

(Hidden) in Plain Sight: Migrant Child Labor and the New Economy of Exploitation



- Hannah Dreier's NYTimes Articles
  - Alone and Exploited, Migrant Children Work Brutal Jobs Across the U.S. February 25, 2023
  - The Kids on the Night Shift September 19, 2023

American supply chains are imbued with the labor of migrant children...

Cheetos, Fritos, Cheerios, Lucky Charms

Whole Foods, Target, Walmart, Ben&Jerry's Ice Cream

Fruit of the Loom, Tyson Chicken, General Mills





- 19th and 20th Century Child Labor v. New Economy of Exploitation
- Intersection of Migration and Labor
- Migrant Children's Intersectional Identities as Children, Migrants, and Workers

VS

# Roadmap



**Descriptive Claims** 

### **Normative Claims**

### Recommendations



- Escaping gangs, violence, climate change, famine, extreme poverty
- By way of human traffickers and debt
- To enter the U.S. alone as unaccompanied minors

• Released to sponsors

• Find work in hazardous/dangerous jobs



# Cristian works a construction job.

## He is 14.



Carolina packages Cheerios at night in a factory.

## She is 15.



Wander starts looking for day-labor jobs before sunrise.

He is 13.



- Scrubbing dishes at restaurants all over the country
- Running milking machines in Vermont
- Delivering meals in New York City
- Harvesting coffee in Hawaii
- Building lava rock walls around vacation homes in Hawaii
- Washing hotel sheets in Virginia
- Deboning chicken and cleaning meat-processing plants in Virginia





## Rules for Unaccompanied Minors require school attendance but...



Marcos nearly lost his arm, which after several surgeries he still has only limited use of, while cleaning a large industrial machine at a factory that packages Tyson Chicken in Virginia.

He is 14.







In 2017, the last year that **DOL** reported on the deaths of migrant children working in violation of child labor laws, at least a dozen migrant children had been killed while working in hazardous and dangerous jobs.

#### The Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) Child Labor Provisions Prohibit:

- All children under 18 years of age from working jobs declared "hazardous" by the Secretary of Labor
- 14 and 15 year olds from working:
  - More than 3 hours on a school day;
  - More than 8 hours on a non-school day;



- More than 18 hours during the week when school is in session;
- More than 40 hours during the week when school is out;
- Overnight shifts
- Children under 14 from working in any non-agricultural jobs covered by the FLSA

#### **But...**

- No private right of action
- Underfunded and under-resourced DOL

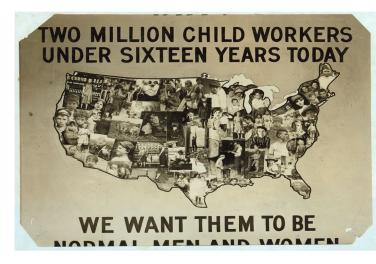


- Annual statistical chance of being investigated by DOL is less than .001%
- Child Labor Violations = \$11,000 civil fines and \$10,000 criminal fines per violation
- Layers of contracting and subcontracting make it nearly impossible to penalize large, image-conscious employers for child labor law violations

#### **Passage and Enforcement of Child Labor Laws**



- 50% less enforcement capacity today than when DOL was created in 1941
- Since 1941, 900% increase in the U.S. Workforce



Upon the Altar of Work: Child Labor and The Rise of a New American Sectionalism by Betsy Wood

*Child Labor in America: The Epic Legal Struggle to Protect Children* by John A. Fliter

#### Traditional Recommendations for Reform do not Adequately Address the New Economy of Exploitation

- Increase civil and criminal penalties
- Increase DOL funding for enforcement of the second s
- Work Permit requirements
- Removal of agricultural exemptions
- Creating private right of action
- Increasing state law prohibitions, especially for 16-17 year olds





Centering migrant children's identities as

- migrants
- workers
- children

to address the multiple and intersecting oppressions that unaccompanied minors face once they are in the United States.



"I didn't get how expensive everything was . . . I'd like to go to school, but then how would I pay rent?"

Jose works twelve-hour shifts, six days a week. He is 13.

"It's not that we want to be working these jobs. It's that we have to help our families [back home]."

Kevin began working construction when he was 13.

Taking Migrant Children's Perspectives, Needs, and Experiences into Account:

- Desire to attend school;
- But need to support themselves;
- And must send money back home to support desperate families.



## State-Based Workers' Compensation Systems

Workers' Rights Education

Vocational Training in Schools

Jobs Programs





## Labor Trafficking Visas (or T Visas)

## Enforcement of **Child Labor Law** Violations through FLSA's "Hot Goods" Provision





Your Thoughts and Suggestions

### ~Thank You~

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