourly rate. Approximately 77 percent of all U.S. farm workers were paid by the hour and less than 20 percent were paid by piece rate. The average wage paid to authorized workers exceeded that paid to unauthorized workers, regardless of whether hourly or piece rate methods were used. Workers who had been paid a salary or combination of the hourly and piece rate methods comprised less than 4 percent of the entire U.S. farm workforce on average. The hourly method of compensation was also most commonly used in all task categories, although roughly 42 percent of all harvest workers had been paid by piece rate over the sample period.

With respect to actual wages paid as shown in Table 6, compensation was generally higher for workers (U.S.) who worked with growers. U.S. growers paid higher average hourly wages than contractors in all instances, regardless of worker legal status, task type, or the type of employment

⁶ All compensation data are in 2004 dollars, having converted nominal wage data with the consumer price index for all urban households.

contract (year-round or seasonal). Across specific time periods (not shown), the real hourly wage earned by U.S. farm workers ranged from as low \$6.34 on average (paid to unauthorized workers between 1989 and 1998) to as high as \$7.79 (paid to authorized workers between 2002 and 2004). The real hourly rate paid to U.S. workers increased each successive period. Between 1989-1998 and 1999-2001, the rate increase for authorized and unauthorized workers was similar – 50 cents and 49 cents, respectively. The rate increase was noticeably different between the 1999-2001 and 2002-2004 periods, in that authorized workers were given a larger increase (35 cents) in comparison to unauthorized workers (6 cents).

Approximately 65 percent of all Florida farm workers were paid by the hour, and 32 percent were paid by piece rate. Payment by the hour was popular across most task categories except harvesting, where approximately 70 percent of all workers had been paid by piece rate. As shown in Table 6, compensation by employer type was lower than observed for the nation as a whole, whether in terms of worker legal status, task type or type of employment, but growers paid more than contractors in each case. Across specific time periods (not shown), the real hourly wage ranged from \$5.99 (paid to unauthorized workers between 1989 and 1998) to \$7.76 (paid to authorized workers between 2002 and 2004). Real average wages increased over the years, but by smaller increments than in the U.S. farm labor market; between 1989-1998 and 1999-2001 for example, authorized and unauthorized workers had rate increases of 45 cents and 27 cents, respectively. Wages increased by an additional 71 cents for authorized workers but only 8 cents for unauthorized workers over the 2002-2004 period.

Concluding Remarks

If IRCA had been as effective as lawmakers had intended, the proportion of unauthorized workers should have decreased over time and U.S. and Florida employers should have hired a largely authorized workforce. However, our findings provide evidence to the contrary. Not only have unauthorized workers been able to gain employment in the U.S. and Florida labor markets, but they have also comprised a substantial portion of all newcomers to the farm labor market since the 1990s. On average, the proportion of employees self-reporting as unauthorized for work is larger for labor contractors than that for growers, but the proportion of grower employed workers self-reporting as unauthorized has been increasing over

time – this trend was quite noticeable in the Florida farm labor market. In addition, most workers who lacked legal status were employed in unskilled jobs (pre-harvest and harvest), particularly in Florida. Unauthorized workers have also earned lower average hourly wages than authorized workers.

Workers who self-reported as authorized spent more time in farm work and less time in non-farm work on average in comparison to those who self-reported as unauthorized. However, unauthorized workers reported shorter periods of unemployment on average and generally spent more time abroad. Post 2001, the patterns for employment duration of foreign-born farm workers changed, and was most striking among workers in Florida: for example, workers spent more time doing non-farm work, less time doing farm work and decreased their time abroad by more than one month. The latter effect is not surprising given the tighter enforcement measures that were implemented following the terrorist attacks of September 2001. Overall, those workers who had been employed by growers had longer farm employment duration, and were paid higher wages regardless of their task or employment type (year-round or seasonal), or legal status.

If IRCA had functioned as intended and the majority of the workforce was authorized, the typical role of contractors would have been to coordinate the workforce to the seasonal fluctuations in labor demand on farms, such workers' unemployment spells would be reduced between jobs. However, our results have shown that although contractors employed a smaller proportion of workers between 1989 and 2004, they hired a larger proportion of unauthorized workers than growers. Workers also had shorter employment duration and earned lower wages if they were employed with contractors. These findings seem to concur with concerns that have been raised in relation to the actual role of contractors in the farm labor market post-IRCA, that is they are more adept at recruiting workers with limited English language ability such as would be the case with new immigrants for short term work and that they pay lower wages in general than growers.

In light of the continued and increasing presence of unauthorized workers following IRCA, immigration reform has been widely discussed in recent years. Several bills are currently pending in the 109th Congress. Some of the more popular legislative items being considered include the Agricultural Job

Opportunity, Benefits, and Security (AgJOBS) Act, the Kennedy-McCain and the Cornyn-Kyl proposals (Senate), and the Tancredo and Jackson-Lee proposals (House of Representatives), in addition to the Bush Proposal that was initially unveiled in January 2004, and reiterated in October 2005. Most provide some provision for temporary guest worker programs, although H.B. 4437 passed by the House of Representatives on December 17, 2005, by contrast has no guest worker provision, and has quite strong enforcement provisions. In the bills with guest worker provisions, unlike IRCA, there is no indication that workers would be granted amnesty and guest permits would expire after three years in most cases. As suggested with H.B. 4437, there is some indication that lawmakers may consider increasing the severity of employer sanctions, albeit to varying degrees. The tenor of these proposals would seem to suggest that labor markets that currently utilize large amounts of unauthorized labor, as in areas with a strong specialty crop emphasis such as Florida, will face a restructured labor market in the event of new legislation and enforcement. Possible decreases in labor supply and sharp wage increases may create substantial difficulties for the specialty crop sector, at least in the short run.

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Table 1: Farm Workforce Composition (Percentage) by Legal Status & Employer Type over Specific Periods, U.S. & FL

Workers (% , U.S.)	1989-1998		1999-2001		2002-2004	
	Grower	FLC	Grower	FLC	Grower	FLC
Unauthorized	30.97	52.21	50.91	68.01	45.56	62.29
Authorized	69.02	47.79	49.09	31.99	54.44	37.71
Workers (% , FL)						
	Grower	FLC	Grower	FLC	Grower	FLC
Unauthorized	38.61	60.54	56.46	85.74	72.76	76.15
Authorized	61.39	39.46	43.54	14.26	27.24	23.85

Source: NAWS

Table 2: Percentage of Authorized and Unauthorized Workers by Task at the Time of the Interview, U.S. & FL, 1989-2004

Region	Workers (%)	Task at Time of Interview					
		Pre-harvest	Harvest	Post-harvest	Semi-skilled	Supervisory	Other
U.S	Unauthorized	43.12	49.53	28.73	35.13	6.42	37.29
	Authorized	56.88	50.47	71.27	64.87	93.58	62.71
Florida	Unauthorized	49.59	64.97	37.94	28.48	13.55	41.23
	Authorized	50.41	35.03	62.06	71.52	86.45	58.77

Source: NAWS

Table 3: Activity Duration (Days) in the Last Year in Florida and U.S. Farm Labor Markets, Pre- and Post 2001^a

Type of Activity Spell	Florida		U.S.	
	Pre-2001	Post 2001	Pre-2001	Post 2001
Farm Employment	83.41	78.39	64.34	64.55
Non-farm Employment	93.63	114.67	109.66	105.95
Unemployment	38.61	33.13	48.19	61.27
Abroad	132.95	78.04	100.30	100.04

Source: NAWS

^a The duration averages specified pertain only to individuals who participated in each activity, respectively.

Table 4: Average Job Duration in the Last Year by Employer Type and Legal Status of Workers, FL & U.S., 1989-2004

Legal Status of Worker	Consecutive Days of Farm Employment			
	Florida		U.S.	
	Grower	Contractor	Grower	Contractor
Unauthorized	77.8	64.8	53.8	50.6
Authorized	83.5	73.9	57.4	54.1

Source: NAWS

Table 5: Total Days of Employment in the Last Year by Legal Status, Employer Type and Type of Employment, U.S. & FL

Legal Status of Worker	Total Days of Employment			
	U.S.		Florida	
	Farm Work	Non-Farm Work ^a	Farm Work	Non-Farm Work ^a
Authorized	149.32	130.27	166.90	110.94
Unauthorized	144.36	116.55	164.30	117.91
Employer Type				
Grower	147.72	126.22	166.64	112.17
Contractor	146.61	122.72	163.89	122.94
Type of Employment				
Seasonal	135.00	128.97	167.32	113.13
Year-round	189.35	117.43	181.84	110.42

Source: NAWS

^aThe non-farm work values reflect the averages only of those individuals who had non-farm work. Consequently, the values for farm work and non-farm work cannot be added together for an estimate of total days employed in any type of work for the year.

Table 6: Average Real Hourly Earnings by Employer Type and Legal Status, Task at Time of Interview, and Type of Employment: FL & U.S, 1989-2004

Legal Status of Worker	Florida		U.S.	
	Grower	Contractor	Grower	Contractor
Unauthorized	\$6.17	\$5.81	\$6.65	\$6.42
Authorized	6.85	5.91	7.21	6.60
Task at Time of Interview^a				
Pre-harvest	\$6.33	\$5.57	\$6.80	\$6.35
Harvest	6.18	5.89	6.79	6.41
Post-harvest	6.35	5.65	6.89	6.61
Semi-skilled	7.07	6.56	7.13	6.71
Other	6.74	5.94	7.47	6.63
Type of Employment				
Year-round	\$6.70	\$6.00	\$7.48	\$6.43
Seasonal	6.09	5.79	6.71	6.42

Source: NAWS

^a The supervisory category contains too few observations for any meaningful interpretation to be made and is therefore excluded.

Figure 1: U.S. Farm Workforce Composition by Legal Status & Task, 2002-2004

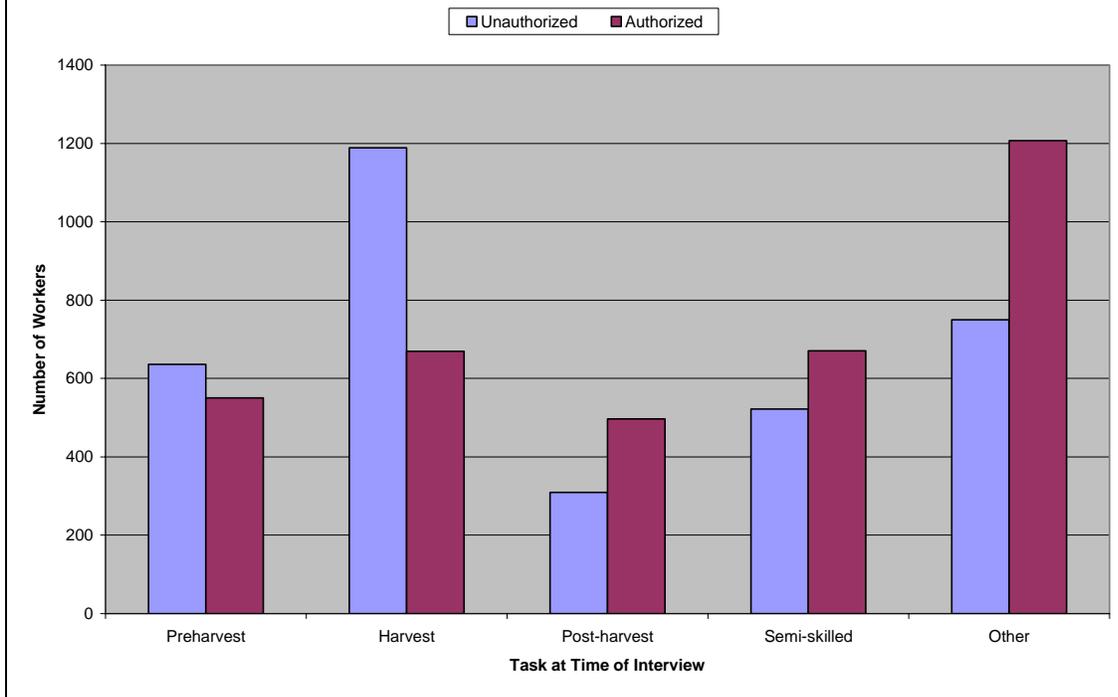
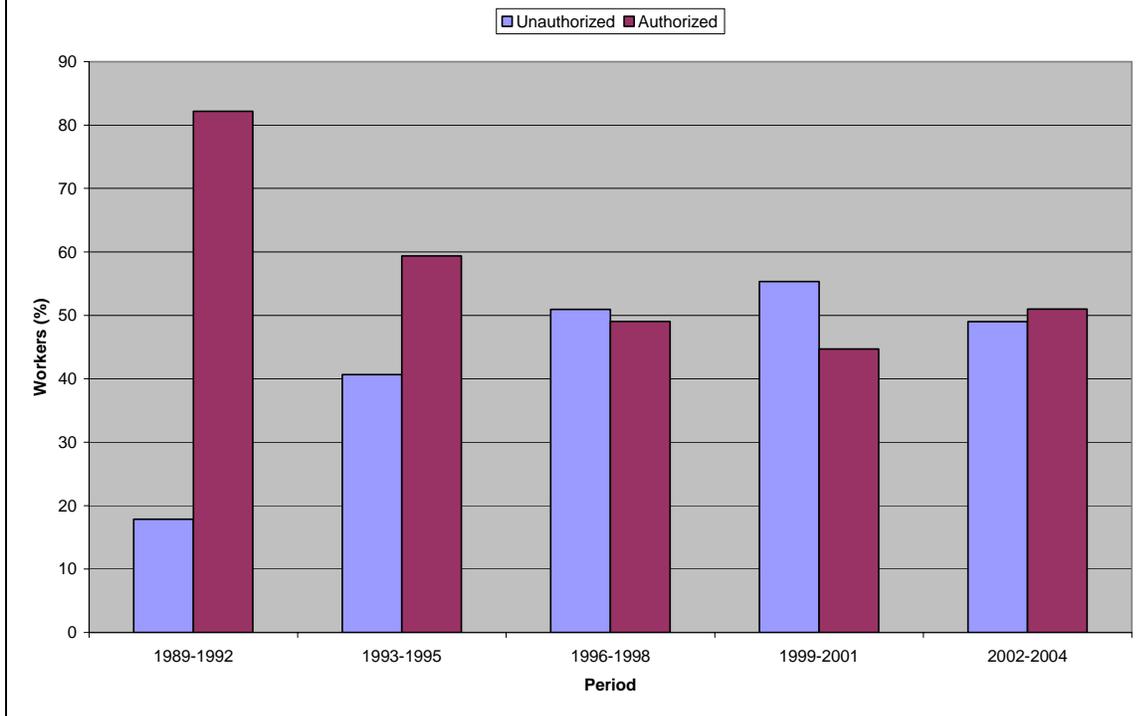
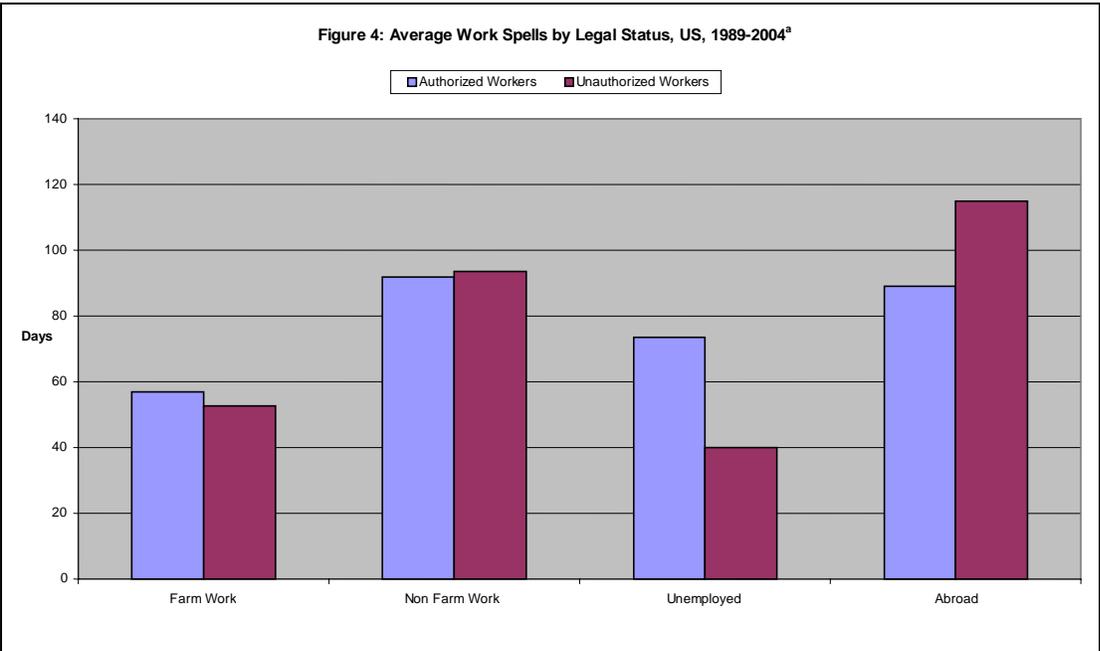
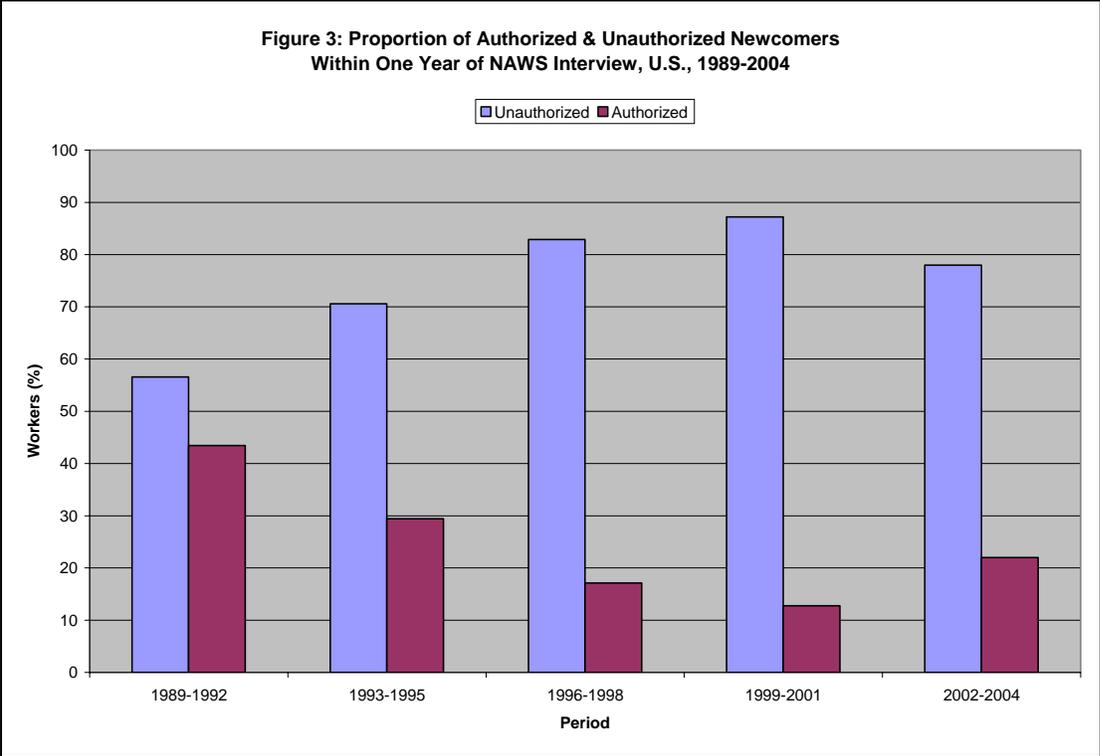
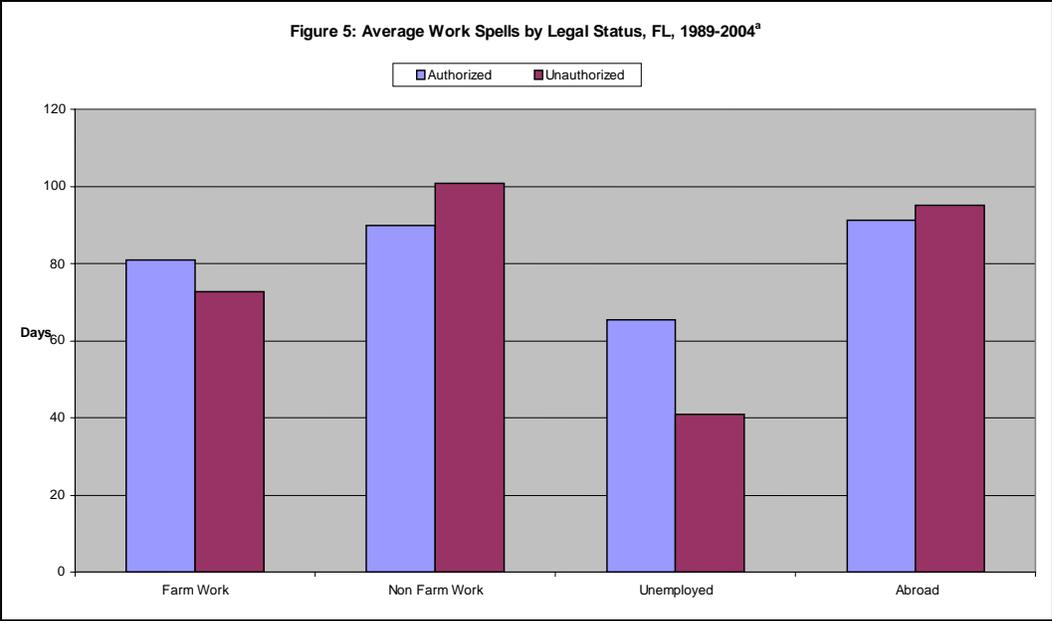


Figure 2: Proportion of Authorized to Unauthorized Farm Workers, U.S., 1989-2004

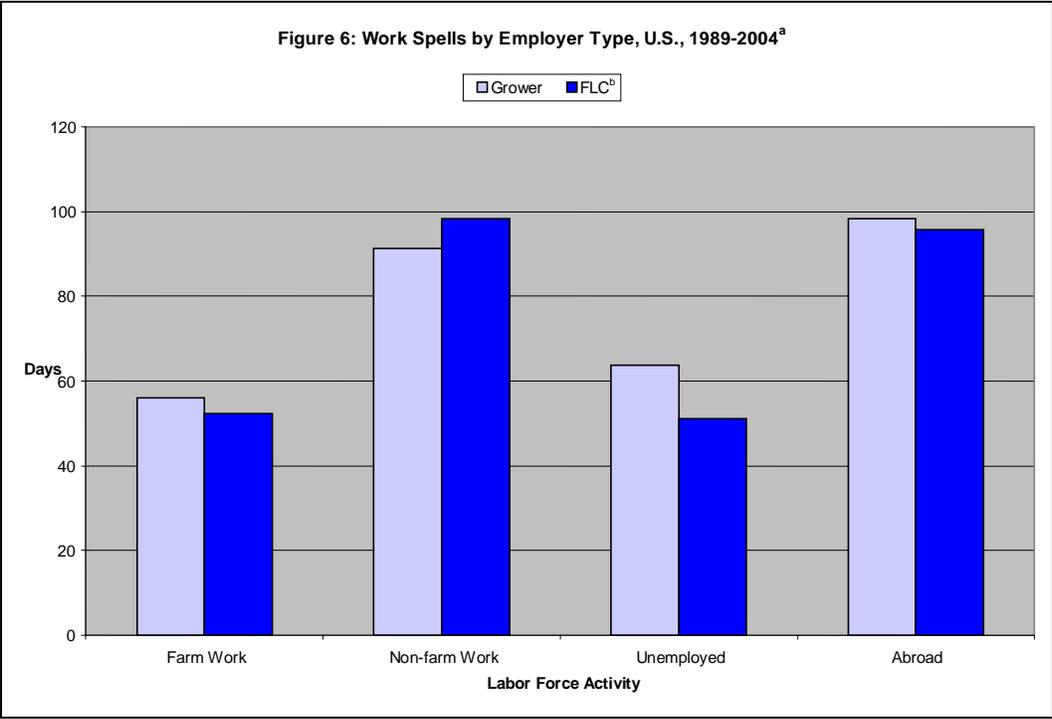




^a The duration averages specified pertain only to individuals who participated in each activity respectively.



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^b FLC is an acronym for 'farm labor contractor'.