

AGRICULTURAL LABOR IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

Final Report and Recommendations



THE GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE TO SURVEY THE
AGRICULTURAL LABOR RESOURCES OF
THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

J. EARL COKE, Chairman

PAUL PRASOW, Executive Director

SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA
MARCH 15, 1951

concerned with the problems of seasonal agricultural workers in the San Joaquin Valley.

II. NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The problems of the San Joaquin Valley have been the subject of investigations for many years and occasionally the situation has reached emergency proportions. There have been temporary alleviations from time to time brought about by booms in the economic cycle and by the demand of world wars. These have stimulated employment, but the fundamental problem still remains a continuing one in which severe reoccurrences of hardship may be anticipated unless special analyses are made, and action taken, to improve basic conditions.

As has been previously stated, the San Joaquin Valley uses more farm workers and has the widest seasonal variation in farm employment of any area of the State. The variation in employment may readily be seen from the following low and high Valley employment figures for the year 1949:¹

1949	March 15 (low)	October 15 (high)
Total work force	118,000	257,000
Temporary workers	25,500	159,000
Percentage temporary	21.6%	61.9%

The wide spread between 25,500 and 159,000 workers required indicates how dependent the area is on a flexible supply of local and migrant temporary labor. At the peak, October 15, 1949, approximately half of the state total farm work force was engaged in the agricultural activities of this valley, while approximately 60 percent of the State's temporary workers were employed there. The situation is further complicated by the shifting short time labor needs within the valley and the constantly changing make-up of the work force. Because of the migration patterns of individual workers, there is almost continual migration into and out of the area regardless of the presence or absence of job opportunities. A substantial number of workers and their families who migrate through the western area of the United States spend some portion of their time working on the crops of the San Joaquin Valley.

Although the seasonal agricultural worker problem is far from a new one to California and to the officials, farmers, and residents of the valley, the situation has been intensified by the expansion of seasonal crops and the general migration into the State. For example, cotton picking is the largest and latest major seasonal activity in California and, therefore, is frequently the last job of the season for many workers. Once that season is over, many migrant laborers remain in the valley over the slack winter period until work opportunities are again available in the valley or in other parts of the State. The problem will be further intensified by expanding mechanization of cotton picking which will result in

¹ Source: California Department of Employment, as reported in "Proceedings of the Governor's Conference on Employment," page 258. (Includes seven counties of the survey and San Joaquin County.)

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a decreasing demand for hand labor. Testimony at the Fresno hearing revealed that a single mechanical cotton-picker replaces approximately 25 hand laborers in the field, and it is estimated that 1,100 machines were in use to pick approximately 35 percent of the cotton acreage in 1950. With government curtailment in cotton crop acreage, a short picking season, displacement by machines, and adverse weather conditions, it is understandable why there was unemployment during the winter of 1950-51.

In 1951-52, however, as a result of the removal of cotton acreage controls and the expanding military preparedness program, labor shortages are anticipated for the next harvest season.

Because the valley is climatically and traditionally a favored spot for "wintering," and because there is considerable housing, even though it may be of inferior quality in many instances, the seasonal workers tend to remain there during their period of unemployment, with consequent problems of health, welfare, and education resulting from the presence of a large group of unemployed workers and their families.

In relation to the housing available, the Central Valley Empire Association stated that the growers have " * * * allowed these seasonal workers, when unemployed and with no other place to stay, to use shelters during the winter months—with water, electricity, and fuel provided." In an accompanying statement, the association said: "Profits, income rates, and other taxes do not permit the farmer to provide housing for seasonal workers that is compatible with a decent American standard of living. The greater portion of this seasonal labor force is housed in public camps, contractors' camps, and in housing of their own choosing on the fringes of urban and rural town areas that is generally inferior even to that which farmers now provide."

Demands for indigent assistance gain impetus from January to March, the peak usually coming during the latter month. Until very recent years, most counties have confined their general relief obligation to "residents." The local governing bodies, even though now engaged in a joint endeavor with the State to prevent undue hardship among unemployed agricultural laborers and their families, insist that the primary responsibility for those entering the San Joaquin Valley for harvest labor does not belong to the counties. Strong representations have been made that the welfare of this group of people is more rightly an obligation of either the State or Federal Governments.

It is in connection with these and related problems—such as the distribution of surplus foods, the possibilities for development of small industry to absorb unemployed workers or their relatives during slack seasons, the control of illegal migration of foreign workers into the San Joaquin Valley, the feasibility of including farm workers under some type of unemployment compensation plan, means for better distributing the labor supply, improvement of sanitation and health conditions—that the Governor requested the committee to submit a fact-finding report with appropriate recommendations so that remedial action, either legislative or administrative, may be taken.

B. Status of Enforcement

In a recent evaluation of the administration of the Division of Housing, prepared by Dr. Samuel E. Wood, the following comments were made:

1. The division is not aware of its work load. Limitations in budget and personnel have not permitted a catalogue of camps, illegal housing, and auto and trailer parks. During the past five years, approximately 2,400 such facilities operating without permits have been uncovered by inspectors. A determination of the number of labor camps under the present act is practically impossible. Established camps with several years of operation are usually known to the inspectors and receive at least one inspection before the harvesting season begins. Suggestions and reports from local officials, growers, and social agencies provide aid in locating new camps. Temporary camps often go undiscovered until the end of the season. It is commonly known that many camps are not inspected within any given year.
2. (With limited personnel an increase in one activity often means a decrease in another. For example, housing responsibilities have been neglected during the recent emphasis on labor camps. In recent months the division, for the first time in 10 years, has reassumed some of its responsibility in the supervision and inspection of substandard dwellings in the San Joaquin Valley. Other important work has suffered as a result of this emphasis.) No tabulation of existing facilities or of inspections made can give a true picture of the work load of the division's operating staff. The distances traveled, number of call backs to meet with local agencies and groups, appearances in courts to process cases of noncompliance, etc., all prevent adequate inspection of existing housing facilities for agricultural workers.
3. In order to cover the existing housing facilities in the State, the 22 inspectors now employed by the division would each have to inspect approximately 560 units per year. Their present work load is approximately 286 units per inspector. The estimated total inspections for 1950 is 7,375, with a total field force of 22. If this estimate is reached, approximately 60 percent of the present estimated 12,300 units will be inspected. Conversely, approximately 40 percent will not receive adequate inspection.

C. Weaknesses in the Present Law**1. Labor Camps**

While the present labor camp law has been generally considered a satisfactory act, it contains two serious deficiencies which tend to defeat its purpose and to complicate its administration. In the first place, the provisions of the present act are applicable only when the camp is occupied by five or more employees, and its provisions controlling the number and types of sanitary facilities are

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geared to actual employees, instead of total occupants. Accordingly, it would be desirable to amend the law to cover all camp occupants regardless of their employment status.

A second weakness in the act is that it places the burden of locating camps upon the regulatory agency. This hampers enforcement since much of the time must be spent in locating temporary camps established during the harvest season. This is especially true of those camps, which for reason of layout, and location of water supply should never have been established. A simple method of registration and prior licensing, with or without a fee, would permit the checking of plans, site, and water supply before construction. This would tend to assure growers of a sound investment in camp facilities and furnish a basis for reinspection. Such procedure would also place the Division of Housing in the position of furnishing service to the industry in addition to its current policing responsibility. A revokable permit system would tend to obviate the present enforcement complications resulting from the division's dependence on cumbersome legal action in prosecuting cases of noncompliance. Sufficient safeguards for necessary appeals might be added at this stage.

2. Auto Courts

There are approximately 800 auto courts and trailer parks in the San Joaquin Valley. At least 6 percent of the licensed valley auto courts are rented in part on a permanent basis to migrants who have no other home. Furthermore, many formerly licensed auto courts, having deteriorated, no longer attract the tourist trade and therefore rent to permanent workers in the valley. Under provisions of the Auto Court and Trailer Park Act, auto courts are removed from the jurisdiction of the Housing Division when they serve "permanent" residents, or those who rent on a monthly basis. According to the Attorney General, "transients" are defined as persons having their home elsewhere and paying their rent for a short period of time, either by day, week, or month. It is desirable to provide continuous inspection of such auto courts serving agricultural workers, since they constitute a source of substandard housing.

Throughout the public hearings, considerable testimony was submitted on basic questions of housing. Many recommendations were forthcoming, the majority of which are incorporated herein. In essence, the testimony was divided into the following phases: There were those groups and individuals who asserted that housing at present was adequate; that considerable improvements had been made in recent years and more was forthcoming; and that some migrants were generally destructive and disrespectful of the facilities provided. Others indicated that further improvements were necessary to bring farm labor housing up to decent standards; that public action should be taken with regard to providing

improved housing; and that programs should be developed to encourage agricultural workers to settle down in communities. Comments on the level of present enforcement of minimum standards were made, some of which were critical of the Division of Housing. Specific camp managers provided testimony of rental fees, facilities, and degree of responsibility assumed by the individual worker and his family. Encouragement of home ownership was generally agreed upon, although methods for implementing this policy differed.

Recommendation

4. Low Interest Loans to Farm Workers for Housing

In order to encourage seasonal farm workers whose income is insufficient to qualify for existing loans and who wish to establish roots in a given community, the State, in cooperation with private financing agencies, should furnish long-term, low-interest loans to eligible agricultural workers. These loans should be so provided that the burdens of payment of interest and principal are not so great as to discourage loan applications, or to result in defaults.

Comment

Throughout the public hearings, numerous farmers, farm organizations, local officials, labor unions, as well as interested community representatives suggested this type of basic program. Testimony submitted by subdividers indicated that defaults are rather few in number, and that farm workers purchasing small plots of land become more responsible citizens. This step further reduces the need for excessive migration.

On an unorganized basis, with little or no outside financial assistance, an estimated 25,000 such units have been established in the valley, many of which are primitive and crude in structure. Low interest loans would tend to improve the quality of these houses and diminish the sanitational and health problems attendant with substandard dwellings.

Recommendation

5. Higher Rate of Amortization for Farm Labor Camps

In order to encourage more and better housing for seasonal agricultural workers, farmers and growers should be allowed a higher rate of depreciation for income tax purposes.

Comment

It has been suggested by farm groups that as a result of excessive physical depreciation of labor camps, a period of five years would be a more equitable criterion for complete amortization of the property than the present 15 to 25 years. Farmers have indicated that such action would provide a strong incentive for growers to furnish more adequate housing facilities for their workers.

On a long-range basis, this is essentially a question involving federal legislation, since at present, amortization is based on the "useful life of the building." A special amendment to present internal revenue laws

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When employment opportunities are available, seasonal agricultural workers create no welfare problem. However, each year, numbers of agricultural seasonal workers and their families require temporary supplementary assistance through public and private welfare agencies. Because of residence requirements for general public relief eligibility, many unemployed nonresident agricultural workers without funds, are unable to qualify for public assistance during the slack season, January through March. During 1949-50, through state assistance, surplus foods were procured from the Federal Government for distribution to needy workers in the valley.

The following statistics of the number of persons aided through general relief in Fresno, Kings, Madera, Kern, Tulare, Merced, and Stanislaus Counties reflect the correlation of seasonality of unemployment in agriculture with increases in welfare. It is to be noted that the number of cases on general relief in January, February, March, and April, 1950, increased significantly, and declined equally as rapidly as more work opportunities were available in the early summer months. The very large increases in 1950 represent those persons who received surplus foods or minimum assistance.

TABLE 1
PERSONS AIDED BY GENERAL RELIEF, SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY COUNTIES

Month	Fresno	Kern	Tulare	Merced	Stanislaus	Madera	Kings*
1949							
June	1,043	1,042	1,074	538	905	605	225
July	1,742	1,884	1,115	528	902	686	271
August	1,613	2,078	1,182	575	898	631	228
September	1,589	1,918	1,303	577	845	605	209
October	1,602	1,864	1,152	588	798	517	149
November	1,409	1,637	686	382	633	830	153
December	1,769	1,586	670	673	918	407	104
1950							
January	4,526	1,772	3,517	2,583	2,073	1,584	158
February	5,650	5,551	8,833	3,820	2,095	3,744	115
March	7,183	7,004	7,757	3,300	2,037	3,402	104
April	6,783	7,380	8,209	2,561	2,301	3,92	132
May	2,526	1,383	1,079	1,077	1,109	513	150
June	2,812	1,187	1,209	860	931	517	147

Sources: State Department of Social Welfare. (Figures for Kings County do not include those receiving surplus commodities.)

For the forthcoming year, San Joaquin Valley counties announced that only commodities will be distributed, based upon participation in work projects.

The State Department of Social Welfare representatives, at the Bakersfield hearing, suggested that the situation in the valley was not a relief problem but a work problem. Furthermore, they added that solutions to the general problems of agricultural workers should obviate the necessity for relief, and that a long range plan to provide employment for all employable persons was desirable.

Considerable diversity of opinion on questions involving welfare was expressed at the public hearings. The boards of supervisors in the

valley suggested that state assistance for general relief was necessary. Several of the private welfare groups recommended the removal of residence requirements for welfare aid; others urged federal support of relief. More stringent administration of welfare dispensations, and criticism of relief administration was expressed by others.

The committee recognizes that increased aid is difficult without increased funds being made available for general relief purposes, and appropriate county and state authorities need to consider methods of increasing funds for general relief.

V. EDUCATION

A. Children of Seasonal Agricultural Workers

Recommendation

1. Establishment of a special program within the State Department of Education to cope with the special handicaps confronting migratory children in securing equitable educational opportunities is recommended. A director or consultant should be retained to advise, study, and recommend ways of adapting methods and curricula to the needs of this particular group of children. This program might be undertaken similarly to those provided for physically handicapped children, with special State financial support. The personnel of this specialized division would work closely with local school districts to develop better techniques of integration and assimilation of migrant workers' children into the school community. It is also suggested that increased aid be provided to those school districts with large enrollment fluctuations.

Comment

The children of migratory workers are handicapped by irregularity and lack of continuity of their educational programs, as well as by too early employment, since their labor is frequently needed to supplement family income. Many witnesses testifying at the public hearings have stated that the special needs of children migrating throughout the State must be recognized in terms of the special facilities required. The minimization of migration, and settling down of families in permanent homesites would help reduce the handicaps of piecemeal discontinuous educational programs.

While children are not barred from attending school, administrative problems attendant with large seasonal influxes in enrollment loom large. Many small schools become overcrowded seasonally, curricula and effective teaching becomes hampered, and disciplinary problems frequently result. As reported by the State Department of Education, Kings County elementary schools in October, 1949, had a total enrollment of 9,539. By March 31, 1950, the enrollment declined 15½ percent, or 1,485 students. Fresno County schools declined from 45,738 to 43,290 in the same

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period. By comparison, in the San Francisco schools where there is sta-
bility of population, there was slightly more than a 1 percent increase
in enrollment in the corresponding period. The above cited statistics only
partially reflect mobility within that five-month period, October to March,
inasmuch as the basic enrollment in the valley counties is weighted down
by large stable, urban school populations. Furthermore, there is con-
siderable intracounty school movement, which is not reflected in mobility
statistics.

These facts illustrate in part the special problems confronting chil-
dren as well as school administrators, and therefore the committee urges
the establishment of a special program on a state level.

B. Adult Education

Recommendation

2. The recently expanded program of the Agricultural Extension Service with respect to seasonal agricultural workers should be placed on a continuing and more comprehensive basis. A minimum of one full-time home advisor in each county, with exclusive responsibility for integrating and working with these adult and youth groups is advisable.

Comment

Throughout the public hearings, farm groups and civic organizations endorsed the principle of enlarging the agricultural extension program. Special efforts have been made, through the home advisory and 4-H Club programs, to reach farm laborer families with projects of maximum immediate usefulness, including homemaking, nutrition, dressmaking, food preparation, and health education. Considerable success was evidenced, if only on an experimental basis. From January to June, 1950, two home advisers, assigned by the Agricultural Extension Service to work with agricultural laborers in six counties of the valley, formed 33 new adult education groups, made 230 home visits, and held 181 demonstrations, with a total attendance of 3,534. Of the new groups formed, seven were among Negroes, and four among Mexicans. The demonstrated need is substantial, and the value of this particular program, presented in terms of the agricultural workers' experiences, immeasurably aids in increasing morale, efficiency, and meeting some of the pressing financial problems. The pattern for such programs has been established. The need at present points to their continuance and expansion.

Recommendation

3. School adult education programs should be utilized to enable greater participation by agricultural workers. It is further suggested that school districts be reimbursed by the State Department of Education during the first year of the adult education program, instead of the second year as at present.

During the past four years the program in California has increased to a point where it is the second largest in the United States. In the past school year, approximately 2,500 schools participated in the program. Indications are that at least 300 and possibly 500 new schools will have entered the program during the current school year.

However, the school lunch program does not, in most cases, include kindergarten children or children on double sessions. It has been recommended that this program be expanded to include kindergarten children and those on double and triple session. It has been pointed out that in many cases the lunches provided under the school lunch program are often the only well-balanced meals available to the school children.

VII. CHILD CARE CENTERS AND NURSERIES

Recommendations

1. That the Child Care Center Program be extended beyond February, 1951, and that such centers be expanded in rural agricultural areas.
2. In cases where individual farmers desire to establish child care centers on a nonprofit basis, the State Department of Social Welfare should relax the requirements for licensing, compatible with the necessary protection of the children's health, safety, and welfare.

Comment

The care of preschool age children while the parents are at work in the field is an important problem. At virtually all the committee's public hearings, recommendations urging the establishment of child care centers were made. Farmers recognize the value of such centers, and in one known instance, that of the Red Top Ranch in Madera, a center has been established. Other farmers, including Mr. J. E. O'Neill of Fresno, and Mr. Frank Coit of Firebaugh, have given serious thought to establishing such centers on their farms during harvest season. At present, children of preschool age spend much of their time in the fields, though not necessarily working, and are largely unsupervised. The possibility of accidents or serious injuries under these conditions cannot be minimized.

It would seem desirable, therefore, that public child care centers be established in prominent agricultural communities during the seasonal influx of populations. Both public school facilities as well as private farmer-provided areas could be used, with a fee system of contribution by both parents and employers. This suggestion is not without precedent inasmuch as in New York State, farmers contribute 15 percent of the costs, while the state furnishes 85 percent of the funds. In addition, parents pay a small daily fee for each child enrolled.

At present in California, the child care center program has appropriations only until February, 1951. Parents' fees account for 31.5 percent of the expenditures, and the State provides the remainder. Local

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school districts provide the facilities. According to the State Department of Education, requests for child care centers have come from several valley communities, including Bakersfield, Merced, Madera, Hanford, Visalia, and Firebaugh. The need is obvious, and the extension of child care centers to agricultural areas seems desirable. At present, four centers exist in the City of Fresno and one in Porterville.

The planning, establishment, and financing of adequate numbers of child care centers to insure the care and supervision of all preschool children would be of tremendous value to farmers, parents, and children. It would reduce parental anxiety over the children and leave the parents free to work more efficiently and relieved from the responsibility of watching these children during working hours. The physical, social, and emotional benefits to the children would be immeasurable. Accidents would be reduced, as they have been in those areas where child care centers exist. Furthermore, the assurance of nourishing meals would reduce the incidence of children's diseases.

VIII. CHILD LABOR

Recommendation

1. It has been called to the attention of the committee that the present language of the Labor and Education Codes relating to the employment of children in agriculture is so ambiguous as to make proper enforcement of the Labor Code as it relates to agriculture very difficult. In order that children in agriculture may receive the protection to which they are entitled, these sections should be clarified to express clearly the intent of the Legislature with respect to protection of children in agriculture.

Comment

The Division of Labor Law Enforcement reports that Section 1394b of the Labor Code, as one example, has been interpreted at various times to exempt minors in agriculture from: (1) any restrictions as to age at which they may be employed, (2) the necessity of securing work permits, or (3) restrictions in hazardous employment. That statute, among others, seems to be inconsistent with present-day standards, as provided in other sections of the Labor and Education Codes. General clarification of the laws applicable to child labor is necessary.

Recommendation

2. It has been called to the committee's attention that the lack of enforcement of existing laws governing minors is due to some extent to insufficient personnel of the Division of Labor Law Enforcement, and the Governor is requested to give consideration to increased personnel to the extent that he may deem appropriate.

Comment

In the majority of agricultural districts in the State, the staff of the Division of Labor Law Enforcement is inadequate to do more than a token job of enforcing child labor laws. The division's regular staff in the offices which serve the San Joaquin Valley (Stockton, Fresno, and Bakersfield) now consists of four deputy labor commissioners and one investigator. These officers have complete responsibility for enforcing a multitude of labor laws in 15 counties. Every day numerous complaints which require immediate attention are registered with them. It is very difficult for them to put aside this work and devote even a fraction of the time which would be required for effective child labor law enforcement, to patrol the fields during harvest season.

Not only are school attendance officers equally shorthanded, but they are not in a position to take vigorous action. For this reason, the Division of Labor Law Enforcement has been urged repeatedly to assume major responsibility not only for undertaking necessary prosecutions when violations are reported, but also for making investigations for the purpose of detecting such violations.

For the above reasons, it is believed that enlargement of the staff of the Division of Labor Law Enforcement to provide additional investigators for this purpose is essential if children of migrant workers are to be protected from premature employment, and to receive the benefits of the educational opportunities to which they are entitled.

IX. HEALTH**Recommendations****1. Decentralization of Medical Facilities**

It is recommended that there be greater decentralization of health facilities, through mobile clinics, utilization of growers' camps, and establishment of local clinics in outlying communities to enable local health departments to bring their specialized services to the agricultural workers in the more remote rural areas. Special concentration on maternal and infant programs, preventive health programs, and control of communicable diseases would prove invaluable in ultimately reducing serious health problems. Increased personnel is basic to increased services, and the possibility of expanding federal grants-in-aid programs might be examined.

2. Availability of Medical Services

Because disease recognizes no geographical boundaries, and an epidemic in one section of a county threatens the entire community, health services should be provided to itinerant agricultural workers on the same basis as qualified permanent residents. Special services should include treatment of venereal diseases and tuberculosis, maternal and child health clinics, public health nursing, child health conferences, and health education.

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3. Nutrition

Because the status of nutrition has a direct effect upon health, conscientious attempts should be made locally to provide at least one nutritionist for each county health department. The nutritionist could serve as consultant to the professional staff of the health department, prepare educational material on proper nutrition for distribution to clinic visitors, and participate in community education programs. At the same time, home-making teachers should be encouraged to participate in local and county health committees on foods and nutrition to assist all members of families in the seasonal agricultural worker group.

4. Medical Care

The committee recommends that the Governor appoint an appropriate committee to consider development of a program so that proper medical care may be made available to all agricultural workers. A planned and organized system of medical care on a state-wide basis is essential if agricultural workers are to receive adequate medical care; particularly in view of the fact that many agricultural workers are not county residents.

Comment

As a result of their low economic status, seasonal workers are often confronted with many problems due to substandard housing, poor sanitation, inadequate medical care, and improper nutritional habits. The State Department of Public Health reports that there is a definite relationship between these factors and the general health status of a group which is affected by them.

Therefore, basic to any program of health improvement of seasonal agricultural workers is the reduction and elimination of constant exposure to such hazards as unsanitary and congested living quarters, questionable water supplies, inadequate ventilation and heating, inadequate garbage facilities, and defective washing and toilet facilities. Equally important is the basic need for provision of minimum medical care and nutritional education.

Although the health status of agricultural workers as a group is not determined statistically from data that are available, it is noted that the infant mortality rate is higher in the San Joaquin Valley counties than elsewhere in the State.

The problem, in addition to improving environmental conditions, is also related to inadequate health resources and lack of maximum availability and utilization of medical facilities. In this connection, the recommendations suggested herein are designed to meet the integral problems of expanding medical facilities so that they are more readily available to agricultural workers.

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Valley requested certification for Mexican Nationals for 1950.¹ The national defense program and recent international developments have stimulated greater economic and agricultural activity in the valley. Thus, many of those testifying observed that the problem of unemployment in the valley will very likely diminish and corresponding problems of recruiting an adequate agricultural labor supply will increase. Therefore, it has been suggested that the door be left open with respect to the use of Mexican Nationals to meet abnormal labor shortages in the future.

XII. LIQUOR LAW ENFORCEMENT

Many statements were made at the public hearings regarding the operation of unlicensed liquor establishments at or near farm labor camps. Representatives of the American Red Cross, Salvation Army, individual farmers, farm organizations, and law enforcement personnel testified that there was an excessive number of liquor licenses issued near these camps; that overdrinking was common; and that some agricultural workers dissipated their earnings in purchases of wine and liquor. It was also pointed out that excessive drinking not only leads to serious economic difficulties, but constitutes a relief, delinquency and law enforcement problem as well.

At present, there is joint responsibility imposed upon local law officers and state investigators of the Board of Equalization for enforcing the Alcohol Beverage Act. Section 66.5 of that act makes it a misdemeanor if duties of enforcement are neglected by local law enforcement officers. This section states:

"It is hereby made the duty of every peace officer and every district attorney in this State to enforce the provisions of this act, and to inform against and diligently prosecute persons whom they have reasonable cause to believe offenders against the provisions hereof. Every such officer refusing to do so is guilty of a misdemeanor."

Eighteen special liquor law enforcement officers are assigned to the San Joaquin Valley counties by the State Board of Equalization. Their duties comprise considerable investigatory work with inspection of potential and existing licenses, as well as apprehending unlicensed operators. During 1949 and 1950, state agents arrested 29 unlicensed liquor operators in valley agricultural centers or labor camps. The unethical labor contractor presents the major enforcement problem; some contractors have furnished wine to cotton pickers as part of their wages.

It is apparent to the committee that existing cooperation between officers of the State Board of Equalization and local peace officers, as well as enforcement, need considerable improvement. The general ineffectiveness of public control and regulation of alcoholic beverages and unrestricted licensing have contributed to social and economic problems in the valley.

¹ However, such requests were made and filled in November and December of 1950.

The employment of hired temporary workers in the San Joaquin Valley varied seasonally in 1949 from about 20,000 in the last weeks of March, to more than 140,000 in October of the same year.

Correspondingly, agricultural unemployment in the valley varied from an estimated 46,300 in March, 1950, to 9,650 in October, 1950. In a special study of 2,289 farm workers, 73 percent of the group reported some unemployment during the 12 months preceding the interview. The average duration of unemployment was in excess of 13 weeks per year.

There were an estimated 25,000 out-of-state migrants in California in October, 1949, of whom 20,000 were employed in the San Joaquin Valley.

B. MECHANIZATION

In 1949, an estimated 310,000 acres of cotton were machine harvested in California representing a total of 2,674,700 man-days. In 1949, there were 861 cotton picking machines used in this State. In 1950 the number had grown to 1,103. Each machine potentially performs the work of 25 hand pickers.

It is estimated that increasing numbers of cotton picking machines will be used in California, because machine harvesting costs are substantially lower than hand picking.

C. EARNINGS

Definitive data on annual earnings of seasonal agricultural workers are difficult to obtain because of considerable difference among individual workers, due in part to variation in time worked during the year. Differences in skills, availability for employment, age, physical condition, as well as employment opportunity, are several other variables which affect annual earnings.

Two separate, but acknowledgedly limited studies of earnings were prepared by (1) the Giannini Foundation, University of California and (2) the California State Department of Employment.

The results of the Giannini study indicate that for 1949 approximate annual earnings of agricultural workers in the valley were: for full-time workers, \$1,900; for seasonal workers, \$1,200.

The California Department of Employment survey of annual earnings of 2,289 farm workers for 1949 showed a somewhat higher figure. Total earnings were estimated at \$1,639, of which \$1,476 were earned in California agriculture. This latter study was conducted throughout the State and not limited to the San Joaquin Valley. Compared to other agricultural areas, California agricultural wage rates are among the highest in the Nation.

D. FARM LABOR CONTRACTORS

As of March 31, 1950, there were 1,213 licensed labor contractors in the State and between 1,500 and 2,000 unlicensed contractors.

Many abuses are attributed to unlicensed contractors, including absconding of pay rolls; introducing liquor, narcotics and prostitution into labor camps; cheating on weights and measures as well as rates of pay; utilizing Mexican "wetbacks"; furnishing transportation with inadequate safety features; leaving before the contracted job is completed;

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using illegal child labor, excessive overcharging on food; withholding of pay; furnishing substandard housing; making exaggerated work promises to agricultural laborers; and recruiting excessive numbers of workers from outside the State.

There is substantial need for expansion of the enforcement staff of the Division of Labor Law Enforcement, and for additional legislation to correct the known abuses perpetrated largely by unlicensed contractors.

E. CHILD LABOR

It is impossible to determine with reasonable accuracy the number of children who work in agriculture in the San Joaquin Valley. In 1949, the California Department of Employment estimated at least 35,000 minors under the age of 18 worked in agriculture throughout the State. This estimate is undoubtedly low due to parental reluctance in admitting that their children work, since many of the parents are not sure of the legality of such employment.

There are problems of enforcement arising from (1) conflicting provisions of the Education and Labor Codes; (2) inadequate enforcement staffs; and (3) lack of uniform state-wide cooperative working agreements between the many agencies whose functions place them in a position to be of mutual aid in locating conditions which may require cooperative action.

F. HOUSING

There are an estimated 1,725 labor camps in the seven San Joaquin Valley counties under study. Between September 1, 1949, and October 31, 1950, 703 camps were inspected by the Division of Housing. Of these 703, 40 percent were classified "good"; 37 percent, "fair"; and 23 percent "bad." The peak population of these camps is estimated at 60,000.

Approximately 55 percent of all camps inspected were used during cotton harvests. Only 28 percent of the cotton camps were rated "good," as compared with 53 percent for the other agricultural camps, and 61 percent for industrial camps. Twenty-eight percent of the cotton camps had no sewage facilities compared with 15 percent of the other camps. More than 25 percent of the cotton camps had no bathing facilities compared with 15 percent for other agricultural camps, and 10 percent for industrial camps. Available evidence indicates that cotton camps are below the standard of most of the other types of agricultural camps.

In the seven counties surveyed there are an estimated 25,000 sub-standard dwelling units used largely by agricultural workers. Of these units, 15 percent were in full compliance with the Health and Safety Code, 39 percent were in partial compliance, and 46 percent were in non-compliance.

G. HEALTH

Infant mortality is higher in the San Joaquin Valley than in other areas of the State. The higher infant mortality rate is largely due to higher incidence and mortality from diarrheal disorders. Poor housing and sanitation, low economic level, a minimum of medical care, low nutritional and health status of young children, are all factors which contribute to this higher mortality.

The health status of adult agricultural workers group cannot be determined statistically from data that are available. There is need for improvement in the environmental factors of housing and sanitation affecting agricultural workers. The local health departments need more personnel for adequate service to the entire community.

There is also a lack of effective organization in community health education, and a need for wider nutritional services exists.

H. EDUCATION

A special survey of 246 children of seasonal workers enrolled in the fourth, fifth, and sixth grades in the seven counties studied, revealed the following:

1. On the average, the children were more than one year over age for their grade. Age ranges for the various grades were as follows: 8 to 16 in the fourth grade; 8 to 14 in the fifth grade; 11 to 15 in the sixth grade.
2. Of the entire group, only 21 percent had ever taken intelligence tests, and only 35 percent had had achievement tests. Only one-third of the children had cumulative guidance records available from previous or present schools.
3. Only 29 percent attended the same school during the previous year; less than 50 percent attended the same school during the previous three months.
4. Teachers reported only 61 percent were as well adjusted as other students.
5. Fifty-seven percent of the children reported they worked for employers other than their parents. Only 34 children studied had reached 12 years of age, the minimum legal age for employment.

I. CHILD CARE CENTERS

There are no child care centers located in outlying rural areas available for seasonal workers in the San Joaquin Valley. However, four centers are operating in the City of Fresno, and one in Porterville, Tulare County. Legislative changes are necessary to extend such centers in agricultural areas.

Requests for child care centers have emanated from many rural areas in the San Joaquin Valley.

J. SOCIAL WELFARE

For the major portion of the year, when work opportunities are available, the seasonal agricultural worker does not constitute a welfare problem. However, during the winter months of normal agricultural unemployment, some form of temporary assistance is frequently necessary. In the main, however, a large portion of the seasonal worker group constitutes no major welfare problem, except in some unusually adverse years.

K. MEXICAN WETBACKS AND NATIONALS

No Mexican Nationals, imported under the existing International Treaty between Mexico and the United States, are reported to have been used in the San Joaquin Valley in 1949 or up to October, 1950. Some

of farms is obtainable from the Bureau of the Census, of the 1950 census of latest available data

size of farms in the State is a little more than larger farm ownerships, cropland. Moreover, the total land in farms, etc.

Farms are located in farms, whereas in the

CRES, IN CALIFORNIA 1945

State	San Joaquin Valley
farms	
-Continued	
30,438	7,576
30,624	7,942
35,054	10,903
Farm (acres)	
249.6	229.3
201.7	178.1
224.4	203.1
202.4	188.8
230.1	216.4
252.3	284.6

State	San Joaquin Valley
(acres)	
61.6	70.1
84.5	90.6
77.8	88.6
97.2	114.1
81.8 ^b	108.7 ^b

State	San Joaquin Valley
(acres)	
49.2	54.9
50.4	59.1
46.8	55.9
51.5	60.5
55.0	74.3

State is included only 2.1 percent of all land used for crops in the United States. Yet the annual income from farm products sold in California accounts for more than 7 percent of the United States' total, and normally exceeds that of any other state.

The average acreages of land per farm in the State, as reported for the different census years, have varied substantially, and for the period under discussion disclose some tendency to increase. However, this is not of too much importance since changes in the averages are influenced most by variations in the amount of noncrop land recorded. Of greater significance are the average acreages of cropland per farm or of land actually used for crops, which show but little trend toward larger individual farm operations during the 1920-45 period.

B. GENERAL SETTING OF SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY AGRICULTURE

According to the 1945 Census of Agriculture, the eight San Joaquin Valley counties accounted for about 28 percent of all farms in the State, 31 percent of the total land in farms, and 36 percent of the total cropland. The valley floor, averaging about 40 miles in width, extends for approximately 250 miles in a general northwesterly direction between the Sierra-Nevada Mountains and the Coast Range, terminating at the foothills of the Tehachapi Mountain Range at the south. In it lies the largest continuous body of farm land in the State. Approximately half of the land irrigated in the State is in this valley. The growing season is long, ranging from 250 to 300 days. Upwards of 40 percent of the State's total cash farm income goes to farmers in the San Joaquin Valley.

The data in Table I indicate there had been no significant change in the number of farms during the 25 years ending 1945. The total land in farms increased substantially, as did land used for crops. Some increase was recorded in average size of farms, both in terms of total acres in farms as well as in cropland per farm. The latter evidently reflects additional land developed mainly for cotton and grain during the years just preceding 1945. It may also be seen that the average acreage of cropland per farm is relatively small, which indicates that large-scale farming operations are not generally characteristic of farming in the valley.¹

C. HIGH CAPITALIZATION AND OPERATING COSTS PER FARM

Farming in the State generally and in the San Joaquin Valley in particular is characterized by high investments per farm unit and by high annual cost of operation, as compared with corresponding costs for agriculture in the United States as a whole. These items are normally higher in California than in any other state. Some of these comparisons are indicated in Tables II and III. In the former is shown farm census

¹Data from the Census of Agriculture, 1940 and 1945, indicate the following changes in the number of farms and the amount of cropland harvested in the lower San Joaquin Valley: (1) The number of farms in the valley in 1945 totaled 35,500, 4 percent more than the 31,291 farms in 1940. (2) The acres of cropland harvested increased from 1,972,529 in 1939 to 2,370,733 in 1944, an increase of 398,204 acres, or 20 percent. In 1945, approximately 60 percent of the farms were less than 50 acres in size; 33 percent were 50 to 499 acres; and 7 percent were 500 acres or more. The distribution of farms in 1945 according to this broad classification was practically identical with that in 1940. However, in 1939 the cropland harvested on the farms of 500 acres or more represented 46 percent of the total cropland harvested in the valley; while in 1944, these larger farms represented 52 percent of the total cropland harvested in the valley. Of the increase of 398,204 acres in cropland harvested, between 1939 and 1944, more than 81 percent were on farms of 500 or more acres in size.

TABLE IV
CASH WAGES PAID FOR FARM LABOR, FOR SPECIFIED AREAS AND YEARS
(Data From United States Bureau of the Census)

Cash Wages Paid	1919	1924	1929	1939	1944
United States (000) -----	\$1,098,713	\$864,982	\$965,420	\$781,792	\$1,861,026
California (000) -----	109,928	105,340	180,159	114,123	301,907
San Joaquin Valley (000) -----	35,727	27,008	37,014	37,023	114,743
Farms Reporting					
United States -----	2,888,900	2,536,721	2,631,601	2,260,277	2,709,026
California -----	78,414	84,838	90,402	82,888	89,657
San Joaquin Valley -----	20,985	24,169	27,085	26,456	27,813
Average Amount Per Farm Reporting					
United States -----	\$880	\$841	\$808	\$846	\$663
California -----	1,430	1,242	1,438	1,377	1,367
San Joaquin Valley -----	1,703	1,158	1,367	1,433	4,114

The combined acreage in deciduous and citrus fruits, tree nuts, and vineyards approximates 1.5 million acres. The average acreage of cotton grown during the past five years exceeds 650,000 acres. More than 700,000 acres are used each year in growing melons and vegetables, including potatoes. Other crops occupy approximately 1,000,000 acres annually, in addition to approximately 700,000 acres now in irrigated pastures. The combined acreage of so-called high labor-requirement crops approximates 3,000,000 acres, which is a much higher proportion of the total than generally exists elsewhere. The main crops in this group are fruits, vegetables, cotton, and numerous other specialty crops.

The relative importance of fruit and vegetable production as related to the national totals of these crops is indicated in Tables V and VI. But production data give more realistic comparisons, which show that approximately 43 percent of all fruits and nuts in the United States are grown in California, and about 20 percent of all vegetables.

By reference to Tables V and VI it may be observed that about one-third of the total United States acreage in fruits is located in California, and about 13 percent in the San Joaquin Valley. Approximately 40 percent of the State's fruit acreage is located in the valley. There has been an upward trend in the latter as against a downward trend nationally in these acreages. A similar comparison of the acreages of commercial vegetables discloses that about 12 percent of the entire commercial vegetable acreage in the United States is in California, and about 4 percent in the San Joaquin Valley. Of much significance is the fact that the proportion of the State's total vegetable acreage that lies in the valley has increased from around 15 percent in about 1945 to 35 percent in 1949, which represents an increase of 153 percent in vegetable acreage in the valley itself during the past 15 years.

These records emphasize the stability of fruit and vegetable production in the State and in the San Joaquin Valley, and suggest their continuance and possible expansion in the foreseeable future. The predominance of these California specialty crops nationally becomes more impressive in consideration of the fact that total cropland (as defined and recorded by the Census Bureau) in the State amounts to only about 2.5 percent of the United States total, and that in the San Joaquin Valley to less than 1 percent.

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ing shown any definite tendency to increase sharply since 1942 in The production of eggs has increased much less so than has the production of meat available throughout

ject that these livestock products have increased in the market. There appears to be little change in the market proportions of the various products in the State as a whole over the past year, that unforeseeable changes between price levels of

higher yields per unit, and of higher quality products. Moreover, specialization of this kind results in more effective use of seasonal labor than would be possible if the present perishable crop acreages in the State were dispersed into smaller units on a much larger number of farms.

SUMMARY

The output of the some 140,000 farms and ranches in the State now brings in more than \$2,000,000,000 annually to producers. Agriculture is a prime factor in the entire economy of the State through its utilization of immense quantities of many kinds of supplies, materials, equipment, machinery, and services. Likewise it is most important in sustaining many allied industries such as that of meat packing, fruit and vegetable processing, food distribution industries, and those of finance, transportation, and related services. Among the marked characteristics of agriculture in both the State as a whole and in the San Joaquin Valley is the wide variety of crops raised; the prominence of fruits and vegetables in its farming patterns; the coincidence of highly important dairy, range livestock, and poultry industries; the high capital investment and annual operating costs per farm, offset in part by high yields per acre and high output per animal unit; and a marked tendency toward specialization in one or a few commodities by individual farm operators.

Essential to the extensive production of fruits and vegetables is the employment of very large numbers of workers during comparatively short periods during the year, which gives rise to numerous social and economic problems. This situation is further intensified in the San Joaquin Valley where cotton, another crop requiring large numbers of seasonal workers, is also grown extensively.

Farm patterns are not static either in the State as a whole or in the San Joaquin Valley. Changes are constantly taking place in the degree of emphasis between crops and other farm activities. Over-all farm production has increased sharply during the past decade, and is still expanding, more so in the San Joaquin Valley than elsewhere in the State.

The agriculture of the San Joaquin Valley is an important part of the whole farming industry of the State, as it contains more than one-third of the total cropland, and its farmers receive about 40 percent of the State's total annual cash farm income. While numerous large-scale farming operations are carried on, they are of secondary importance in its entire agricultural economy. Developments now in progress indicate that the irrigated farming areas will be still further increased during the next few years.

Climatic conditions, linked up with irrigation, are highly favorable for the production of fruits, vegetables, and cotton in the San Joaquin Valley, and these crops have long been of major importance in the Valley's agriculture. At the same time, conditions are suitable for growing a wide variety of other crops as well as for the efficient production of livestock and poultry. However, fruits, vegetables, and cotton may be expected to continue prominent in the farm economy of the San Joaquin Valley so that large numbers of seasonal farm workers will continue to be required, although further mechanization of various farm operations may be expected to displace hand labor to some degree.

I FARMS IN CALIFORNIA ED YEARS 1920-1950

Head	1940	1945	1950
2,056	2,831	2,709 *	
677	1,013	924 *	
720 *	859 *	920 *	
271 *	849 *	958 *	
541	589	879 *	
112	117	204 *	
1,707	2,396	1,769	
275	667	353 *	
13,283	16,772	23,416 *	
2,404	2,697	-- *	

Figures are from the Bureau of the

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specialize in the production of relatively small proportions of the total area under crops in combination with other crops. Common practice for some time has been to grow something of a combination of crops, such as grapes, or to specialize exclusively, while still maintaining a tendency toward a combination of crops and market advantage. As far as we observe that cotton is the leading crop in the San Joaquin Valley, as is the case with

ious advantages. It is a commodity, which is produced in large quantities and production,

led themselves on self-
Dust Bowl area entered
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in agriculture and the
reduction of industrial
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Joaquin Valley averaged
1 percent farmers and
nd workers, 31 percent
workers. Total employ-
arch to a peak of about
work force at the peak
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nporary local workers,

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out 20,000 in the last
140,000 in late October.
rinary work force in the
n 1949 as follows:

<u>Maximum employ- ment of temporary workers</u>	
<u>Month</u>	<u>Number</u>
October	140,000
October	47,000
August	55,000

September 54,000

00 temporary workers
Valley accounted for

mparisons of agricul-
1950. The 1940 Census
week of March, 1939
ear—and for the last
been the high point.
n Joaquin Valley for
hown below, together

<u>ember,</u>	<u>Last week of</u>
49	October, 1949
,500	225,000
,000	49,000
,500	176,000

Comparison of data for the last week of September in 1939 and in 1949 indicates an increase in 1949 of 50 percent in the number of unpaid family workers, and of 73 percent in the number of hired workers. There was a 66 percent increase in total farm employment.

c. **Labor Requirements for Specific Crops.** The major crops of the valley in terms of labor requirements are cotton and grapes. Other important crops include peaches, plums, figs, almonds, walnuts, hay and grain. There is also considerable production of miscellaneous fruits and vegetables.

Cotton. The highest prewar production occurred in 1937, when more than 715,000 bales were harvested from nearly 590,000 acres. Production dropped during the war to a low point of about 340,000 bales harvested from 286,000 acres, in 1943. The first postwar crop to exceed the heavy 1937 crop was that for 1947, when about 770,000 bales were produced from 531,000 acres. Cotton production was greatly increased in 1948 and again in 1949. The 1949 crop totaled 1,258,000 bales from 948,000 acres in the valley.¹ Through the federal programs for acreage controls, plantings of the 1950 crop were reduced approximately one-third from the 1949 level.

The cotton crop has two employment peaks; one in May for chopping and hoeing, and the harvest peak which in recent years has occurred in early November. In 1947, the employment peaks reached 11,000 during the chopping season and 82,000 during the harvest. There was very little mechanization of crop operations that year. Mechanization developed rapidly in 1948 and 1949. The number of bales harvested in 1949 was 63 percent greater than the number harvested in 1947, but, the total man-weeks of labor required for chopping, hoeing, and harvesting increased only 55 percent. Most of this labor saving resulted from improved and extended mechanization of picking.² Improved planting methods, mechanization of the chopping operation, and in some cases, abandonment of the chopping operation altogether, resulted in further reductions in labor needs between 1949 and 1950. Although the 1950 plantings were reduced about one-third from those of 1949, the peak use of chopping labor in 1950 was about one-half that of 1949.

The ever-present concern regarding the possibility of poor weather conditions during the winter months usually prompts the cotton grower to get as much of his crop picked as possible before the advent of the rainy season. Accordingly, both men and machines may be busy in October and November if favorable crop and weather conditions permit. The result could be a high employment peak and a short season, with a possible sharp drop in employment in early December. The peak employment in cotton in 1949 totaled about 118,000 in early November. With the possibility discussed above, the 1950 peak employment of hand pickers might have reached from 75,000 to 90,000, despite the reduced production, but the period of employment for the workers would be curtailed significantly.

Because cotton has been the crop using the greatest number of workers, and has the latest seasonal peak labor demand each year, and

¹ All the above data are based on the official reports of the California Cooperative Crop Reporting Service.

² See section on Mechanization for fuller discussion.

because both production and mechanization changes are in progress, any solution of the valley problem necessarily involves close consideration of the cotton outlook.

Grapes. During the past 10 years, vineyards have increased from about 323,000 acres to 350,000 acres, or by about 8 percent, despite some decreases in the acreages of Fresno and Kings Counties. Grape production centers in Fresno County, which has nearly half of the valley total acreage. The principal variety grown is the Thompson seedless grape. The peak of the grape harvest usually occurs the first or second week of September, when the raisin varieties reach the proper sugar content for drying. Peak employment in the vineyards usually totals about 50,000 at this time. Table grapes are picked over a long season from mid-summer through November. Wine grape picking is heaviest in October. Variation in the grape employment pattern results from some differences in the disposition of the crop from year to year. Although the raisin varieties are principally for drying, many are sold for table use, and in some years large tonnages go to the winery, depending upon the comparative market situation for raisin, shipping, and wine grapes. Thompson seedless grapes which go to the wineries, instead of on to trays for drying, can be picked over a longer and later period. In years when a sizeable tonnage of Thompsons go into wine, the grape peak may occur in late September or early October, when picking of this part of the crop overlaps with the harvest of usual wine varieties and late table grapes.

Peaches. The valley peach acreage has increased from 37,000 to 45,000 acres since 1939, an increase of about 22 percent. More than a third of the acreage is in Stanislaus County, while Tulare County has nearly a quarter. The peak of the spring thinning season usually requires from 8,000 to 10,000 workers, depending upon the amount of thinning to be done. Harvest of the early market peaches starts in late June, but the peak of employment occurs during the height of the canning peach harvest in August, when employment may reach 15,000 or 20,000 workers, depending upon the production.

Citrus. The San Joaquin Valley has about one-third of the Navel orange acreage in the State, with production centering in Tulare County. There are approximately 30,000 acres, slightly more than in 1939. The valley also has about 12,000 acres, or about 7 percent, of the Valencia oranges, most of them in Tulare County. This represents a small increase over the 1939 acreage. There are few lemons in the valley. During the December, 1949, peak of the Navel orange harvest, about 5,000 pickers were engaged. During the May, 1950, peak of the Valencia orange harvest, slightly more than 1,500 pickers were employed. Some Southern California citrus workers usually come north to work in the Navel and Valencia orange areas, where the harvest peaks are earlier than in the southern districts.

Figs. The acreage of figs has declined from about 32,000 acres in 1939 to 30,500 acres in 1949. The principal fig districts are in Fresno County which has about half of the valley acreage. Merced County has about a third. During the harvest peak in September, 1949, about 4,000 pickers were engaged in the fig harvest.

Plums. Since 1939, the valley acreage of plums has increased from about 6,700 acres to more than 11,000, or by nearly 70 percent. The harvest peak usually occurs in late June or early July, and in 1949, about

4. Labor Supply for Agriculture

a. **Total Farm Labor Supply.** It is not known how many different persons may work in California agriculture at some time during a calendar year, but the number is considerably above the maximum employed and available at the peak. In 1949, the state-wide peak farm work force on October 15th was 524,000, with an additional 12,000 farm workers estimated to be available for work, making a total of 536,000 in the labor force for agriculture. During the entire year 1949, probably not less than 600,000 different individuals did farm work at one time or another, and this estimate is undoubtedly conservative. There is a continual flow of workers into and out of the agricultural labor market.

Corresponding numbers in the peak labor force for the San Joaquin Valley on October 15, 1949, including employed and unemployed workers and unpaid family workers, totaled more than 230,000. At least 300,000 different persons probably did some farm work in the valley during the year. Known employment patterns indicate that the personnel of the work force is constantly changing. Migrant workers arrive and leave the State at all seasons of the year, regardless of the level of labor demand. Resident workers enter and leave the farm labor market according to the relative inducements and job opportunities in farm or nonfarm work, or according to their personal inclinations or work patterns.

There are many factors in agricultural employment which contribute to a high rate of labor turnover. There is apparently chronic dissatisfaction with the work, job conditions, or living arrangements. Migrant workers are also inclined to shift from farm to farm in search of the job where, according to rumor, there is "better picking," a higher wage, better accommodations, or better treatment by the employer. The workers seem oblivious to the fact that the time wasted thus costs them money and reduces their earning time. Some workers stay only for the "first picking" in crops such as tomatoes. Then, during the last stages of such harvests when income is smaller, new crews have to be recruited almost daily. Some less attractive and less popular jobs such as hop picking may use, during a given harvest, more than three times the number of workers employed at any one time. This apparent chronic dissatisfaction with the work, job conditions, or living arrangements, is a major cause of the high labor turnover. Another significant factor is the general restlessness of many migrants who like a frequent change in the kind or location of work. Some workers leave an area where job opportunities are plentiful and conditions favorable, simply because they wish to join friends at a distant point or have some similar personal motivation to change location. There is even considerable turnover on year-round farm jobs for such reasons. For example, some skilled milkers like to work in Northern California, Oregon, or Washington during the summer months, but will go down to Southern California for similar dairy jobs during the winter months because of a more comfortable climate and other attractions of the area.

Since World War II and before the Korean development, the California farm labor supply gradually increased from a barely adequate supply, with actual shortages in certain types of work, to a general surplus of labor, although some shortages continued to exist in certain citrus picking and stoop labor jobs, primarily in areas outside of the

San Joaquin Valley by the state's employment to the San Joaquin Valley.

Do many of the partly migrant workers themselves wage labor?

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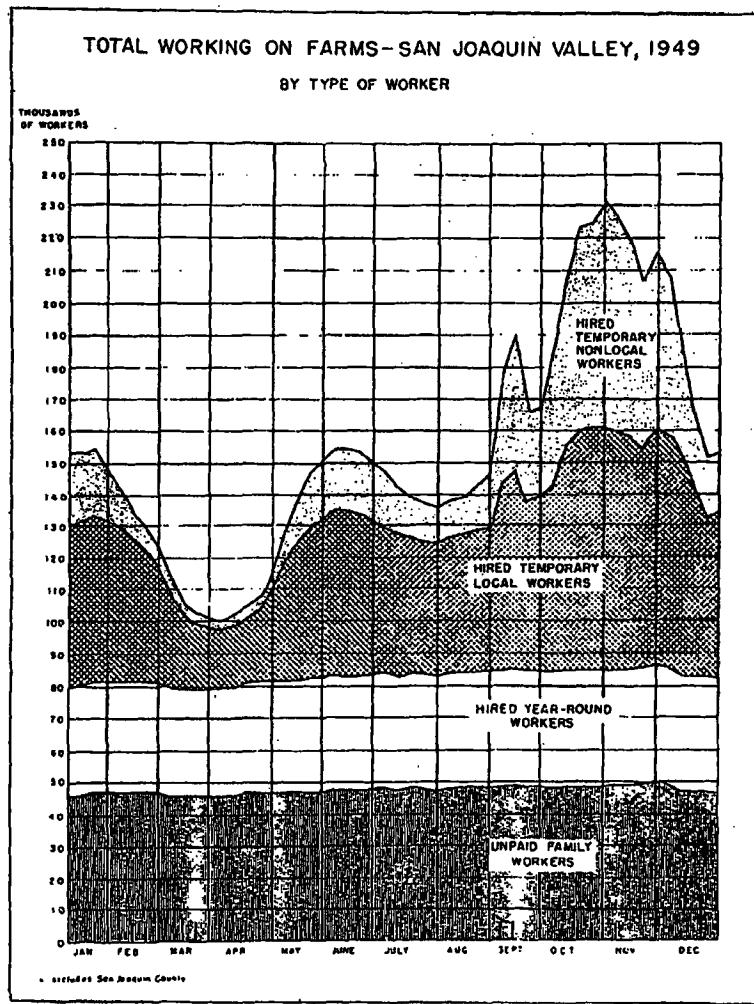
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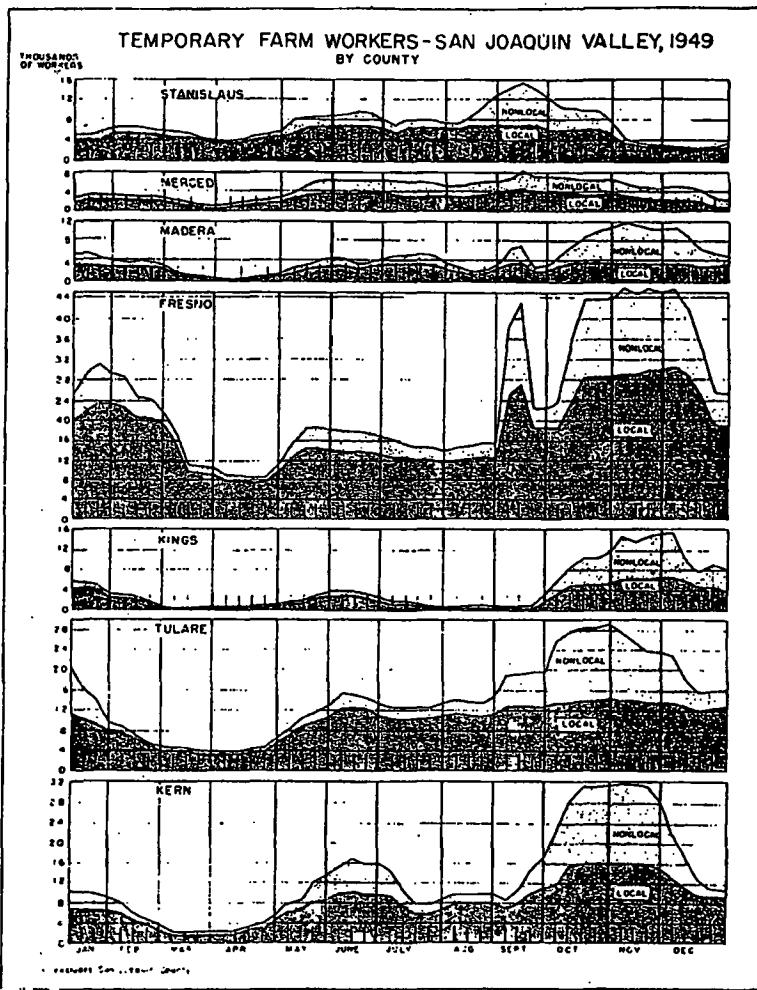
So which workers are in migration? 75 percent economic

valley is so large that practically all workers are successful in finding some work, even though competition is keen and the more workers there are in the valley the less work there is available for each. The largest labor requirements in the valley—for grapes and cotton—occur late in the year. There is competition for labor, of course, but the San Joaquin Valley is the favored competitor. As indicated above, serious efforts have been made to keep workers in other agricultural areas as long as needed. The valley attracts labor and up to 1951 there has been no major shortage of farm workers since the general manpower shortage of World War II.

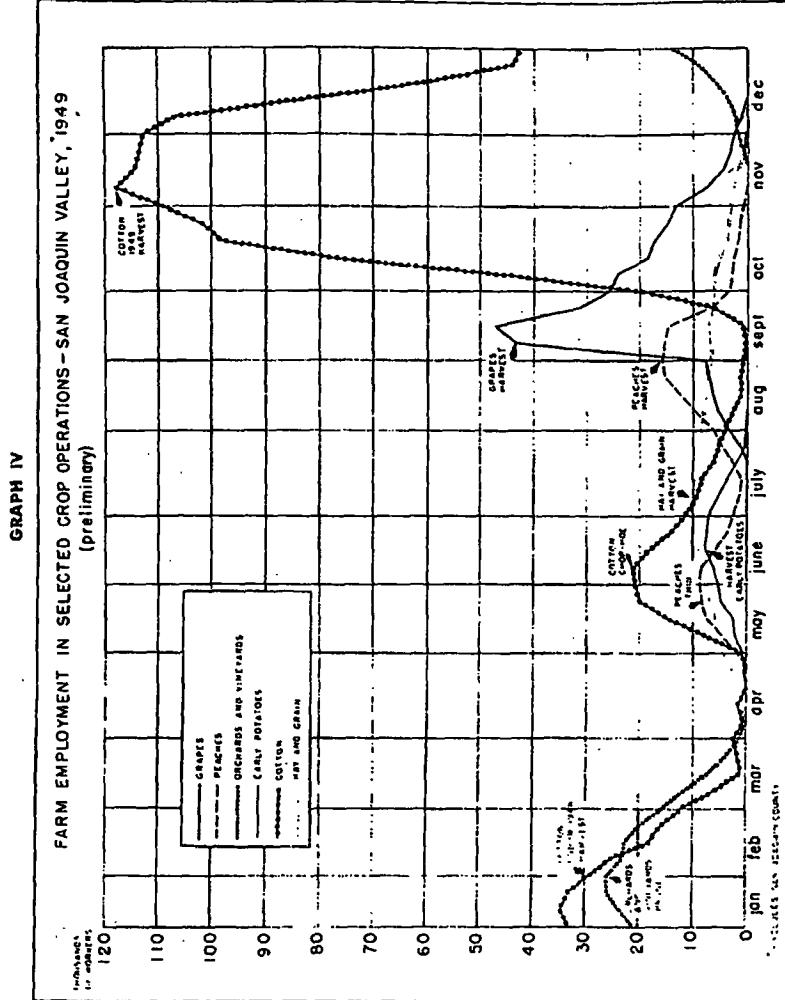
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C. UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE COVERAGE FOR AGRICULTURE¹

1. Introduction

In California, an estimated 100,000 farmers employ wage or salary workers. Of these, about 90,000 pay as much as \$100 in wages in at least one calendar quarter of the year, and about 25,000 pay as much as \$1,000 in at least one quarter.

An estimated 610,000 individuals do some work for wages or salary in California agriculture in the course of a year, exclusive of Mexican Nationals on contract. Many of these individuals do only a small amount of work at the peak of local harvest seasons. It is estimated that only 360,000 do farm work for wages or salary in more than one calendar quarter of the year.

The above estimates are based on fragmentary data, but are believed to give a picture that is reasonably close to the actual situation.

In order to provide a factual basis for estimating the probable cost of unemployment and disability insurance benefits for agricultural wage and salary workers, a study has been undertaken of the employment and earnings experience of a representative group of farm workers. *The collection of data for this study is less than half completed.* The following information, secured from a tabulation of the data relating to the first 2,289 farm workers interviewed, is only a preliminary report which may not represent the entire body of information that will be collected.

a. Summary. (1) The average annual earnings (not in excess of \$3,000) of the 2,289 wage earners interviewed, in both California agriculture and covered employment, were \$1,639 a year. This compares with average 1949 taxable earnings of \$1,720 for wage and salary workers already covered by the California Act. Earnings in California farm work only (not in excess of \$3,000) averaged \$1,476.

(2) About 73 percent of the group interviewed reported some unemployment during the 12 months preceding the interview. Among covered workers, 26 percent had some unemployment and also filed a claim for unemployment insurance in 1949.

(3) The cost of unemployment insurance to the group interviewed, had the present provisions of the act extended to them, would have been 10.1 percent of the group's wages that would have been taxable. The cost of unemployment insurance benefits paid to currently covered workers in 1949 was about 4.0 percent of taxable wages. Benefit payments in a few covered seasonal industries closely related to agricultural activities are high and approximate the estimated cost of agricultural coverage.

b. Earnings. The farm workers from whom information was secured had earned less than workers already covered by the act.

The average amount of wages (not in excess of \$3,000) earned in both California agriculture and covered industries by the 2,289 farm workers interviewed, was \$1,639 (excluding earnings in self-employment) during the 12 months preceding the interview. About 90 percent of these wages, or an average of \$1,476 per worker, was earned in California agriculture. This compares with an estimated average of \$1,720

¹ Prepared by the Research and Statistics Section of the California Department of Employment.

AGRICULTURAL LABOR RESOURCES

TABLE 6

AVERAGE CASH EARNINGS OF SEASONAL FARM WORKERS IN U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE LABOR SUPPLY CENTERS AT ARVIN, WOODVILLE, AND FIREBAUGH

One Week^a in November, 1948

Place	All workers	Sex		Age		
		Male	Female	Under 18	18-44	45 and over
Hourly						
Arvin	\$0.88	\$0.94	\$0.73	\$1.00	\$0.78
Woodville	.83	.92	.67	.82	.91	.95
Firebaugh	.94	.94	.7698
Average	.88	.93	.70	.82	.90	.85
Daily						
Arvin	7.80	8.60	6.10	8.20	6.70
Woodville	6.70	7.80	5.00	3.80	7.20	7.70
Firebaugh	7.40	7.60	4.40	8.00
Average	7.23	7.78	5.55	3.80	7.74	7.13
Weekly						
Arvin	37.20	42.80	26.00	40.70	33.80
Woodville	27.90	31.40	19.50	10.30	32.40	32.90
Firebaugh	35.90	36.70	17.40	28.00
Average	32.84	36.36	23.20	10.30	36.70	33.13

^a Arvin and Woodville—week ending November 10th.

Firebaugh—week ending December 1st.

b Wage data obtained for heads of households only.

Source of data: U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, "Wages and Wage Rates of Seasonal Farm Workers in U. S. P. A. Labor Supply Centers at Arvin, Woodville, and Firebaugh, California, November, 1948." Washington, D. C., May, 1949.

TABLE 7

DISTRIBUTION OF DAYS WORKED BY HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS DURING A 12-MONTH PERIOD, SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIFORNIA, 1948

Days worked	Workers doing farm work only		Workers doing farm and nonfarm work		Workers self-employed part of year*		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Under 30	5	1.6	7	21.2	12	2.3
30-59	8	2.6	5	15.2	13	2.5
60-89	23	8.3	9	3.0	8	24.2	42	8.2
90-119	43	14.3	12	4.1	1	3.0	56	10.9
120-149	55	18.7	11	3.7	4	12.1	70	13.7
150-179	62	20.8	44	14.8	5	15.2	111	21.7
180-209	41	13.6	34	10.1	2	6.1	77	15.0
210-239	24	7.9	26	8.6	1	3.0	51	10.0
240-269	11	3.6	22	7.4	33	6.5
270-299	16	5.4	11	3.7	20	5.1
300 and over	12	3.9	9	3.0	21	4.1
Totals	301	100.0	178	100.0	35	100.0	512	100.0
Average days worked	159.3	157.1	98.0	161.1

* Days worked at hired labor only.

Source of data: Metzler, William H., and Alfe F. Sayin, "The Agricultural Labor Force in the San Joaquin Valley, California, 1948," U. S. Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D. C., February, 1950, p. 44.

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inspectors must seek out the camps. Even though a larger staff could make routine inspections, many camps would still be difficult to find.

In a recent administrative study of the Division of Housing, Dr. Samuel E. Wood noted that statutory provisions make the regulation of labor camps considerably more difficult than the regulation of auto camps. No prior licensing is required for the establishment of a labor camp. Thus, the State is put in the position of having to regulate private camps, some of which, for reasons of site, water supply, layout, or location, should never have been established. The burden of finding camps is placed on the State. As a solution, he suggested "a simple system of registration and prior licensing, with or without a fee, which would permit checking of plans, site, and water supply before construction. This would assure growers of a sound investment in camp facilities and furnish a basis for reinspection. Such procedure would also place the division in the position of furnishing service to the industry in addition to its current policing responsibility."¹ He also cited the urgent need for improved direction and administration of the division and recommended an in-service training program for inspectors.

Only as a last resort does the Division of Housing institute legal action to gain compliance with state laws. Violations of any of the provisions of the Labor Camp Act are misdemeanors. Frequently district attorneys, not only in the valley, but elsewhere in the State, are reluctant to issue complaints because of local pressures. Justices of the peace, before whom a complaint may be heard, are often friends of the contractor or other labor camp operator. The Labor Camp Act, in spite of its simple wording, is frequently subject to different interpretations by district attorneys and justices of the peace. Finally, the pressure of other business in the offices of many district attorneys prevents timely handling of labor camp cases. Often the camp is closed for the season and the workers have long since departed before court action actually begins.

In addition to criminal penalties, the law provides for civil action, i.e., abatement through the superior courts. This feature of the law has not been used very often by the division because of the large amount of red tape and cost involved in preparing civil actions. Furthermore, the superior court calendars are quite frequently over-crowded. Accordingly, criminal actions have been used almost exclusively whenever any legal action has been deemed necessary.

2. SUBSTANDARD HOUSING

Cities and towns in the San Joaquin Valley have experienced rapid recent growth similar to other sections of California. The desire of agricultural workers to settle down in a given area has resulted in the development of numerous shack towns on the fringes of cities and in the unincorporated areas throughout the valley. Seasonal agricultural workers gradually acquire small plots of land, following which modest buildings are constructed. Usually groups of tents first appear and finally a group of ramshackle cabins.

Some of the inhabitants are living in primitive shacks without necessary sanitary facilities. Agricultural workers' subdivisions spring up,

¹ Wood, Samuel E., "Administrative Analysis of the Division of Housing," October 23, 1950, p. 9. Unpublished mimeographed report, 37 pages.

containing housing varying from tents and shacks to small substantial homes. Many of the lots in these subdivisions are vacant, others are crowded conglomerations of privies and dwellings. Many of these newly populated areas are termed "working men's tracts" and lots sell for as low as \$500 with down payments of \$25 and \$10 monthly.

Only in cities, and in those unincorporated areas that have established sanitary districts, are these houses and shacks connected to a sewer. In many of the blighted areas there is open drainage of sewage. Inadequate homemade plumbing of a variety of materials exists. Many of the privies are neither fully enclosed nor fly-tight and are frequently unroofed. Privies are constructed of a variety of materials—wood, metal, or gunny sacks taken from a city dump. Accumulations of fire-hazardous debris on the lots in these agricultural worker's subdivisions is evident. In most of these unregulated developments there is no community garbage collection; garbage is disposed of by burning, burying, hauling, or merely throwing it on the ground for domestic animals or chickens. In many of these communities, the water supply is inadequate and its purity is questionable.

Shack-towns, slum-towns, jungles, and squatter camps in unincorporated areas and on fringes of cities are a menace to the health and safety of their occupants as well as to neighboring communities and to the entire valley. These rural and urban slums develop because of lack of regulation by city, county, or State.

Housing within most of the incorporated areas of the cities of the valley has been found to be reasonably good. These cities presently have adequate legal requirements to regulate and eliminate substandard housing within their corporate boundaries. Most cities have a building code, and the State Housing Act (Sections 15000 through 17902 of the Health and Safety Code) is applicable to hotels, apartment houses anywhere in the State, and to dwellings inside cities only.

Detailed surveys of substandard housing were made by county housing survey committees in cooperation with the Division of Housing during August and September, 1950. The survey was utilized by county health departments to determine the extent, location, and nature of substandard dwellings in their communities.

The committees surveyed 181 communities in which there were a significant number of substandard dwellings. The county committees estimated that these communities had more than 25,000 substandard dwelling units. Results of the community surveys are included in Table 5.

Thirty-six of these communities were located in incorporated areas, 53 on the fringe of incorporated areas and 92 in rural-unincorporated areas. In 124 of the 181 communities the occupants were predominantly white, in 13 they were mainly Negro, and in 19 principally Mexican.

The committee found that in 112 communities pit toilets were the predominant type of toilet facility, and in 69 communities flush toilets were the principal type. In 94 communities, or more than one-half of the total surveyed, there were no bathing facilities. Eighty-five of the communities surveyed were found to have no sewage disposal. In five communities there was no water supply. Two-thirds of the communities had satisfactory garbage disposal while one-third had unsatisfactory disposal.

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SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF COMMUNITIES IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY WITH SUBSTANDARD DWELLINGS

September, 1950

Item	Number of communities	County							Percent of total
		Fresno	Kern	Kings	Madera	Mered	Stanis- laus	Tulare	
Number of communities surveyed.....	181	42	23	7	9	11	18	71	100
Estimated number of substan- dard dwellings.....	25,566	8,858	4,854	418	1,368	1,272	1,799	6,707	-----
Location of community.....									
In incorporated area.....	36	13	3	3	4	4	2	7	20
In fringe of incorporated area.....	53	9	14	1	2	3	6	18	29
In rural unincorporated area.....	92	20	6	3	3	4	10	45	51
Predominant race or nationality in community.....									
White.....	124	26	13	2	5	2	17	60	69
Negro.....	13	5	2	1	1	2	1	2	7
Mexican.....	19	2	4	1	5	5	8	8	10
Other or mixed.....	25	14	1	3	2	4	1	1	14
Predominant types of sanitary facilities in community.....									
Toilet facilities.....									
Pit toilets.....	112	29	10	1	5	4	8	60	62
Flush toilets.....	69	10	13	6	4	7	12	11	38
Bathing facilities.....									
None.....	94	24	10	1	2	2	18	55	52
Showers or tub.....	87	18	13	6	7	9	18	18	48
Sewage disposal.....									
None.....	85	21	8	1	2	1	1	52	47
Sewer.....	54	11	10	6	3	5	5	14	30
Cesspool.....	19	5	3	1	1	5	1	3	10
Septic tanks.....	23	4	2	1	3	1	12	2	13
Water supply.....									
None.....	5	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	8
Community.....	117	26	23	6	3	10	14	55	65
Private well.....	59	15	1	1	6	1	4	33	33
Garbage disposal.....									
Satisfactory.....	121	22	18	6	6	6	18	45	67
Unsatisfactory.....	60	20	5	1	3	5	5	26	33

Source: Survey by county committees with the Division of Housing of communities with substandard dwellings.

In addition to the over-all survey of the 181 communities, an actual housing inspection was made of a sample of 1,311 dwellings in these communities. The sampling survey was made by local county sanitarians and state inspectors of the Division of Housing.

This random sample of dwellings was drawn so as to give proper representation according to: (1) the location of the community, (2) the age of the community, (3) type of occupants, and (4) county. It is believed that the sampling procedure gave a reasonably good cross section of the dwellings in these 181 communities. Housing in incorporated areas, fringe areas, and rural-unincorporated areas were also sampled.

For uniformity in classifying the dwellings, the provisions of Sections 15035 and 15024 of the Health and Safety Code were used. These provisions guided county housing survey committees in determining whether or not a structure was to be classified as substandard.

The provisions of the pertinent sections are as follows:

Section 15035, Health and Safety Code:

"Building unfit for human habitation or occupancy" means any building or buildings used for human habitation, or designed or intended for such use, which are dangerous to human life or detrimental to health, through improper sanitary facilities, and included, but are not limited to, buildings in which exist one or more of the following conditions:

(a) The exterior walls, doors, windows, floors or roof are so deteriorated, broken, or damaged as not to exclude rain or wind and by reason of such condition are dangerous to human life or detrimental to health;

(b) The foundations or supporting walls are deteriorated or damaged to the extent that walls list or lean and by reason of such condition are dangerous to human life or detrimental to health.

Any building which comes under the category of a "nuisance" as defined in Section 15024 of the same code:

"Nuisance" includes:

(a) Any public nuisance known at common law or in equity jurisprudence.

(b) Whatever is dangerous to human life or is detrimental to health.

(c) Overcrowding a room with occupants.

(d) Insufficient ventilation or illumination.

(e) Inadequate or insanitary sewage or plumbing facilities.

(f) Uncleanliness.

(g) Whatever renders air, food, or drink unwholesome or detrimental to the health of human beings.

Note: A structure is substandard and pre-eminently a "nuisance" when it is found that it has

(a) Cubic air content of less than 500 cubic feet for each occupant.

(b) Where the window area is much less than one-eighth of the floor area.

(c) For reason of lack of sleeping rooms, kitchens are used for sleeping purposes.

(d) Where there are no water closets and pit toilets are used.

(e) Where sinks are not furnished in kitchens.

(f) Where the grounds are littered with garbage or otherwise unsuitable due to the fact that they are not capable of being properly drained and low in spots—which depressions collect mud and other debris.

Of the dwellings inspected, 84 percent were houses. The second largest group was shacks, which represented 7 percent of the total. The remainder were tents, trailers, and apartments.

About 5 percent of the dwellings surveyed had no toilet facilities, 53 percent had flush toilets, and 42 percent had pit toilets. The ratios were considerably different in dwellings in incorporated areas where 76 percent were found to have flush toilets and only 18 percent had pit

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toilets. The proportion without toilet facilities was about 5 percent of all dwellings.

A little less than one-half of the dwellings were found to have no bathing facilities. More than 50 percent of the dwellings in rural-unincorporated areas had no bathing facilities compared with 32 percent without such facilities in incorporated areas.

About one-third of the 1,311 dwellings inspected had no sewage disposal, but there was considerable variation depending upon the location of the community.

TABLE 6
SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF DWELLINGS IN SUBSTANDARD COMMUNITIES
IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, BY TYPE OF AREA

September, 1950

(Based on a Sample of 1,311 Dwellings)

Item	Number of dwellings				Percent of total			
	Total	Incorporated	Fringe of incorporated	Rural unincorporated	Total	Incorporated	Fringe of incorporated	Rural unincorporated
Number of dwellings surveyed.....	1,311	577	232	502	100	100	100	100
Number of rooms.....	4,822	2,315	881	1,626				
Number of occupants.....	6,098	2,798	1,208	2,094				
Type of dwellings								
House.....	1,068	497	177	422	84	80	76	84
Apartment.....	45	25	8	11	3	5	4	2
Hotel.....	2	1	1					
Trailer.....	37	10	9	18	3	2	4	4
Tent.....	33	6	9	18	3	1	4	4
Shack.....	98	37	28	33	7	6	12	6
Toilet facilities								
None.....	61	35	8	23	5	5	1	5
Pit.....	554	101	187	316	42	18	59	32
Flush.....	696	441	92	163	53	76	40	32
Bathing facilities								
None.....	617	187	128	302	47	82	55	60
Shower or tub.....	694	390	104	200	53	69	45	40
Sewage disposal								
None.....	446	96	95	255	34	17	41	51
Sewer.....	485	424	41	20	37	74	18	4
Cesspool.....	226	43	62	121	17	7	27	24
Septic tank.....	134	14	34	106	12	2	14	21
Water supply								
None.....	38	13	4	21	3	2	2	4
Community.....	1,069	527	189	333	81	91	81	70
Private well.....	154	33	29	92	12	6	13	19
Hauled.....	50	4	10	36	4	1	4	7
Garbage disposal								
Satisfactory.....	801	402	135	264	66	80	58	53
Unsatisfactory.....	450	115	97	233	34	20	42	47
Compliance with health and safety code†								
Full.....	197	94	32	71	15	10	14	14
Partial.....	510	278	92	140	39	48	40	28
Non-compliance.....	604	205	103	281	46	38	40	53

Sources: Inspection reports covering approximately 5 percent of the dwellings in communities in which most dwellings were substandard. Includes the following seven counties: Fresno, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, Stanislaus, and Tulare.

* Less than 0.5 percent.

† See text.

TABLE 7

HOUSING AND SANITARY CONDITIONS OF DWELLINGS IN SUBSTANDARD COMMUNITIES IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, BY TYPE OF DWELLING

September, 1950

(Based on a Sample of 1,311 Dwellings)

Item	Number of dwellings				Percent of total			
	House	Apartments and hotels	Trailers and tents	Shacks	House	Apartments and hotels	Trailers and tents	Shacks
Number of dwellings surveyed.....	1,096	47	70	98	100	100	100	100
Number of occupants	5,059	358	257	424				
Average number of occupants per room.....	1.2	1.6	3.3	2.0				
Air space ratio								
Satisfactory.....	697	23	18	19	64	49	23	19
Unsatisfactory.....	390	34	54	79	38	51	77	81
Ventilation								
Satisfactory.....	670	20	18	32	61	35	23	33
Unsatisfactory.....	426	21	54	68	39	45	77	67
Screening								
Satisfactory.....	629	21	17	26	57	45	24	27
Unsatisfactory.....	467	26	53	72	43	55	76	73
Window light								
Satisfactory.....	687	23	17	38	63	49	24	39
Unsatisfactory.....	409	24	53	60	37	51	76	61
Structural condition								
Satisfactory.....	418	15	8	1	38	32	11	1
Unsatisfactory.....	678	32	62	97	62	68	89	99
Fire hazards								
Satisfactory.....	441	16	7	5	40	34	10	5
Unsatisfactory.....	655	31	63	93	60	66	90	95
Toilet facilities								
None.....	30	2	18	11	3	4	26	11
Pit or flush								
Satisfactory.....	647	25	9	22	59	53	13	23
Unsatisfactory.....	419	20	43	65	38	43	61	66
Bathing facilities								
None.....	467	13	57	80	43	28	82	82
Shower or tubs								
Satisfactory.....	551	25	3	4	50	53	4	4
Unsatisfactory.....	78	9	10	14	7	19	14	14
Sewage disposal								
None.....	338	7	63	50	31	15	76	51
Sewer, cesspool, or septic tank								
Satisfactory.....	718	36	11	40	65	77	18	41
Unsatisfactory.....	42	4	6	5	4	8	8	8
Water supply								
None.....	16		16	6	1		23	6
Community, private well or hauled								
Satisfactory.....	1,019	45	37	80	93	96	53	88
Unsatisfactory.....	61	2	17	6	6	4	24	6
Condition of grounds								
Satisfactory.....	667	27	18	39	61	57	26	46
Unsatisfactory.....	429	20	52	59	30	43	74	60
Garbage disposal								
Satisfactory.....	767	34	23	37	70	72	33	38
Unsatisfactory.....	329	13	47	61	30	28	67	62
Compliance with Health and Safety Code*								
Full.....	189	7	1	9	17	15	2	9
Partial.....	480	18	3	9	44	38	4	9
Noncompliance.....	427	22	66	69	39	47	94	91

For sources, see Table A.

* See text.

**IGS IN SUBSTANDARD
TYPE OF DWELLING**

gs)

Percent of total		
Apartments and hotels	Trailers and tents	Shacks
100	100	100
49 51	23 77	19 81
55 48	22 77	33 67
45 55	24 76	27 73
49 51	24 76	39 61
82 68	11 89	1 99
34 66	10 90	5 95
4 52	26 13	11 23
53 43	01	66
28	82	82
53 19	4 14	4 14
15	76	51
77 8	16 8	41 8
23	6	
96 4	53 34	88 6
57 43	28 74	10 60
72 28	33 67	38 62
15 38	2 94	6 91

Only 3 percent of the dwellings were found to have no water supply. Two-thirds of the dwellings had satisfactory garbage disposal. The highest proportion of dwellings with unsatisfactory garbage disposal was found in rural-unincorporated areas, 47 percent there as compared with only 20 percent in incorporated areas.

Of the 1,311 dwellings inspected, only 15 percent were found to be in full compliance with the Health and Safety Code; 39 percent were found to be in partial compliance; and 46 percent in noncompliance. The ratio differed, however, in accordance with their location as to incorporated, fringe, and unincorporated areas, as shown in Table 6. In rural-unincorporated areas 58 percent of the dwellings did not comply with the Health and Safety Code provisions. In communities on the fringe of incorporated areas 46 percent were found to be in noncompliance, and in incorporated areas 36 percent were in noncompliance.

A summary of the housing and sanitary condition of the dwellings surveyed is presented in Table 7, classified by type of dwelling. Considerable variation in standards, of course, was found according to the type of dwelling. The number of occupants per room was highest in trailers and tents, 3.3, compared with 1.2 in houses.

The air space-occupant ratio was found to be unsatisfactory in 81 percent of the shacks, 77 percent of the trailers and tents, 51 percent of the apartments and hotels, and 36 percent of the houses.

The highest proportions of unsatisfactory ventilation, screening, and window area found in trailers and tents.

Nearly all of the shacks and 89 percent of the trailers and tents were in an unsatisfactory structural condition. About two-thirds of the houses, hotels, and apartments were also unsatisfactory from a structural standpoint. The same proportions were found with respect to fire hazards.

The proportion of dwellings without toilet facilities ranged from 26 percent for trailers and tents to 3 percent for houses. Of the trailers and tents which had toilet facilities, 61 percent were rated as unsatisfactory.

No bathing facilities were found in 82 percent of the trailers, tents, and shacks; in 43 percent of the houses; and in 28 percent of the apartments and hotels.

Considerable variation was found with respect to sewage disposal. The proportion without sewage disposal ranged from 76 percent in tents and trailers to 15 percent in apartments and hotels. Nearly one-third of the houses and more than one-half of the shacks had no sewage disposal.

All of the apartments and hotels and nearly all of the houses had a water supply. There was no water supply, however, in approximately 23 percent of the trailers and tents, and 6 percent of the shacks.

Garbage disposal was found to be unsatisfactory in 67 percent of the trailers and tents, and in almost an equally large proportion of shacks. About 30 percent of the houses, apartments, and hotels had unsatisfactory garbage disposal.

Only 17 percent of the houses, 15 percent of the apartments and hotels, and 2 percent of the trailers were in full compliance with the Health and Safety Code.

Table 8 summarizes the type of dwelling, tenure, and occupation of occupant (according to whether the occupants were primarily engaged in agricultural or other work).

TABLE 8

**TYPE OF DWELLING, TENURE, AND OCCUPANTS OF DWELLINGS IN SUBSTANDARD
COMMUNITIES IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY**

September, 1950

(Based on a Sample of 1,311 Dwellings)

Item	Number of dwellings with occupants primarily in—			Percent of total		
	Total	Agricultural work	Other	Total	Agricultural work	Other
Number of dwellings surveyed....	1,311	783	559	100	100	100
Type of dwelling						
House.....	1,098	602	494	84	80	89
Apartment unit.....	45	29	23	3	3	4
Hotel.....	2	2	—	—	—	—
Trailer.....	37	24	13	3	3	9
Tent.....	33	27	6	3	4	1
Shack.....	98	75	23	7	10	4
Tenure of occupants						
Permanent renter.....	404	230	174	31	30	31
Seasonal renter.....	102	58	45	9	12	3
Buyer.....	203	113	91	15	15	16
Owner.....	601	323	279	46	43	50
OCCUPANTS						
White.....	637	305	332	49	40	59
Negro.....	281	153	106	20	21	19
Mexican.....	350	278	115	30	32	21
Filipino.....	4	4	—	—	—	—
Other.....	19	13	6	1	2	1

For source and notes, see Table 6.

As stated previously, county health departments have some jurisdiction, under the general provisions of the Health and Safety Code, to regulate water supply, sewage, and garbage disposal, when it affects public health. In counties without building departments there is no regulation of dwellings with respect to basic structural conditions, air space ratio, ventilation, window light, or other items giving protection from the elements of providing resistance to fire. The present effectiveness of valley county health departments, with regard to matters over which they have jurisdiction, is indicated above in the report on the substandard housing survey. There is a clear need for more sanitarians, trained in housing work, and employed by county health departments. There is also a need for new and expanded regulations covering the conditions which are not currently controlled by state or county agencies.

3. AUTO COURTS AND TRAILER PARKS

There are approximately 8,000 auto courts and trailer parks in California of which approximately 800 are in the San Joaquin Valley. At least 6 percent of the auto courts in the San Joaquin Valley are being rented in part on a permanent basis to migrants who have no other home. This 6 percent represents only those facilities licensed by the Housing Division. The exact number of "house courts" is unknown, but many hundreds have recently been built in the valley. Furthermore, many auto courts formerly licensed have deteriorated to the point where they no longer attract the tourist trade, and therefore rent on a permanent

LINGS IN SUBSTANDARD
'ALLEY

3)

Percent of total		
Total	Agricultural work	Other
100	100	100
84	80	89
3	2	4
5	3	2
3	4	1
7	10	4
31	30	31
8	12	3
15	15	16
46	43	50
40	40	59
20	21	19
30	37	21
1	2	1

its have some jurisdiction under the State Health and Safety Code, to regulate trailer parks. When it affects trailer parks there is no regulation. Under present conditions, air is giving protection to the public. The present effective standard to matters over 100 feet in height is the report on the part of one or more sanitarians, health departments, and county agencies.

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id trailer parks in San Joaquin Valley. At present, trailer parks in San Joaquin Valley are being built by the Housing Authority. Unknown, but many are unknown. Furthermore, many are not permanent. They are not on a permanent

basis to low-income, agricultural workers in the valley. Some 60 percent of all trailer parks in the San Joaquin Valley are renting space to migrant agricultural workers, providing approximately 4,000 parking spaces for trailers.

The growing importance of trailers as a permanent means of housing is evident. The housing shortage has tremendously increased the demand for trailers. Government trailers were sold in wholesale lots following World War II at a price within reach of most families, even those with low incomes. The advantages of low rent, light housework, and complete freedom of movement, are additional reasons why trailer life is on the increase.

The trailer park tenant like the labor camp migrant occasionally feels no obligation to assist in maintaining the grounds or the facilities in a clean and sanitary condition. An important factor in the enforcement problem is the difficulty of and the need for educating trailer tenants as to their responsibility in maintaining sanitation standards. The mobile trailer makes it convenient for the occupant to move readily if criticized by the trailer camp operator for unsanitary practices.

Neither the "backyard" trailer, nor the situation where three or four trailers remain outside a licensed trailer park, are regulated by the Auto Court and Trailer Act. In most instances, such impromptu camps have no satisfactory means for sewage or garbage disposal, thus creating a hazardous health condition. Improper handling of liquefied petroleum gas or fuel, and improper electric wiring lead frequently to sudden fires and subsequent injury or loss of life. The latter hazards also are found in licensed trailer parks despite the legal regulations and restrictions.

Auto courts and trailer parks are regulated by the Division of Housing under Part 2, Division 13 of the Health and Safety Code. The act regulates auto courts in unincorporated areas only. Similar structures within incorporated areas are regulated by the State Housing Act, either as hotels, apartment houses, or dwellings. The provisions of the act regulating trailer parks apply uniformly throughout the State, both in cities and in unincorporated areas, and apply to any tract of land where two or more trailer spaces are rented.

The auto court provisions apply to any building or group of buildings on a single tract or area of land containing two or more units rented to transients; that is (according to an opinion of the Attorney General), persons having their home elsewhere and paying their rent for a short period of time, either by day, week, or month. Auto courts renting on a monthly basis to "permanent" or nontransient tenants are not regulated by the provisions of the Auto Court Act. Multiple dwelling units of this sort are best referred to as "house courts." In most counties little or no regulations exist for maintenance, sanitation or construction of "house courts."

The Auto Court and Trailer Park Act governs construction, operation, maintenance and sanitation of auto courts and trailer parks in considerable detail. The construction features are in effect a building code. Like other building codes, the structural features cannot be applied retroactively. An operator cannot be required to rebuild an existing building or to make structural changes in compliance with each amendment of the act. However, he must adequately maintain the buildings and

premises and he can be required to vacate and abandon an unsound structure. In the auto court section of the act, room sizes, window areas, as well as toilet and bathing facilities are prescribed. The trailer court provisions require a minimum area in camp sites and prescribe toilet and bathing facilities. The proper handling of garbage, sewage, rubbish, and liquefied petroleum gases applies to both types of project. The trailer park provisions of the act do not apply within cities which have enacted, and are enforcing, ordinances prescribing minimum standards equal to or greater than the standards of the state act. This provision was passed by the 1949 Session of the Legislature, but as yet, no city in California has reported the enactment of such an ordinance.

The Housing Division is empowered to issue permits to construct and operate any trailer park or auto court. Inspectors of the division make, or attempt to make, routine inspections of each auto court and trailer park within the State. Concurrent jurisdiction over the sanitation and other maintenance features is granted to county health departments with respect to the trailer park provisions. Unintentionally, the 1949 amendments to the act failed to give the health departments concurrent jurisdiction with the division of housing over the maintenance and sanitation features of auto courts.

Better enforcement of the auto court and trailer park law could be obtained with a more adequate staff. The permit provisions impose a responsibility upon the operator to come to the division, rather than for the division to seek out each project. It permits consultation with the division inspectors to determine adequacy of site, adequacy of sewage disposal, garbage disposal, and water supply.

Much could be done on the local level by county boards of supervisors in adopting appropriate ordinances and in properly staffing the health departments to further regulate maintenance and sanitation. The Housing Division has for many years attempted to encourage local agencies to adopt a model ordinance for regulating "house courts" and trailer parks which are not now regulated by state law. So far the division's activities have met with little success.

4. ENABLING LEGISLATION

There is considerable existing legislation which may go far to provide a solution to the housing problem. Of such present legislation only the Federal Public Housing Act has been used in providing housing in several communities of the valley. These state and federal acts are as follows:

A. Limited Dividend Housing Corporation Act (Calif. Stats. 1933, Ch. 538, Deering Act 3481)

The act permits the formation of corporations for the purpose of providing housing for families of low income, or for the reconstruction of slum areas, subject to regulation by the Commissioner of Housing. Before any articles of incorporation may be filed a certificate of the Commission of Housing must be attached showing, among other things, that a purpose of the corporation is to provide housing for persons of low income, or for the reconstruction of slum areas. The articles must also conform to the provisions of the Corporations Code and be in such form as to be acceptable to the Secretary of State. The Commissioner of Housing is empowered to fix rental charges and the price, terms of payment, rate of interest on deferred payments and all other

by proper action brought in the superior court of the county in which the camp, or the greater portion thereof, is situated. (Amended by Stats. 1945, Ch. 1431.)

2424. For the purposes of securing the enforcement of this article the officers and agents of the Division of Housing shall have the authority of peace officers to make arrests, to serve any process or notice throughout the State and such other authority of peace officers as may become necessary in securing the enforcement of this article. (Amended by Stats. 1945, Ch. 1431.)

2425. Any person who violates, or causes another person to violate, any provision of this article is guilty of a misdemeanor, punishable by a fine of not more than two hundred dollars (\$200), or imprisonment for not more than sixty days (60 days) or both. (Amended by Stats. 1947, Ch. 984.)

X. HEALTH¹

A. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The problem of the health of a group of individuals is one which is closely related to social and economic influences. It is a problem which is intensified by poor living environment, dependent in large part upon economic status. It is a problem which is influenced by educational attainment of members of the group, and by traditional attitudes and background. It involves nutrition and other aspects of so-called healthful living. It is affected by the readiness with which medical care may be procured when needed, and the reaches to which the public health facility may be able to extend its vigilance. The economic effects of uncertain or inadequate financial resources, which may be due in part to unstable employment, lead toward an accentuation of the problem. In the San Joaquin Valley area, the conditions under which many agricultural workers live have provided a potential setting for unsound health.

The health status of the agricultural worker group is not determinable statistically from data that are available. A statistical health index which appears to be related to the seasonal agricultural labor segment of the population is that of the infant mortality rate, which is higher in the San Joaquin Valley counties than in any other area of the State. This higher infant mortality is largely due to higher incidence and mortality from diarrheal disorders. Factors which contribute to this higher mortality from diarrhea include:

1. Poor community sanitation (sewage and garbage disposal);
2. Poor home sanitation (facilities for cleanliness, food preparation, and storage, as well as knowledge of the importance of these measures);
3. The low nutritional and health status of young children (which in turn is influenced by the health and nutritional status of the mother, the continuing health supervision of the child, and the ability of the family to provide necessary food and care);

¹ The information included in this report has been obtained with the assistance of a number of organizational units within the State Department of Public Health, namely: Division of Environmental Sanitation, Division of Local Health Service, Bureau of Maternal and Child Health, Nutrition Service, Medical Social Work Service, Bureau of Records and Statistics, Bureau of Public Health Nursing, Bureau of Health Education, Bureau of Hospitals, Division of Dental Health, Bureau of Venereal Disease Control, Bureau of Communicable Disease Control, Bureau of Tuberculosis Control, Bureau of Chronic Diseases.

Other agencies which have cooperated in providing information have been: County health departments and other local agencies of the seven counties covered in the study; Division of Housing of State Department of Industrial Relations; State Interagency Nutrition Committee with representatives of the Agricultural Extension Service, State Department of Social Welfare, State Department of Education, and State Department of Public Health; United States Public Health Service.

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4. Inadequate health resources and lack of maximum availability and utilization of medical resources.

Data concerning the agricultural labor population derived from
other mortality statistics or morbidity are not available to serve as an
index of health.

Poor housing and sanitation, a low economic level, and closely re-
lated nutritional status and a minimum of medical care, are problems
confronting many seasonal agricultural workers. The relationship be-
tween these factors and the health status of a group influenced by them
is an established one.

There is need for improvement in the environmental factors of
housing and sanitation affecting agricultural workers. Sanitation defi-
ciencies can be more effectively corrected and regulated by participation
of local health departments in the control program. It is therefore neces-
sary that state agencies having responsibility in this field collaborate
with local health departments in the planning and execution of any pro-
gram designed to meet these needs.

The local health departments need more personnel for adequate
service to the entire community with particular emphasis on the agri-
cultural labor population, where the need for augmented services is
great.

Hospital services and medical care are not readily obtained by all
who need care, economic status being the determining factor to the
greatest extent. County hospitals have varying policies for admission for
the care of those unable to secure private care.

There is lack of adequate organization in community health educa-
tion, and a need for nutritional services.

There is a need for closer interrelationships of agencies and organ-
izations in joint planning for programs with objectives in common.

B. HEALTH STATUS OF SEASONAL AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

A study of 28 infant deaths in the San Joaquin Valley in the fall
of 1949, occurring as they did in a short period of time and in quasi-
epidemic proportions, directed attention anew toward the group in the
valley population in which most of the cases were found. Nearly all
were in families of agricultural workers. Diarrhea, pneumonia, and
related causes were the basis for study of this particular series of deaths
which had occurred consecutively in two counties. The report of this
study served to re-emphasize the problem of the health status of the
seasonal agricultural worker and his family and the need for more con-
certed action in attempting to allay it.

The health status of seasonal agricultural workers is difficult to
determine. Basic health indices from mortality data, maternal and infant
mortality rates, tuberculosis mortality rate, and the general mortality
rate cannot be determined for this occupational group because death
certificates do not reflect the seasonal agricultural worker status. Nor
are accurate population data available for the group as a whole.

Infant Mortality—A Basic Index of the Health Status of a Population Group

The San Joaquin Valley area¹ has the highest regional infant mortality rate in the State.² In 1948, five of the eight San Joaquin Valley counties ranked second, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh, in order of infant mortality rates.³ That this is consistent with past experience is indicated in the study of infant mortality trends since 1920, which shows that the infant mortality rate in the San Joaquin Valley area has been consistently higher than that of the State as a whole.⁴

While, in the small counties, rates may vary from year to year, a study of five-year average infant mortality rates in California (1942-1946) showed that six of the eight counties in the San Joaquin area were among the ten highest in rank order.⁵

These high infant mortality rates are due to higher mortality rates in infants between the ages of 1 and 12 months. Mortality rates for this age group, in 1948, were 15.2 for the San Joaquin Valley area, and 7.7 for the State as a whole. In the 1 to 12 months age group, infectious causes of death, principally diarrhea and pneumonia, assume the greatest importance. These are largely preventable.

An analysis of infant mortality in the San Joaquin Valley area reveals that the death rate from diarrheal infections from 1945 to 1948 were three to three and one-half times the rate for the State as a whole.⁶

It is well recognized that the state of nutrition and the general health of the child influence the outcome of diarrheal infections in children. Medical authorities have pointed out that, "Although infants and children of excellent nutritional status may acquire diarrheal disorders, the effects are much more serious in malnourished or debilitated ones."⁷

In addition, it should be pointed out that unfavorable environmental conditions are contributory factors to these diseases which raise the toll of infant deaths. "Progress in the control of diarrheal diseases during the past forty years has been obtained through general improvement of living conditions, by community sanitation, and by better home hygiene."⁸

The combination of factors, which results in lowered resistance and which increases the hazard of spread of infection, is commonly found in low economic groups. Evidence of the relationship of these factors to the problem is indicated in the study of 28 infant deaths of diarrhea and related causes in the San Joaquin Valley in the fall of 1949.

Within less than a month's time in that year, a number of infants under one year of age died in Fresno and Kings Counties from diarrhea and gastroenteritis with an associated diagnosis of malnutrition. These deaths were conspicuous because of unusual press publicity relating some of them to alleged starvation. Controversy arose over the use of the term "starvation."

¹ Includes Fresno, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, and Tulare Counties.

² See Appendix I.

³ See Appendix II.

⁴ See Appendix III and IV.

⁵ See Appendix IV.

⁶ See Appendix V and VI.

⁷ Mitchell-Nelson: "Textbook of Pediatrics," 4th Edition, p. 612. W. B. Saunders, Philadelphia, 1946.

⁸ Bronnman: "Practice of Pediatrics," Vol. II, Chap. 5, p. 21. W. F. Prior, Hagerstown, Maryland 1948.

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The situation had received the attention of the local health officers and the State Department of Public Health. The state department reviewed the recent infant deaths in Fresno and Kings Counties. The ensuing report revealed that 28 deaths involving diarrhea or gastroenteritis, pneumonia, and malnutrition in various combinations, had occurred during the time periods selected for review (in Fresno County from October 23d to November 11th; in Kings County from October 9th to November 5th).

The death certificates or coroner's reports referred to the following categories as antecedent cause or secondary contributing cause of death:

- 23 included enteritis in some form
- 12 included pneumonia
- 8 included reference to malnutrition

Among the 28 deaths, nine became coroner's cases.

A second review of the 28 case histories was made in September, 1950, at the request of the San Joaquin Valley Agricultural Labor Resources Committee to obtain more information regarding economic and social conditions affecting the 28 families involved. Investigators from the state and local health departments consulted hospital records, birth certificates, death certificates, coroner's reports and physician's statements for each case. Histories of 13 families which could be located were obtained by personal interview. Information regarding the remainder was obtained from physicians, employers, welfare agencies, labor camp supervisors, and official records.

The term "starvation" was entered on only one death certificate, although the hospital diagnosis was recorded as malnutrition. This case was not investigated by the coroner. The parents could not be located for interview. A second case rumored to be "starvation" was not so considered by the coroner. Still a third case entered in the hospital record as "starvation" was considered upon the coroner's investigation to have been gastroenteritis and was so reported on the death certificate.

There is no established proof that lack of food entered into the picture. It seems likely that sudden dehydration resulting from the very acute illness occasioned some uncertainty as to an actual predisposing malnutrition, although improper feeding or nutritional deficiencies may well have been a factor in lowering resistance to infection.

Tabulation of findings showed the following:
Economic status of family at time of infant death:

Occupation—Farm labor regularly or seasonally in 26 families.
Residence in farm labor camps was the only indication of occupation in some families.

Employment at time of death of infant—Information for 21 families showed only three heads of family to have permanent employment—of these, two were nonagricultural.

Financial status—Nine unknown. Of remainder, only one family in fairly good circumstances.

Housing—With exception of four single residences, remainder of families lived in labor camps rated poor, inadequate or fair. (Standards not well defined.)

Migration—Half of the families were nonmigratory. Of the remaining, only five were found definitely to be "migratory," as the other families had already moved.

Social characteristics:

Nativity—Seven fathers and four mothers were born in Mexico. Thirteen fathers and 14 mothers were Americans of Mexican descent. Six fathers and nine mothers were born in California.

Length of residence—Twenty-four families had state residence (four unknown).

Education—Half of cases not determined. Of remaining only one instance of high school graduation—both parents in one family (nonagricultural). Majority had not finished the eighth grade.

Size of family—Of the 20 families with size determined, half had three or more children—remaining had one or two children.

Further study has been made of all infant deaths in the seven San Joaquin Valley counties in 1949, comparable in etiology to the 28 infant deaths in Fresno and Kings Counties occurring in October and November of that year.

Of 924 infant deaths (1949) in the seven counties, 251 (27.2%) cases showed the selected causes involving enteric infections, pneumonia and malnutrition in varying combinations. Thus, the series of 28 cases represents but 11 percent of the total number of deaths from similar causes in the seven counties during 1949. 78.4 percent of the death certificates did not include malnutrition as a contributing cause. The months of occurrence of the greatest number of cases were January, October, November, and December.

It was possible to match about 85 percent of birth and death certificates in the series of 251 cases. Occupation of the fathers as indicated on the certificates showed 35 percent farm laborers and 25.9 percent other types of laborers. (Occupation on the certificate is given without exact definition, corroborating data or query).

A study conducted in Santa Clara County, covering 276 cases of diarrhea over a period July 1, 1949, to December 1, 1949, including 14 deaths among infants, showed that poor housing and poor sanitation predominated in all areas which were the source of these cases. Although the study was not specifically directed toward an occupational group, it was found that the majority of the families involved were those of rural agricultural workers, many seasonal or migratory. The peak of diarrhea incidence coincided with the peak of the demand for agricultural labor in fruit picking.

Infant mortality is a sensitive index of the state of health of a population group, and it also serves as an index of social and economic influences reflected in environmental surroundings unfavorable to healthful living conditions, nutritional inadequacies, and insufficient recourse to medical resources.

Two studies now in progress which will be reported at a later date, are expected to throw more light on the problem of infant mortality in the valley. In the State Department of Public Health a study is now being concluded of the 1949 infant death certificates for the seven valley counties, with particular reference to (1) enteric diseases, pneumonia,

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Other Basic Health Indices

In addition to infant mortality, other basic indices of the health status of a group of people usually used are: (1) the maternal mortality rate, (2) the tuberculosis mortality rate, (3) the general mortality rate, and (4) morbidity data. Information from these sources which would contribute to this report are either not available or inconclusive.

The general mortality data which are available are those for the entire area of the seven counties and therefore include deaths among all groups of people in these counties. The crude death rate for 1949 (based upon preliminary counts of the 1950 census of population) for the seven San Joaquin Valley counties is 8.2 per 1,000 population. The comparable rate for California is 9.6. The lower rate in the valley counties may reflect a difference in age composition of the population and not an actual difference in health status. Since there were only 19 maternity deaths in the seven counties during 1949, a rate based on such a small number of deaths is meaningless.

Morbidity reports show 669 new cases of tuberculosis reported in 1949 in these seven counties. This means a rate of 72.2 per 100,000 population, whereas the rate for the State is 83.8. These incidence rates for tuberculosis show a decided difference from the mortality rates for tuberculosis. For the seven counties, the tuberculosis death rate is 30.0 per 100,000 population, and the State rate is 27.0. The lower morbidity rates and the higher death rates in the area may indicate that there is not as good a case-finding program in tuberculosis in these counties as in the State as a whole. Further investigation is needed to determine the causes of the differences in rates.

General morbidity data including cases of chronic diseases have not been collected for the area or any group in the area. Such information, if available, might be more valuable as an index of the health status than the morbidity and mortality data which have been mentioned.

Factors Affecting Health Which May Serve as Indices of Health Status

1. Sanitation and Housing. Factors of environmental sanitation which have a direct bearing on the occurrence of communicable disease fall into two groups, which may be described as basic and secondary. The basic factors include the safety of the source of water supply, bacteriologically and chemically, the manner of excreta disposal, the absence of infected rodent and insect vectors of communicable disease, and a food and milk supply free from contamination at the time it comes into the

possession of the consumer. Failure in any of these basic points constitutes an imminent threat of disease, and these factors should receive consideration above all others.

Secondary factors of environmental sanitation constitute a second line of defense against communicable disease and, in addition, carry over on the positive side to the promotion of any environment which will promote a high level of physical well-being. These factors relate to the convenience of water supply in the living quarters, the presence of water-flush toilets within the living quarters, as contrasted to a privy located at some distance, the space and structural features of the living quarters, the facilities for food storage, refrigeration, preparation, and serving, and general premise sanitation, including garbage and refuse disposal. These factors have an important bearing on the pattern of living, the level of personal cleanliness, and those amenities that make for comfort and a sense of well-being, as well as constituting additional safeguards against the occurrence and spread of enteric, vector, and respiratory diseases.

Persons living in temporary accommodations or in substandard housing or labor camps are more apt to be subjected to failure in the basic points of environmental sanitation. It is in such surroundings that many agricultural workers and their families find themselves for varying periods of time. Although not all labor camps present a risk, except when maintenance or supervision is lax, many camps, however, have been found upon inspection to lack provision for many essential factors or for proper maintenance. The risk to the health of the occupants is corollary.

2. Economic Level. The relationship of the economy of the family or individual to health is referred to in this report from time to time as having both a direct and indirect bearing. The relationship of economic level to health has been established. The preponderance of evidence has shown that there are many agricultural worker families who do not have resources throughout the year to fulfill their needs in providing satisfactory environment for the promotion of health, and food of proper quantity and nutritional quality. In times of economic stress resort to public hospitals and clinics may be necessary in order to obtain medical care. Agricultural workers have contributed in no small numbers to the applicants for admission to county hospitals.

3. Educational Level. The educational level of the seasonal agricultural worker is not known conclusively. Observation shows, however, that many have had limited educational advantages.

4. Food—Quantity and Nutritional Quality. The nutritional status of the seasonal agricultural worker in the San Joaquin Valley area has not been scientifically determined by detailed clinical, biochemical, and dietary study. In the absence of statistical data, information has been obtained through the experience and close contact of field workers in the various agencies which supports the assumption that there is a nutritional problem in this population group.¹ Observation has shown that

¹ A separate report, "Nutrition Problems of the Seasonal Agricultural Worker in the San Joaquin Valley Area," prepared by a committee composed of representatives of state agencies has been submitted to the Agricultural Labor Resources Committee. Agencies contributing to this report were: Agricultural Extension Service, University of California; State Department of Education; State Department of Public Health; State Department of Social Welfare.

These basic points constitute factors which should receive

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ty. The nutritional n Joaquin Valley area clinical, biochemical, information has been of field workers in the that there is a nutrition has shown that

onal Agricultural Worker composed of representatives bor Resources Committee, enson Service, University rtment of Public Health:

the social and economic factors which are most apt to influence the nutritional status of the individual have tended to lower the nutritional status of a large portion of this occupational group.

Chief among the economic factors that influence the nutritional status of any group is inadequate income. This inadequacy has been evidenced in the San Joaquin Valley by the number of applications by agricultural workers for assistance during the winter of 1949-1950, a period of off-season unemployment. Whether due to seasonal or irregular employment, expenses in addition to basic living costs, or spending and buying practices affecting year-round financial reserves, there are ample indications that the factor of the quantity and selection of foods has been affected by the financial status of a family.

Lack of knowledge as to what constitutes a good diet, inefficient buying habits, and improper food preparation, all contribute to a lower nutritional level. There is reason to believe that many of the agricultural worker families, especially those of lower educational attainments, have not had the advantage of nutrition education. Educational programs in food and nutrition may not have reached them because of remoteness of residence or they may have failed to make an appeal because the presentation was not adapted to the situation in which they were living or geared to their level of comprehension.

Racial and regional influences in the formation of food habits are a matter of importance and affect some segments of this mixed group. Some foods and food combinations play so prominent a role in the diet of some racial groups that other foods needed to round out the diet are neglected. Food habits of some who have migrated to this area may be so firmly established that failure to find satisfactory substitutes results in the omission of comparable items in the diet. The effect of being long accustomed to incorrect methods of food preparation, influenced by tradition, may be to make properly prepared food unacceptable.

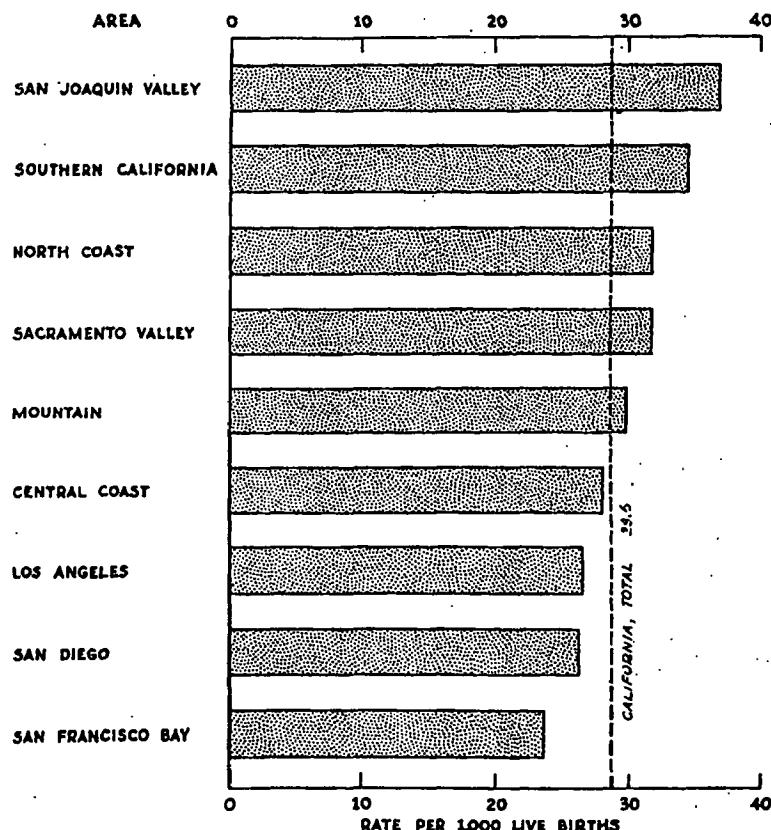
Inadequate surroundings and facilities for storing and preparing foods likewise influence meal patterns. Lack of space, limited equipment, inadequate stoves, absence of refrigeration, all handicap many of the families living in camps or other temporary residences during seasonal employment, and act as deterrent factors in maintaining a good nutritional status.

Nutritionists and home advisers working among the seasonal workers have found that the factors of established patterns in diet and food preparation and the lack of nutrition information have played a prominent role. When, as seems evident, the quantity of food provided a family is a problem, the importance of the quality of food as determined by its selection and preparation assumes greater importance.

5. Availability of Medical Care and Public Health Services. The availability of medical care and public health services have a direct affect upon the health status of any population group. In seeking private care, the economic element is again introduced, and the severity of the illness and its duration may affect the continuation of service. Although the private physician may render services without fee, the extent to which this care may continue is contingent upon a number of factors. Eligibility for county hospital or clinic services does not assure service without some limitations, and county nonresidence poses another problem for cases not falling within the definition of emergency.

APPENDICES TO HEALTH SECTION

APPENDIX I

INFANT MORTALITY RATES—AREAS OF CALIFORNIA, 1948
(By Place of Residence)

APPENDIX II

LIVE BIRTHS AND INFANT MORTALITY BY AGE GROUP: AREAS OF CALIFORNIA
AND TEN COUNTIES WITH HIGHEST INFANT MORTALITY RATES—1948

(By Place of Residence)

Area	Live births	Infant mortality					
		Total under 1 year		Under 1 month		1-11 months	
		Number	Rate	Number	Rate	Number	Rate
California, totals.....	239,518	8,858	28.6	5,002	20.9	1,856	7.7
San Joaquin Valley Area.....	29,524	1,088	36.8	636	21.5	450	15.3
Southern California Area.....	22,403	774	34.5	504	22.5	270	12.1
North Coast Area.....	5,695	181	31.8	119	20.9	62	10.9
Sacramento Valley Area.....	15,376	489	31.8	376	24.4	113	7.3
Mountain Area.....	4,341	130	29.9	99	22.8	31	7.1
Central Coast Area.....	12,303	347	28.1	245	19.8	102	8.2
Los Angeles Area (Same as Los Angeles County).....	87,736	2,345	26.7	1,839	20.8	516	5.9
San Diego Area (Same as San Diego County).....	13,120	346	26.4	277	21.1	69	5.2
San Francisco Bay Area.....	48,957	1,180	23.7	917	16.7	243	5.0
County not stated.....	3						
Ten counties with highest infant mortality rates							
Imperial.....	1,941	109	58.2	57	29.4	52	26.8
Tulare.....	4,014	173	43.1	109	27.2	64	15.9
Kings.....	1,381	57	41.3	27	19.6	30	21.7
Kern.....	6,168	247	40.0	144	23.3	103	16.7
Merced.....	1,886	71	37.6	43	22.8	28	14.8
Riverside.....	3,857	148	37.4	87	22.0	61	15.4
Fresno.....	7,171	250	35.7	144	20.1	112	15.6
Ventura.....	2,731	94	34.4	66	24.2	28	10.2
Santa Cruz.....	1,255	43	34.0	34	26.9	9	7.1
Solano.....	3,191	108	33.8	87	27.3	21	6.0

Note: Rates are per 1,000 live births.

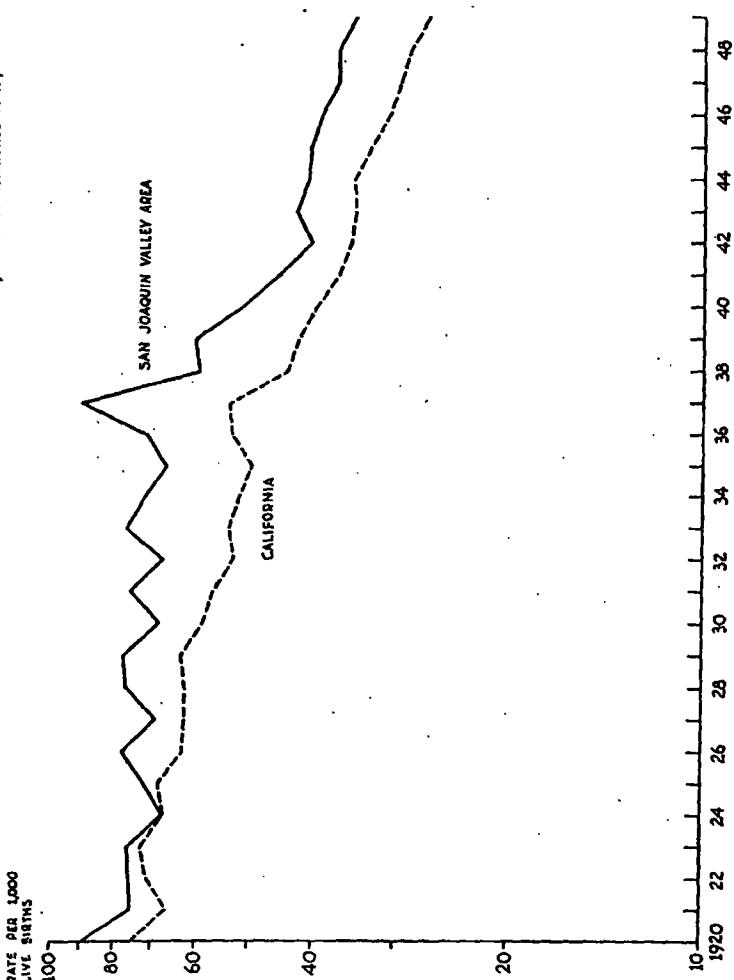
Source: State of California, Department of Public Health, Vital Statistics Records.

**AREAS OF CALIFORNIA
INFANT MORTALITY RATES—1948**

mortality		
1 month	1-11 months	
Rate	Number	Rate
20.9	1,858	7.7
21.5	450	15.2
22.5	270	13.1
20.9	62	10.9
24.4	113	7.3
22.8	31	7.1
19.8	102	8.2
20.8	516	5.9
21.1	68	8.3
15.7	243	5.0
20.4	52	26.8
27.2	64	15.9
19.6	20	21.7
23.3	103	16.7
22.8	28	14.8
22.0	61	15.4
20.1	112	15.6
24.2	28	10.2
26.9	9	7.1
27.3	21	6.6

Source:

**APPENDIX III
INFANT MORTALITY RATES IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY AREA AND CALIFORNIA, 1920-1949**
(By Place of Occurrence 1920-1944. By Place of Residence 1945-1949. Provisional by Place of Residence 1949)



with their dolls; boys imitate their fathers by walking or acting like him. Most children identify themselves with the heroes of their choice, seeking to imitate them in their mannerisms or style of garb.

It is apparent, therefore, that the children of the migrant farm worker are susceptible to the influences that affect their parents. During the early years of the child's life there can be imprinted the feelings of insecurity, hostility, and inferiority that will affect his actions in later life. These may be expressed in terms of delinquency, erratic work habits, unhappiness in marriage, or retreat from adversity. Such children do not usually achieve emotional maturity in adulthood, and are impeded in attaining successful social and economic status.

It is evident, therefore, that mental health has its roots in early childhood; the environment of childhood influences the growth of the personality characteristics of the average person. An emotionally healthy home atmosphere and an emotionally healthy school atmosphere will assist in developing a well adjusted mature individual. The factors of economic and social insecurity in the life of the seasonal agricultural worker have a detrimental affect upon him and his family. The community in which he renders his services as an agricultural worker should assist him and his children in overcoming the feelings of rejection and insecurity by opening its community activities and services to them. The benefits derived from the acceptance of the agricultural worker and his family into the community life will redound to the good of all in greater productivity, better mental health, and decreased cost of rehabilitation on the part of all concerned.

XV. WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION AND TRANSPORTATION LAWS¹

In addition to legislation on labor contractors, child labor, and housing, California provides additional protection to agricultural workers through workmen's compensation insurance and regulations governing transportation.

A. WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION INSURANCE

Since 1927 the Workmen's Compensation Act has provided that agricultural employers whose pay roll for the preceding calendar year exceeded \$500 are *conclusively presumed* to have elected to be subject to the act unless a notice of rejection of the provisions of the act has been given.² Notice of rejection may be given by the employer by posting such notice at the place of employment and by filing a copy of such notice with the Industrial Accident Commission.³ Notice of rejection by the employee may be given by delivering a copy to the employer personally or by registered mail and by filing a copy with the Industrial Accident Commission.⁴ The forms of notices and of proofs of posting are prescribed by the Commission.⁵

¹ Prepared by the Division of Labor Statistics and Research, California Department of Industrial Relations.

² Labor Code, Sections 3352 (b), 4150-8 and 4250.

³ Labor Code, Section 4251.

⁴ Labor Code, Section 4252.

⁵ Labor Code, Section 4253.

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Thus the Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor de-
scribed the status of the migratory farm worker in the United States
shortly after World War II. In 1950 another federal committee, the
Congressional Joint Committee on the Economic Report, characterized
these workers and their families as "perhaps the most disadvantaged
group in our economy."¹ The same report estimated the number of farm
migrants as approximately 1.5 million, at least 880,000 of whom were
workers.²

Seasonal migrant workers are found mainly where production is
specialized and organized on a commercial basis. A large mobile reserve
of short-time workers is needed in the harvesting of many crops—cotton
in the Southwest and Far West and some areas of the Old South, wheat
in the Midwest, fruit and truck crops throughout the country. Certain
specialty crops, such as hops on the Pacific Coast, shade-grown tobacco
in Connecticut, cranberries in New Jersey and Massachusetts, and pean-
uts in Virginia and North Carolina, have large seasonal labor demands
for nonlocal workers.³

California agriculture has always been dependent upon great numbers
of itinerant workers to harvest its crops. The most incessant migra-
tion in the country centers in this State. More than 200 different farm
products are grown for the commercial markets, and the harvest peaks
are so distributed that the demand for seasonal workers in particular
crops stretches over the whole year. The areas of labor demand are widely
distributed from the Imperial Valley on the Mexican border to Tehama
County at the northern end of the Central Valley, a distance of 800
miles.⁴

From the earliest periods in the State's history, there has been a
large pool of labor not directly associated with individual farms. The
California Joint Legislative Committee on Agriculture and Livestock
in 1947 pointed out that these workers are a necessary supplement to
local labor forces during periods of high labor requirement. The report
stated:

"Frequently working only a brief period in a single crop in a community, the
length of their employment, the amount of their earnings, the costs of travel, their
strangeness in the communities, all tend to bring about problems affecting not only
themselves and their employers but the communities in which they work. The failure
of these workers to appear at harvest time would result in serious loss of food with
resulting financial difficulties for farmers. At times, their presence, reaching surplus
proportions, places heavy burdens on communities. These surpluses bring distress to
the workers and unwarranted criticism of the agricultural industry."⁵

As far back as the late eighteen fifties, farm laborers were "running
up and down through the State with no money in their pockets looking

¹ U. S. Congress, Joint Committee on Economic Report, *Low-Income Families and Economic Stability*; report *** pursuant to S. Con. Res. 26 (81st, S. Doc. No. 146, 1950), p. 4.

² *Ibid.*, p. 3.

³ U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Backgrounds of the War Farm Labor Problem*; (May, 1942), pp. 59-60.

⁴ U. S. Congress, House Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Interstate Migration*; report *** pursuant to H. Res. 63, 191, 629 (76th Cong.) and H. Res. 16 (77th Cong.), (77th H. Rep. No. 369, 1941), pp. 339-40.

⁵ California, Senate Joint Legislative Committee on Agriculture and Livestock Problems, *Special and Complete Report* (1947), pp. 14-15.

for work" during half the year.¹ In 1869 the State Agricultural Society commented on the situation of grain production in the following terms:

"It is a shameful and deplorable fact, that many of the naturally best grain-producing portions of our State have been cropped every year, for from 10 to 15 years in succession, with grain, and in many cases with an unvaried single crop—wheat * * * throughout the agricultural districts, there is a season of active labor for all and a season of idleness for all. As a result of this management of our great agricultural industry of the State, there is lost to these districts, and to the State at large, each year, the profits of nearly half the agricultural labor of the State. As another result, all that large class of persons who depend for their livelihood on daily labor upon our farms, are during this idle season thrown out of employment and are consequently deprived of the means of subsistence."²

In 1914, Dr. Carleton H. Parker, then the executive secretary of the State Commission of Immigration and Housing, testified before President Wilson's Commission on Industrial Relations that "careless, indifferent housing of migratory, casual labor" and "general indifference and carelessness in the treatment of these workers" were responsible for a good deal of the unrest among California's agricultural workers that year. Dr. Parker added:

"That is due in part to the fact that they are utterly disorganized or their organizations are militant organizations gathered together for some definite strike object, and not for a long campaign for better conditions, and secondly, because we have a careless California tradition of *laissez faire*—let things rest.

"I suppose as a class, the California rancher is really as kind and benevolent and generous a person as you will have as an employer, but it is hard to harmonize that character with the universal tradition of careless housing and careless feeding of the men who work in the fruits; of the housing of women and children in the seasonal occupations such as berry picking and canning * * *"³

The final report of the commission, published in 1915, declared that the conditions under which migratory workers live, "both in the cities and at their places of employment, are such as to inevitably weaken their character and physique, to make them carriers of disease, and to create in them a habit of unsteadiness and migration."⁴ In discussing the situation responsible for these conditions, the report stated:

"A new factor is being introduced into the agricultural situation through the development of huge estates, owned by corporations and operated by salaried managers upon a purely industrial system. The labor conditions on such estates are subject to grave criticism. The wages are extremely low, 80 cents per day being the prevailing rate on one large estate which was thoroughly investigated; arbitrary deductions from wages are made for various purposes; and a considerable part of the wages themselves are paid in the form of coupons, which are in all essential particulars, the same as the "scrip" which has been the source of such great abuse. Furthermore, the communities existing on these large estates are subject to the complete control of the land-owning corporation, which may regulate the lives of citizens to almost any extent. There is an apparent tendency toward the increase of these large estates and the greatest abuses may be expected if they are allowed to develop unchecked."⁵

Ten years later, the Commissioner of Labor Statistics in the State of California reported that:

"The growers of the Imperial Valley have heretofore made no efforts to protect the health and decency of their Mexican workers. They have made no provision for the

¹ California, University, College of Agriculture, *California Agriculture*; by members of the faculty (1946), p. 42.

² U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; hearings * * * pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), (76:2, 1940), pt. 54, p. 19886.

³ U. S. Congress, Senate, U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Industrial Relations*; final report * * * (U. S. S. Doc. No. 415, 1916), vol. V, p. 1935.

⁴ U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Final Report* (1914), p. 158.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

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every year, for from 10 to 15
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Industrial Relations, *Industrial*
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housing of Mexican families. Instead they have encouraged them to put up squatly and
filthy shacks on their ranches. In many instances the Mexicans pitch insanitary tents
alongside the main water ditches of the valley.

"Health and decency under such living conditions are inconceivable. Many Mexi-
can families who could find relief in the inland counties from the dirt, flies, vermin and
filthy water on the ranches of the growers of the Imperial Valley remain in those coun-
ties which afford them better living conditions in addition to better wages. * * *

"The growers of the Imperial County have begun to realize that better housing
conditions will have to be furnished to the Mexican workers to insure a better and
steadier supply of men to harvest their crops. The Associated Chambers of Commerce
of the Imperial County have appointed a committee to study and devise plans for better
housing. The committee is now at work. * * *

And in 1936 the Commonwealth Club of California was surveying
the farm situation seeking a solution "of this ever-present problem of
how to adjust, on the one hand, the needs of the farmer to the supply of
workers at a wage which will permit him a profit, and, on the other hand,
the need of the worker for a job, at a stipend which will provide him with
the necessities and some of the comforts of life, to the supply of jobs."⁶

During the summer of 1937, newspapers were giving wide publicity
to the living conditions of migratory agricultural workers in the San
Joaquin Valley. Seventy thousand families were said to be living there in
temporary abodes. The homes of thousands of persons were said to be
"a piece of canvas stretched from a truck." It was stated that deaths had
occurred from exposure and lack of food.⁷

Two years later, the U. S. Senate Committee on Education and
Labor reported:

"The evil fruits of a disorganized agricultural labor market lacking any effective
mechanism for correlating labor supply and demand have been continually manifest.
In normal times, the character of the employment—to a large degree seasonal, casual,
irregular, and intermittent—has combined with an abnormal oversupply to produce
a chaotic situation. The steady displacement of farm families in agricultural areas to
the east by mechanization, depression, soil erosion, drought, and related causes has
given rise to a great interstate migration of potential agricultural workers. Drawn by
the prospect of work, they have flooded the California fields and highways bringing
tragedy for themselves and those already at work. Lack of job security, underemploy-
ment, unnecessary migration, disorganized hiring and recruiting practices, and low
annual wages have been characteristic. Agricultural labor in California is not an occu-
pation; it is an auxiliary to a system of public poor relief and a necessary evil for the
operation of a great industry."⁸

On the same subject the National Catholic Rural Life Conference
declared in 1939:

"Many of these farm laborers live in wretched hovels rather than homes; they
work long hours, receive little pay, and eke out their existence under conditions of
abject poverty. Because of their squalid living quarters as well as insufficient and
unbalanced diets, they are an easy prey to all sorts of illnesses. Such inhuman living
conditions are a disgrace to a nation which has been endowed by the Creator with the
unlimited bounties of nature. Refusing to bear this heavy yoke any longer, farm
laborers have become restive and rebellious, especially since they have been鼓动ed on
by communistic agitators who, pretending to desire only their betterment, lure them on
by all sort of promises. Attempts, however, have been made by some earnest leaders and"

¹ California, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Twenty-second Biennial Report* (1925-
26), p. 2.

² Commonwealth Club of California, "California Farm Labor Problems," *Transactions* 30 (5) : 153, April 7, 1936.

³ California, State Relief Administration, *Agricultural Migratory Laborers in the*
San Joaquin Valley (1937), p. 1.

⁴ U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violation of Free*
Speech and Rights of Labor; report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), (77-2,
S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 3, 1942), p. 395.

with some measure of success to organize this unfortunate group and improve their lot. Their efforts, however, have been confined to limited areas and the progress has been slow."¹

The wholesale exodus from certain areas suffering from drought in the middle 1930's served to dramatize the plight of migrant farm workers. This movement, however, was not the usual seasonal job hunt but was primarily a search for relocation. Americans have always moved in search of better opportunities. Of the 1930 migrations, the Tolan Committee stated that "the large majority in all focal areas studied were responding unmistakably to the 'push' of poverty or complete destitution at home, rather than to the 'pull' of greater opportunity elsewhere."

The destitution associated with these migrations, the committee stated, was largely traceable to the following sources:

"Far-reaching developments in the economic opportunities, techniques and organization of American agriculture, the depletion of soil resources, an expanding rural population coupled with a marked reduction in the working force required for farm production, and a drastic reduction after 1920 in the opportunities for employment which urban centers previously offered to migrants from overpopulated rural areas. * * *

"Two developments in agriculture during the past 50 years have been of major importance to the problem of rural migrations, namely, the increased application of machine techniques in the cultivation and harvesting of crops, and the expansion of business organization in farming similar to that found in large commercial and industrial enterprises * * * their combined effect has fundamentally altered the requirements for wage labor in agriculture by creating the need for a large mobile reserve of short-time seasonal workers."²

Seasonal migration occurs in response to a series of peak demands for labor, first in one locality then another. The organization of California agriculture demands such migration. A definite need exists for mobile labor to supplement resident labor at the seasonal peaks.

Large-scale farms and intensive production founded upon irrigation, dominate the economy. Peak seasons tend to coincide on all farms in each locality since each district specializes on crops harvested at a time calculated to bring the highest cash return.

Market requirements often make an area dependent on migratory labor, apart from the necessities of production. A report on migratory labor made by the U. S. Secretary of Labor in 1938, cited as a striking example of such market requirements the raising of carrots and peas in Southern California. "These crops are planted in that area so as to ripen during two brief periods of the winter and early spring. * * * The climate of Southern California allows the growing of carrots and peas in any season, but they are actually harvested only during a few months of the year when the market cannot be supplied by most competing areas. * * *"³

"Reorganization of crop plantings in order to regularize demand for farm labor, and so to stabilize it, has long been urged in California," writes Dr. Paul S. Taylor.

"But considerations of market, soil, and climate, rather than conservation of labor power and the human resources of the laborer, continue to govern. * * *

¹National Catholic Rural Life Conference, *Manifesto on Rural Life* (1938), pp. 52-53.

²U. S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Interstate Migration*; report * * * pursuant to H. Res. 63, 491, 629 (73rd Cong.) and H. Res. 14 (77th Cong.), (77th H. Rep. No. 269, 1941), p. 275.

³U. S. Department of Labor, *Migration of Workers*; preliminary report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 298 (74th Cong. 1938), p. 81.

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on Rural Life (1939), the Interstate Migration want to H. Res. 63, 491, No. 369, 1941), p. 275. Preliminary report * * *

"A smooth flow of western carlot shipments of lettuce to the markets of the country has been achieved by staggered plantings. In the Salinas Valley (Monterey County) this has lengthened the work season to eight months, from April to November, inclusive. But it has also created a sharp two-months' peak in Imperial Valley in January and February, and two other sharp peaks have been created in the Salt River Valley of Arizona, in March and December, respectively. Large numbers of lettuce workers in the field and in packing sheds are thus impelled to migrate from area to area to meet these local peaks of lettuce production, which result from the effort to attain an even flow to market. Some workers appear in all three areas, which are 750 miles apart, during a single year; others work in only one or two of these valleys as a part of a cycle of migration which includes other crops and areas as well. * * *¹

Income of the seasonal worker depends not only on his wage rate but on the weather and various economic factors which affect the harvest. Writing in 1937, Dr. Taylor pointed out further:

"A streak of warm weather advances the ripening of fruit or the opening of cotton bolls: cold retards them. Either way, the meager income of the fruit tramp is affected. The numbers of his competitors are uncontrolled and are affected by a variety of factors not only in California, but in a half dozen Western States where drought or prosperity may release or retain thousands of potential migrants. Production control may bring better prices and better wages to those employed, but fruit let fall to the ground yields no earnings to pickers. A rise in market price for a day and the harvest proceeds furiously; a sag in price and it slackens or stops. A blight which affects market grade, even if edibility is unimpaired, and there is no harvest. Rain at the wrong time and the result is the same. Hundreds of miles may have been traversed in vain."²

The disorganization of the California agricultural labor market, was discussed by the LaFollette Committee: "Haphazard hiring and recruiting for each particular operation make employment highly casual, consisting of a series of irregular, intermittent laboring operations, under variable terms and conditions. * * * Serious underemployment is a major cause of low annual earnings of many agricultural workers in California. It is one of the disabilities that results from the wholly disorganized character of the labor market and the pattern of employment. It is magnified by oversupply. * * *³

The California State Chamber of Commerce, in a study published in May, 1940, stated:

"Although adequate data are not available on either the average annual earnings of the previous group of migratory laborers who regularly followed the crops in California prior to this influx, or of the more recent removal migrants who have sought seasonal employment in agriculture, it would seem obvious that another serious impact of the migration has been to reduce average earnings per worker.

"Whether the oversupply of potential agricultural workers amounts to two persons for every available job or more, as some have estimated, the fact remains that there is an enormous oversupply of workers even at the peak periods of demand, and total farm wage payments are being divided among a vastly greater number of persons than they were five years ago."⁴

Testifying before the Tolan Committee in September, 1940, Dr. William S. Hopkins of Stanford University pointed out that in the early days of California agriculture a disorganized labor market seemed to work smoothly.

¹Taylor, Paul S., and Vinson, Tom, "Contemporary Background of California Farm Labor," *Rural Sociology* 1(4), pp. 417-18, December, 1936.

²V. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 246 (74th Cong.), S. Rep. No. 1159, pt. 3, 1942), p. 179.

³California State Chamber of Commerce, *Migrants: report and recommendations of the state-wide committee on migrant problem* (May, 1940), p. 14.

"* * * the lack of any system for providing the supply of labor in our agricultural market seemed, on the surface, to be quite satisfactory. And thus we built up, through the years, the tradition that a disorganized labor market was somehow desirable, Californian, and American. In those days before the turn of the century when we were bitterly denouncing the anarchists, we were insisting that anarchy must reign within our agricultural labor market. We are now reaping the harvest of that insistence—our disorganized labor market is so badly disorganized that it doesn't even seem to work well any more."¹

SPECIFIC FINDINGS OF INVESTIGATIVE COMMITTEES

Great similarity exists in the findings of various investigations and studies as to the conditions of migratory labor: The labor market is disorganized; underemployment yields annual income too low for maintaining even a minimum standard of living: although wages may be at the prevailing rate, earnings are seasonal and must be used in part in traveling from crop to crop; housing is often inadequate and substandard; the migrant remains isolated from the community; medical care, welfare, and educational services are seldom available for migrants; they are deprived of protection from social legislation regarding wage-and-hour standards, unemployment compensation, workmen's compensation, and old-age insurance.

The Labor Market

In 1914 Mr. George Henry Hecke, a fruit grower and adviser for the University of California, testified before the U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations about the California situation:

"One of the greatest difficulties encountered each harvest by workers and agriculturists alike is the inability of the man and the job to connect. Workers at the beginning of the season often are many miles away from the place of possible employment. And farmers are distant from the labor market so-called. There is no properly regulated agency through which they can be brought together. If the worker applies to an employment agency he must pay a fee to get the job, and very often conditions are improperly, at times even untruthfully, presented to him, so when he arrives at his destination, after paying his fee, he finds the situation other than expected. At the very commencement of his employment he may become dissatisfied, and at the first opportunity will quit and seek another place, facing the same disadvantages as in the beginning of his nomadic search. The farmer also suffers from the loss of time entailed in finding another man for the vacant job."²

The Tolan Committee found irresponsible methods of hiring and transportation of migrants. The work of private employment agencies, the system of labor contracting, and extensive advertising for workers were factors in establishing an oversupply of labor at points of demand. Truck transportation supplied by labor contractors was frequently in violation of state and federal laws.³ Findings of the LaFollette Committee were similar,⁴ as were those of the House Committee on Labor,

¹ U. S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Interstate Migration*; hearings * * * pursuant to H. Res. 68 and 491 (75:3, pt. 6, 1940), p. 2379.

² U. S. Congress, Senate, U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Industrial Relations*; final report * * * (44:1, S. Doc. No. 415) (1916), v. V, p. 4952.

³ U. S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Interstate Migration*; preliminary report * * * pursuant to H. Res. 63, 491, and 529 (76:3, H. Rep. No. 3114, 1941), pp. 50-57; and report * * * pursuant to H. Res. 63, 491, 529 (76th Cong.) and H. Res. 16 (77th Cong.), (77:2, H. Rep. No. 359, 1941), pp. 368-383.

⁴ U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 256 (74th Cong.), (77:2, S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 3, 1942), pp. 309-324.

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reporting on a bill to regulate private employment agencies to the Seventy-seventh Congress.¹

The role of the labor contractor was particularly criticized. Declared the LaFollette Committee:

"Grievances among the laborers against the labor contractor have arisen principally from the unreasonableness of prices charged for board and lodging and for other services. Deductions made by the contractor from the wages of his laborers as compensation for providing employment is a related source of dissatisfaction. * * *

"In the past, irresponsible labor contractors have at times absconded with pay rolls, leaving the laborers unpaid. * * * As the contractor is either unbonded or is bonded for a small amount, the laborers ordinarily cannot secure complete reimbursement from this source. Employers are not responsible for the actions of their contractors. * * *"

The charge of irresponsible advertising was denied by the California State Chamber of Commerce in 1940. "The Fact-Finding Subcommittee," it declared, "After careful investigation, found no evidence that any California farmers, farm organizations, or other responsible agencies during the last decade have carried on any labor recruiting campaign in Oklahoma, Texas, or other states of origin of the agricultural migrants, using handbills, newspapers, or other advertisements for labor."

The LaFollette Committee pointed out, however, that migrant workers recruited through advertising for Arizona cotton fields follow a natural line of travel westward into California. W. V. Allen, California Farm Placement Supervisor, was quoted as saying:

" * * * The influx of migrants into California during the past few years has created a very serious relief problem, partly due to the fact that year after year Arizona has advertised in the Middle West for cotton pickers, and when that work was completed in Arizona, a large part of this group of people would come on to California."

Migrant farm workers in California have always included a wide variety of racial and national groups. Chinese labor constituted the first large foreign-born group in the State, amounting to 10 percent of the farm labor force according to the Census of 1870. Japanese, Hindus, Filipinos, Mexicans, in turn serve to assure the abundant labor supply required for large-scale specialized farming. Native American migrants impelled by industrial depression and finally refugees from the Dust Bowl swelled the labor pool. The LaFollette Committee found "an enduring vigilance and unending attempts on the part of organized employers to keep open the channels of foreign and domestic immigration."²

¹ U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Labor, *Regulating Private Employment Agencies Engaged in Interstate Commerce*; report to accompany H. R. 5610 (77:2, H. Rep. No. 1709, 1942), p. 2.

² U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-314; see also U. S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate Migration of Displaced Citizens, *Interstate Migration*; hearings * * * pursuant to H. Res. 63 and 491 (76:3, 1940), pt. 7, pp. 2529-2533.

³ U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), (77:2, S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 4, 1942), p. 536. See also Taylor, Paul S., and Lange, Dorothy, *An American Exodus* (1939), p. 54.

⁴ U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), (77:2, S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 3, 1942), pp. 174, 224-226, 228-232, 238-241, 250-260; also report by Varden Fuller printed as exhibit S762-A in pt. 54 of hearings, p. 19775 ff. See also U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, *Western Hemisphere Immigration*; hearings * * * to H. R. 4523, 8830, 8702 (71:2, 1940), pp. 75-83, 139-144, 147-154, 192-251, 224-254.

The attitude of the growers with regard to foreign labor was succinctly expressed at the agricultural conference of chambers and associations of commerce held at Fresno in 1926. Said the report on labor:

"Labor is wanted only at certain times of the year, and the class of labor wanted is the kind which can be sent home when we are through with them."¹

Wage Rates and Annual Earnings

All investigations found that even in prosperous years migrant and casual workers existed at subnormal standards. The cumulative effect of low agricultural wage rates, an overcrowded labor market, time losses in movement and while on the job, and seasonal unemployment result in extremely low annual earnings. Adequate information as to actual annual earnings of migrants, however, is very deficient. Such data as are available are based on a number of field studies made chiefly in the 1930's. These indicated average employment of about six months a year with total earnings averaging \$300 for a single man and \$400 for a family. In all the districts studied by the U. S. Children's Bureau, piece rates throughout the Country were generally so low that the earnings of the majority of families were "extremely meager." Many of them left the fields with little to show for their work after living expenses for the season had been deducted.²

In California a study by the Resettlement Administration of migratory laborers in 1935 found average annual earnings of about \$250 per worker and between \$450 and \$500 per family. Studies made by the State Relief Administration, the Farm Security Administration, and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture, annual earnings from work in agriculture of migrant or seasonal farm laborers ranged from an average of \$289 for families that had applied for relief to \$640 for nonrelief families. The total income of such families, including relief and other supplementary sources, ranged from an average of approximately \$519 to approximately \$760. The latter figure was for relatively stable farm laborers in so-called shack-town communities. Even this group had to rely in part on relief, and 12.5 percent of its income was derived from that source. The size of the families in these studies averaged 4.5 persons. Declared the LaFollette Committee in 1940:

"The extent to which the annual incomes of California's agricultural workers fall below budget standards of acceptable scales of living is revealed in the testimony of Dr. Emily Huntington, associate professor of economics at the University of California and a national authority on costs of living and family budgets. Dr. Huntington found that an agricultural worker's family of two adults and two children would

¹ Chamber of Commerce of U. S. Agricultural Service, *Proceedings of Agricultural Conference of Chambers and Associations of Commerce, California and Nevada, Fresno, Cal., March 26-27, 1926*, pp. 38-39. See also statement of Ralph Bunje, manager Agricultural Labor Bureau, San Joaquin Valley, before U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Agriculture, *Permanent Farm Labor Program*; hearings * * * on H. R. 2387 (80:1, 1947), pp. 118-129, and California, Senate, Joint Interim Committee on Agriculture and Livestock Problems, *The Recruitment of Farm Laborers and Their Appropriate Placement to Meet the Labor Supply Requirements of California Agriculture*; special and partial report * * * (1949), pp. 112-114, 161, 163; also pp. 40-72.

² U. S. Department of Labor, *Migration of Workers*; preliminary report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 295 (74th Cong. 1935), v. 1, pp. 2-5, 125-128; v. 11, pp. 243, 245. U. S. Congress, Senate, Special Committee to Investigate Unemployment and Relief, *Unemployment and Relief*; hearings * * * pursuant to S. Res. 46 (75:3, 1938), v. 2, pp. 115-153.

U. S. Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, *The Migratory Casual Worker*; by John N. Webb (Research Monograph VII (1937)), pp. 67-70. U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Backgrounds of the War Farm Labor Problem* (May, 1942), pp. 73-76, 87-96; also with University of California, Institute of Industrial Relations, *The Agricultural Labor Force in the San Joaquin Valley, California* (February, 1950), pp. 37-49.

require \$850 for a maintenance budget and \$1,470 for a "health and decency" budget. The wide discrepancy between these figures and the average annual earnings for families of agricultural laborers forces the inevitable conclusion that vast numbers of this population group must be, in the words of Dr. Huntington—"ill-fed, ill-clothed, poorly housed, and almost completely lacking in many other things commonly considered necessary for civilized life."¹

More recent surveys show considerably higher incomes.

Housing and Living Conditions

The living conditions of agricultural migrants have been called worse than those of any other group in the United States. The most persistent complaint is that the workers and families while working away from home or searching for employment are housed either in unsanitary or overcrowded quarters or, lacking any housing facilities, must live in "jungles" or roadside camps.

In 1938, the Secretary of Labor reported that:

"Many of the growers furnish tents only, some of which have wooden flooring, though very frequently they have no flooring of any type. In some of the camps the tents are screened, but in many there is no screening. Sometimes small two-lid wood stoves are included with the tents, but more often the family must supply its own stove as well as other furnishings."

"The tent camps are often situated along the irrigation ditch so that water for bathing and laundry may be obtained from that source. Drinking water is sometimes piped to the camp location and a spigot in the center of the camp is used by all occupants. In other camps drinking water must be hauled some distance and it often stands for a considerable time in the barrels in which it is hauled and stored."

"At many of the tent camps there is no provision for plumbing or sanitation and modern conveniences for toilet and bathing are completely lacking. The open-pit privy is still in use in some camps, but a considerable effort has been made by health authorities and other departments concerned with camp inspection to have installed the more sanitary type with the septic tank."²

"During the periods of employment the seasonal agricultural workers who were not living in quarters furnished by the employers camped by the roadside or in squatter camps or lived in the low-rent commercial tourist camps. In the squatter camps, which might be described as jungle camps, people were living in tents, in their cars, or under a canvas stretched from the side of the car to make a lean-to. Some of them were living in shacks made from scraps of wood, corrugated paper, tin, or anything that would afford some protection. Sanitary facilities at such jungle camps were usually very poor or nonexistent."³

A study of farm labor in the Yakima Valley in 1936 showed that although the average size of a transient family was 3.5 persons, 66.3 percent of the transient families studied lived in one room dwellings, usually tents or tourist cabins. Of all transient families, 43.3 percent lived in tents, 32.6 percent in tourist cabins and only 11.7 percent in some more permanent form of dwelling.⁴

The U. S. Department of Agriculture pointed out in 1942 that housing furnished by most growers to their seasonal hands all over the country was on much the same level, whether reference was to "colonies sometimes established by sugar beet companies for Mexican field hands; the

¹ U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), (77-22, S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 3, 1942), pp. 177-178, 332-345; also hearings, pt. 47 (76-32, Dec. 13, 1939), pp. 1723-1735, and supplementary hearings, pt. 1 (76-3, 1940), pp. 177-201. See also California, State Relief Administration, *Migratory Labor in California* (July, 1937), pp. 50-51, 121-129; *Agricultural Migratory Laborers in the San Joaquin Valley* (1937), pp. 2, 1-10.

² U. S. Department of Labor, *Migration of Workers*; preliminary report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 298 (74th Cong., 1938), pp. 128, 140.

³ Landis, Paul H., and Brooks, Melvin E., *Farm Labor in the Yakima Valley, Washington*, Agricultural Experiment Station, State College of Washington Bulletin No. 313 (December, 1936), pp. 12, 13.

tobacco sheds and barns of North Carolina which house the itinerant strawberry pickers in bunks that line the walls; the strawberry shacks of Tangipahoa Parish in Louisiana; the commercial row houses of Belle Glade in Florida; the shacks near the tobacco fields of Connecticut; the apple orchards of Virginia; or the tomato fields of Indiana."¹

The LaFollette Committee found that "except for the improvements in some of the private labor camps and the construction of federal housing projects," there had been little concrete improvements in the housing and living conditions for California migratory agricultural workers "since the time of the Wheatland riot in 1913."²

The California State Commission of Immigration and Housing in 1914 had investigated 641 labor camps in the State which housed 41,058 workers. Describing the results of the investigation before President Wilson's Industrial Relations Commission, Dr. Carleton Parker said:

"Of these 641 labor camps—lumber camps, construction camps, hop camps, berry camps, and highway camps—188 camps were bad. By bad I mean that there was little or no toilet facilities. If there were women there, there were probably no toilets especially for women. There was no chance for the workers to bathe. Each one of these camps, these 188, violated the state law with regard to the sleeping accommodations—the cubic-air law, that there should be 500 cubic feet of air for every sleeper. The kitchens were not screened; the dining rooms were not screened. In a great many of the bunk houses there was no wooden platform or wooden flooring.

"We found some camps with 100, almost 100 women and children with no toilets at all. Some of the camps were especially—some of the contractors' camps were filthy, evil, and dangerous beyond any description. Of the 641 camps, 293 camps were fair. These camps had some accommodations. Of the 641 camps 155 were good."³

An investigator for the National Child Labor Committee in 1920 found conditions in the labor camps much improved as a result of the work of the State Commission of Immigration and Housing. Certain requirements had been set up concerning tents or houses, bunks or beds, screening, bathing facilities, garbage disposal, etc. The law also required that pure drinking water be furnished. The improvement apparently did not extend to all labor camps, for the writer reported:

"Some workers, however, carry their own tents, which they set up on the land of their employer or any empty space they see, preferably near an irrigation ditch. Tule weed or straw houses, while not common, and while generally used by Mexicans, are sometimes lived in by Americans. Stakes are driven into the ground, crossed, bamboo crosspieces put on top, and the weed laid on. These, as well as the tents, are floorless. Tent houses, however, frequently have floors. In some cases straw or weed houses are included in the accommodations furnished in certain labor camps. Frequently, when the workers build their own houses of straw, they build them with only three sides. Sometimes a one-roomed straw house with an area of fifteen or twenty feet will serve as a home for an entire family, which not only cooks but sleeps in the same room. Regular cook stoves are sometimes installed in these straw houses, and the chimney pipe put through the straw roof. At other times a fireplace of mud is built up from the dirt floor, and cooking done over that. Why these houses do not burn down is a mystery. A third method is to cook entirely out of doors, with or without a stove. * * *"

¹ U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Backgrounds of the War Farm Labor Problem* (May, 1942), pp. 77-78.

² U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), (77:2, S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 3, 1942), p. 187.

³ U. S. Congress, Senate, U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations, *Industrial Relations*; final report * * * (84:1, S. Doc. No. 413, 1916), v. 5, pp. 4932-4935. See also, California Commission of Immigration and Housing, *Second Annual Report* (1916), pp. 2-34; *The Annual Report* (1919), pp. 31-32; *Ninth Annual Report* (1923), pp. 21-47; *Annual Report* (1927), pp. 17-22; and California Department of Industrial Relations, *First Biennial Report* (1927-1929), pp. 191-195.

⁴ Emma Duke, "California the Golden," National Child Labor Committee, *The American Child*, November, 1920, pp. 232-233.

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nd Labor, *Violations of Free Res.* 266 (74th Cong.), (77:2,

Industrial Relations, *Industrial v. 5, pp. 4932-4935. See also, and Annual Report (1916), al Report (1923), pp. 21-47; ment of Industrial Relations,*

Hill Labor Committee, The

Referring to conditions in the Imperial Valley, a special commission appointed by the National Labor Board, in 1934 commented :

"* * * We found filth, squalor, an entire absence of sanitation, and a crowding of human beings into totally inadequate tents or crude structures built of boards, weeds, and anything that was found at hand to give a pitiful semblance of a home at its worst. Words cannot describe some of the conditions we saw."⁵

In 1939 a board appointed by Governor Olson to conduct hearings on the wage rates for cotton picking, and including prominent officials of the Grange, the Farm Bureau Federation, and the head of the State Department of Agriculture, noted the following in their report to the Governor:

"The testimony also pointed to the fact that bad housing conditions for agricultural labor are to be found throughout the San Joaquin Valley. Although there are acceptable camps, too many workers continue to occupy shacks and tents devoid of comfort, in overcrowded camps badly lacking in adequate sanitary accommodations, lacking in decent drinking water, and for the most part, unprotected from flies and mosquitoes. Such a situation tends to create a permanency of rural slums."⁶

The Tolan Committee received much information concerning the housing of migrants which tended to reinforce previous studies made by federal agencies. "Bad housing facilities are a rule where the migrants congregate. In rural areas the ditch-banks shack, the tent camp, or the worst type of "tourist camp" provide most of the shelter within the means of this low-income group. In urban areas, the "shack-town" at the edge of the city is frequently the only resort of the needy nonresidents."

From 1935 to 1948 the Farm Security Administration was responsible for a number of camps where migrant workers could live for a limited period at minimum cost. Twenty-one of these camps, with a maximum capacity of 20,467, operated in California. Although the camps were of several types, all of them provided each family with a shelter or a platform in which to pitch a tent and included various community services and facilities. Typical among these were a utility building, assembly and recreation halls, nursery, first-aid room, child clinic, isolation quarters, kitchen, laundry, and sanitary units.

The Tolan Committee found that, with some "notable exceptions in the field of private migrant camps," the Farm Security Administration program for providing housing facilities was an outstanding achievement. The need, however, far exceeded existing facilities.⁷

Neither the growers nor the labor contractors looked favorably upon camp housing provided by federal or state agencies.

"The growers' argument was that families residing on the property of operators and subject to the experienced selection of a capable foreman or contractor are

¹ U. S. National Labor Board, *Report by Special Commission, Imperial County, San Francisco Regional Labor Board Release No. 3325* (February 11, 1934), p. 6.

² U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), (77:2, S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 3, 1940), pp. 186-187; also hearings * * * (76:3, 1940), pt. 54, pp. 189-18970.

³ U. S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Interstate Migration*; preliminary report * * * pursuant to H. Res. 63, 491, and 629 (76:3, H. Rep. No. 3113, 1941), pp. 24-26; also hearings * * * pursuant to H. Res. 63 and 491 (76:3, 1940), pp. 6, pp. 2541-2558, 2570-2587. See also California, Division of Immigration and Housing, *Russell City Survey*; by Anne W. Dierup and Bernie Firestone (May, 1940), pp. 1-2, 15-20.

⁴ U. S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Interstate Migration*; preliminary report * * * pursuant to H. Res. 63, 491, 629 (76:3, H. Rep. No. 3113, 1941), p. 25.

usually dependable, industrious and reasonably loyal to those who supply the opportunity for them to earn an honest livelihood. They will behave themselves, take the thin with the thick, poor picking and good, with minimum complaint.

"On the other hand, they assert that occupants of independent and government controlled camps, by the very nature of things, owe no loyalty or allegiance to any grower or field. When the picking is good they flock into the fields, but when another crop is better they troop away, to leave the grower's profit on the vine. It is quite evident, they say, that slack workers, and unprofitable laborers, culled out by growers must gravitate to these camps and constitute an overburden on an already saturated labor market."¹

Liquidation of the federal camp program was ordered by the Seventy-ninth Congress in 1946. Under the Farmers Home Administration Act (Public Law 731) all camps were to be disposed of within six months after the end of World War II. Such action had been urged by the Farm Bureau Federation at hearings on the original bill in 1944.² The Eightieth Congress in 1948, under Public Law 298, provided for disposition of the camps to any public or semipublic agency or any nonprofit association of farmers who agreed to operate them for a nominal sum.

The California camps were taken over by 16 associations of farmers at a rental rate of \$1 per month. The Federal Government offered the camps for sale, but growers felt that the price was too high in relation to the responsibilities they would have to assume in operating them on a permanent basis.

State purchase of the camps was brought before the California Legislature in 1948, but the matter was deferred until a study of the situation could be made. After investigation, the Joint Legislative Committee on Agriculture and Livestock Problems reported:

"California agriculture has long recognized the need for improved housing, and some progress has been made. * * * Notwithstanding the tremendous progress and improvement * * * California has some way to go as yet toward a more complete solution of the problem. There are decidedly unsatisfactory conditions still existing; however, it may be safely said that they are in the minority."

The committee held that in areas of fixed plantings, the answer to the seasonal housing problem "would seem to be for the growers to provide good campsites plus the necessary sanitary facilities. Tents should be available for those who do not have their own camping equipment. Rentals should be in line with wages paid."³

Acquisition and operation by the State of the federal labor camps was vigorously opposed by the Farm Labor Camps Associations, the Agricultural Labor Bureau of the San Joaquin Valley, the Associated Farmers of California, the California Farm Bureau Federation, and the State Chamber of Commerce, The California State Federation of Labor, A. F. of L., the California C. I. O. Council, the California State Grange, and

¹ Kern County, Department of Public Health, *Survey of Kern County Migratory Labor Problem*; supplementary report (March 1, 1941), p. 3.

² U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Agriculture, *Farmers Home Corporation Act of 1946*; hearings on H. R. 4384 (78-2, 1944), p. 101.

³ California, Senate, Joint Legislative Committee on Agriculture and Livestock Problems, *Farm Labor Housing in California*; partial report (January, 1949, pt. 2), pp. 7-8, 11-12. See also *General Information on Farm Labor Supply Centers* (pt. 1) and *Information on Various Farm Labor Camps* (pt. 2). The California State Division of Housing rated 26 percent of the 2,536 camps inspected during the 1947-48 biennium as good, 64 percent as fair, and 10 percent as bad. Of the 3,910 camps inspected during the 1945-46 period, 50 percent were rated good, 46 percent fair, and 10 percent bad. See California, Department of Industrial Relations, *Biennial Reports, 1945-1946*, p. 47; 1947-1948, p. 14.

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many church and social welfare organizations, favored state acquisition of the camps.¹

In 1950, the Eighty-first Congress transferred responsibility for all remaining farm labor camps to the jurisdiction of the Public Housing Ad- ministration, under Public Law 475, approved April 20, 1950.

Health and Welfare

The dangers to health from insanitary and overcrowded living accomodations were emphasized by all investigators. In reporting to the President in 1940, the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities stated:

"Migratory workers and their families have more illnesses and less medical care than the rest of the community. The health hazards to which they are exposed are a menace not only to themselves and to their children, but also to the people and families with whom they come in contact all along their line of march. * * *

"The high proportion of disabling illness—74 percent more than in settled families—has already been mentioned. This is due mainly to the disproportionate number of accidents, communicable disease, and puerperal conditions. * * * As a result of inadequate diet, irregular sleep, and the insecurity of their daily existence, children develop serious physical and mental handicaps. Exposed constantly to all the dangers of insanitary living conditions, these families not only suffer illness themselves but also menace the health of others. Typhoid fever, dysentery, smallpox, and meningitis are among the communicable diseases that may spread from their ranks to the com- munity."*

Dr. Karl L. Schaupp, former chairman of the council of the California Medical Association, testified before the Tolman Committee that small epidemics of smallpox, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and some of the less virulent communicable diseases such as whooping cough and measles had appeared among the migrants.³

Health conditions in the principal agricultural counties of California⁴ during the 1930's were worse than in the rest of the State, accord- ing to a report prepared by the California Department of Public Health in 1940. Taking the infant mortality rate as the "most sensitive indicator of public health progress," the report found that these rates have always been higher for the five counties in the lower San Joaquin Valley than for the State as a whole.

In 1930, when the infant mortality rate for the State was 58.6 deaths per 1,000 live births, the rate for these counties ranged from 63.4 for Fresno to 124.1 for Kings. In 1936 and 1937 the rates were higher in all five counties than they had been in previous years, reflecting the increase in the number of migratory farm laborers in the State. While the infant mortality rate for the State was 53.7 in 1937, it ranged from 92.9 in Tulare to 166.2 in Kings. As a result of more adequate prenatal service, the infant mortality rates for 1938 dropped as much as 40 percent in some counties.⁵

¹ Crouch, Albert, "Housing Migratory Agricultural Workers in California, 1943-1948," Thesis, M.A., University of California, 1948, pp. 97-138.

² U. S. Social Security Board, *Migratory Labor*, report * * * by the Interdepart- mental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities (1940), pp. 8-9.

³ U. S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Interstate Migration*: hearings * * * pursuant to H. Res. 62 and 191 (76-3, 1940), pt. 6, p. 2513.

⁴ Fresno, Imperial, Kern, Kings, Madera, Merced, San Bernardino, San Joaquin, San Luis Obispo, Santa Clara, Stanislaus, Sutter, Tulare, Yuba.

⁵ California, Department of Public Health, *Statement on Health Problems Among Migratory Agricultural Workers Made at Request of LaFollette Committee* (March, 1940), pp. 21, 25-27.

The report also pointed out that mortality of children under two years of age due to diarrhea and enteritis was relatively high in the 14 principal agricultural counties. Although these counties had approximately 17 percent of the State's population, deaths of infants under two years of age from diarrhea and enteritis amounted to 40 percent of the State's total in 1930 and 56 percent in 1939.¹

The 14 counties also had a disproportionately large share of certain communicable diseases during the period. In 1930 they had 46 percent of all smallpox cases in the State, and in 1938, 60 percent. After 1933 these counties had a disproportionately large share of all malaria cases, ranging from 35 to 54 percent. The percentage of typhoid fever cases was also proportionately high throughout the decade, reaching a low of 26 percent in 1933 and high of 47 percent the following year. In 1939 the figure was close to 35 percent. Throughout the decade, the proportion of diphtheria cases in these counties was somewhat higher or slightly lower than their share of the State's population. In 1936 the proportion of these cases was 22.1 percent, the highest for the decade and 20 percent in 1939.²

The California Department of Public Health made several studies on child health in migrant families. During 1936-37 Bureau of Child Hygiene studied 1,002 children of migrant farm workers. The largest single type of defect observed involved the tonsils and adenoids. There were 41 cases of communicable diseases, 32 gastro-intestinal ailments, 167 nutritional defects and 137 respiratory illnesses. Seventy-two cases of trachoma, defective vision, and defective hearing were listed which, the report observed, "if neglected may lead to permanent disability of the individual and dependence on some community."³

Medical Care. It is generally agreed that farm workers cannot afford to pay for needed health and medical services out of their slender incomes. Furthermore the need of the migrant and his family for medical care cannot be met by the limited medical facilities of most communities. Such facilities are for the most part inadequate to meet the needs of all destitute local residents.⁴ Legal barriers to treating migrants usually exist, moreover, since the migrant is not a legal resident of the area in which he works.

A study made by the California Department of Social Welfare in 1938 showed that one-fourth of the farm families interviewed had no legal settlement in the county. Medical care was not available to this group except in an emergency. As to the legal residents, the report stated:

"Many of the group having definite or probable county residence do not receive the medical care which they need. Their economic status does not permit their paying for this care. They often do not use the public health agencies because of the

¹ *Ibid.*, Table 5, p. 22.

² *Ibid.*, Table 4, p. 22.

³ California, Department of Public Health, *A Study of the Health of 1,002 Children of Migratory Agricultural Laborers in California* (July, 1936-June, 1937); By Anita E. Nauerman, M.D., pp. 22-26. See also, *Trailing Child and Maternal Health Into California Migratory Agricultural Camps* (July, 1937-June, 1938) for report on second year of study.

⁴ Testimony of Dr. Thomas Parran, U. S. Surgeon General, before the Tolson Committee, U. S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Interstate Migration*: preliminary report * * * pursuant to H. Res. 65, 491, and 429 (76d), H. Rep. No. 313, 1941, pp. 24-26. See also California, Department of Public Health, *Report of Conference in Fresno on Agricultural Labor Problems* (December 29, 1949), p. 2.

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distances which they must travel, and lack of time and money to make the necessary trips. Indifference is also a factor, as is the difficulty of proving residence. The over-crowded hospitals which must take emergency nonresident cases sometimes do not have room for those who have legal residence."¹⁴

As a step toward meeting this problem the Farm Security Administration in 1938 helped establish the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association in California and Arizona. This organization provided medical care that was not contingent on legal status as a resident. Migrant families with little or no money were able to apply for help at the nearest local office of the association. First aid was given on the spot by a trained nurse. Serious cases were referred to a clinic where a doctor was available, or to local physicians who agreed to provide treatment at uniform, reduced rates. Patients were expected to pay as much as they could for this service, and many of them sent in a few dollars at a time as they found temporary jobs. The deficit was paid by the Association. This service, however, operated only in a small area and fell far short of meeting the whole problem.¹⁵ With the liquidation of the Farm Security Administration in 1946, the association was discontinued because of lack of funds.

Other Welfare Problems. Migrant workers either are not protected under the social-insurance and workmen's compensation programs or receive only a limited degree of protection. Furthermore, because of restrictive residence or settlement requirements, community attitudes or lack of funds, welfare assistance is ordinarily not available to them.

Special aid to transients, undertaken by the government in the early thirties through the federal transient program, was abandoned after 1935 with the shift from direct relief to work relief. Such relief as was available after that was generally limited to families with young children, unattached women, the sick, and the aged.¹⁶

The Tolan Committee reported:

"In seeking relief the migrant encounters difficulties and disabilities far greater than those suffered by the settled relief client. The local community naturally feels little or no responsibility for aiding the migrant. A complexity of legal barriers to the granting of public relief confronts him; the funds of private welfare organizations are limited and he faces the general feeling that the primary responsibility of the community is to aid needy local residents. The Farm Security Administration made small emergency grants available for those who could not meet state residence requirements for public relief."¹⁷

¹³ California, Department of Social Welfare, *A Study of 132 Families in California Cotton Camps With Reference to Availability of Medical Care*, by Bertha S. Underhill (1938), pp. 4-31.

¹⁴ U. S. Social Security Board, *Migrant Labor*; report * * * by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities (1940), pp. 8-9. See also U. S. Department of Agriculture, Farm Security Administration, *Health for Western Farm Workers* (April, 1941), pp. 1-8.

¹⁵ U. S. Congress, House, Committee on Ways and Means, *Amendments to Social Security Act*; hearings * * * (79-2, 1946), c. I, pp. 5-5, 10, 16, 20, 21, 24, 28, 42-46, 48, 67-72, 74, 109, 114-116, 144, 161-162, 189-191, 196, 197, 211, 213, 217, 220, 222, 223, 229, 232, 245, 259-272, 274, 286, 288, 296, 318, 319, 338-342, 345, 365-385, 390-394, 397, 416-418, 444, 447, 454, 455, 456-460, 462-466, 471-472, 477-478, 485, 488, 501, 507-520, 537-539, 541, 548, 546, 567-584, 586, 587, 591, 592, 597, 598, 606, 608-611, 612, 620, 633, 634; v. 2, 658, 685, 710, 721, 861, 958, 988, 1120, 1121, 1135, 1134; v. 3, 1203, 1238, 1345, 1351, 1354, 1390, 1436, 1437, 1453-1458, 1462, 1463, 1473, 1477, 1489, 1490, 1506.

¹⁶ U. S. Congress, House, Select Committee to Investigate the Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, *Interstate Migration*; preliminary report * * * pursuant to H. Res. 43, 491, and 629 (76-3; H. Rep. No. 3113, 1941), p. 25. Also (77-1, H. Rep. No. 369, 1941), pp. 391-393. See also U. S. Department of Labor, *Migration of Workers*; preliminary report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 298 (74th Cong., 1935), pp. 155-161.

State labor laws and related laws generally extend little coverage to agriculture. Because of lack of legal authority, state labor departments have generally not been able to take responsibility for the living and working conditions of migratory farm laborers.

The Thirteenth National Conference on Labor Legislation, held in 1946, declared:

"These workers are in special need of the legal protections denied them. Though their employment is irregular, with wages low in some kinds of work and subject to many deductions, they are not generally protected by minimum-wage, wage-payment, and wage-collection laws. Although there is great unemployment in seasonal industries, some of them are exempted from unemployment compensation laws. Although both farm work and timber cutting, for instance, have high accident rates, workmen's compensation laws often do not protect the workers in these industries. Although migratory workers are transported long distances across state lines or to and from work, crowded into unsafe trucks, most of these vehicles are unregulated by state motor vehicle laws, and the Federal Interstate Commerce Act gives less protection to privately transported workers than to merchandise transported across state lines."

"In addition to being denied labor law protection, migratory workers by and large are not protected by written agreements or contracts. Crew leaders, labor contractors, or agents sent by employers to recruit workers often lure them by false promises to places where labor is needed and where working and living conditions are bad."

"Because child labor laws generally exempt farm work, young children of migratory workers often labor with their parents and suffer particularly from loss of schooling."¹

Children of Migratory Farm Families

Educational opportunities are lacking or extremely limited for the children of migrant agricultural workers. Children old enough to work in the fields are expected to contribute badly needed income. Parents often do not consider it worth while to enroll the younger children in school during their short stay in any one community. School authorities are frequently lax in enforcing school attendance laws.

The Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities discussed this problem in the following terms:

"Migrant life curtails regular school attendance. The most direct cause of this is, of course, child labor in the fields: If children are to be in the field at the beginning of the season and remain until the harvest is completed, they must leave school in the early spring—March or April—and are often out until November or December. Records of school attendance for migratory child workers, obtained in connection with studies of the Children's Bureau, show that large numbers had not attended school during the preceding year, and many had never attended school."

"But because of frequent transfer between different schools and the overcrowding of local schools, children who are not employed are almost equally underprivileged. Where migratory schools have been set up, the allotment of state school funds to the county depends on the average attendance for the previous year; it is not designed to care for fluctuations in agricultural areas. Furthermore, the burden of purchasing land, constructing buildings, and providing equipment falls upon local school districts."²

¹ U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Standards, *Review of Proceedings of Thirteenth National Conference on Labor Legislation* (1949) (Bull. No. 852), pp. 27-28.

² U. S. Social Security Board, *Migratory Labor*; report . . . by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities (1940), p. 7.

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Educational Opportunities. A study conducted by the National Child Labor Committee in 1938 revealed that 30 percent of the children of school age in migrant families interviewed in California were not enrolled in schools, although they were in session, and 40 percent of the children reporting school attendance had already missed an average of 22.2 days of school—more than one school month—between October 3d and 26th, when the interviews were made.¹

The LaFollette Committee found that the provision of education facilities for migratory children had often been substandard and inadequate. Specific appropriations for emergency or migratory schools, inaugurated in 1927, had been too small to provide adequate training. Although the counties were authorized to provide special schools, they were not compelled to do so. In many counties makeshift schools—tents, old houses, halls, churches, garages, and basements—had been used.

"There is overcrowding; teaching loads are large. There is a lack of proper sanitation and equipment. Difficulties in giving the regular course of instruction are apparent, and it has been charged that often the instruction given is not adapted to the special needs of the migrant children but is patterned after that given in the regular schools. The standard of teachers is high and equal to that of the regular schools. The deficiency in instruction is not due to the teachers but to the substandard facilities, irregular and fluctuating attendance, and heavy teaching loads. The strain of this itinerant farm-labor system on the educational facilities of the areas involved and on the child population is commensurate with the number of families who make up the migratory labor supply."²

California is one of the few states which made special provision for the education of migratory children. As early as 1921 a law was enacted authorizing establishment of special classes for children of migratory laborers engaged in seasonal industries in the rural districts of the State.³ At a conference on the education of the migrant child held in Fresno in 1938, however, an official of the California State Department of Education pointed out that the problem entailed more than enforcement of the law, that education for migratory children needed public support.

"If the facts are to be faced realistically, we must admit that there is frequently discrimination against migrant children. Such children and their parents are wanted only as a solution to a labor problem. They are not considered an integral part of the community life; the children are not wanted in the regular schools because of considerations of cleanliness, health or social status; and some socially myopic adults who would decree long hours of labor as barbarous for their own children, actually advocate labor rather than education for the migratory child."

"Local authorities are frequently in full sympathy with the grower who must get his crop harvested. Sometimes members of local school boards are employers of migratory labor and cannot view the problem impartially from the point of view of child welfare. The walnut grower or the prune grower feels his own economic need far more than he feels the child's need of education."⁴

¹ National Child Labor Committee, *Pick for Your Supper*, by James E. Sidel (Pub. No. 378, June, 1939), p. 88.

² U. S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.) (77:2, S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 3, 1942), p. 190. See also pp. 376-382 and hearings, pt. 62, exhibit 7585, pp. 22747-22751.

³ U. S. Department of Labor, Division of Labor Standards, *Recommendations on the Education of Children of Migrant Workers*; report VII of Federal Interagency Committee on Migrant Labor (1946), p. 4.

⁴ California. Department of Education, *Report of Conference on Education of Children of Seasonal Workers*, Fresno, December 9-10, 1938 (preprint from "California Journal of Elementary Education," 7:3, February, 1939), p. 185. For a similar situation encountered some 20 years earlier, see "Administration of Child Labor Laws" in U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Association of Governmental Labor Officials of the United States and Canada*, Seattle, Wash., July, 1920 (Bull. No. 266, 1921), pp. 27-30.

A study made by the U. S. Department of Agriculture in 1942, noting that a superintendent of public instruction in a Florida county had declared: "Education is in competition with beans in this county—and beans are winning out," speaks of the establishment of special schools for migrants "to ease this conflict." This is done in

"Some counties in Texas and California, which begin classes at 8 o'clock in the morning and dismiss at 12:30, in order to leave the afternoon free for picking cotton. Another is the closing of schools entirely in some areas where there is a short sharp peak of operations. . . . Inevitably the result of such circumstances surrounding the education of migrant children is retardation. Even where a conscientious effort is made to educate them, their retardation and irregular attendance make adjustments to the schools' routine and discipline most difficult."¹

In 1938, The U. S. Children's Bureau summarized the results of many intensive studies it had made of family labor in agriculture and its effect upon welfare of the children. The bureau found that such families were likely to withdraw their children from school in March or April and to keep them out until November or December.²

"As would be expected, such irregular school attendance had a direct effect upon the educational progress of the children. More than two-fifths of the best workers and three-fourths of the children employed on New Jersey truck farms were retarded in their school progress one year or more. In Maryland almost as many, 70 percent of the migratory children studied were retarded.

"In the Washington and Oregon areas from 26 to 60 percent of the children in the localities studied were below grade. In Baltimore, figures show that the retardation rate for migratory children enrolled in the schools of that city was over twice as high as the average rate for children who did not leave school for farm work."³

A later study on child labor in the Arizona cotton fields made by the Children's Bureau showed that 20 percent of the children 12 and 13 years of age had completed only the second grade or less, and 64 percent had completed only the fourth grade or less. Moreover, of the children 14 and 15 years of age, 10 percent had not advanced beyond the second grade and 44 percent had completed only the fourth grade or less.

"The fact that a child who entered the first grade between his sixth and seventh birthdays and progressed normally in school would complete at least the fourth grade at 11 years of age indicates the deficiency in the education of many of these working children. Thus a normally intelligent boy of 14 who had completed only the second grade could be said to have been cheated of the equivalent of five years' schooling."⁴

A New Mexico study covering children of migratory farm workers 7 to 15 years of age indicated that 13.6 percent were advanced, 21.6 percent normal, and 64.8 percent retarded.⁵

Similar figures for California, revealed in the 1924 study of the State Bureau of Labor Statistics, showed that "of the children 12 years

¹ U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Backgrounds of the War Farm Labor Problem* (May, 1942), p. 82-83.

² Included in the bureau studies were sugar beet areas of Colorado and Michigan; cotton growing counties in Texas; truck and small fruit areas in southern New Jersey and Maryland; and fruit and hop districts in Washington and Oregon. More than 1,200 families had been interviewed in these areas. For detailed information see U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, Pub. No. 115 (1923); No. 123 (1923); No. 130 (1924); No. 134 (1924); No. 151 (1926); No. 187 (1929); No. 247 (1939).

³ U. S. Department of Labor, *Migration of Workers*, preliminary report . . . pursuant to S. Res. 298 (74th Cong., 1935), v. 2, p. 247.

⁴ U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau, "Child Labor in Arizona Fields," by Edwin E. Villon (*The Child*, 6(9): 274, March, 1942).

⁵ New Mexico Agricultural Experiment Station and W. P. A., *Migratory Casual Workers in New Mexico*, by Sigurd Johansen (1939), p. 40.

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of age, who would normally be either in the fifth or sixth grades, 77 percent were under the fifth grade, or retarded. * * * Again, of the children 13 years of age, who would normally be either in the sixth or seventh grade, only 28 percent of these children were in these grades; while the remainder were retarded.⁵

The State Relief Administration's study of migratory workers in the San Joaquin Valley made in 1937 divided the children of school age as follows: advanced, whites 8.0 percent, Mexicans 1.5 percent; normal, whites 22.5 percent, Mexicans 12.3 percent; retarded, whites 69.6 percent, Mexicans 86.2 percent. The same distribution for all California school children (as of 1930) was reported as being: advanced 5.2 percent, normal 45.0 percent, retarded 49.8 percent.⁶

Child Labor. The U. S. Children's Bureau found that pressure of low incomes and poverty contributed to the nation-wide use of child labor in agriculture:

"Child labor was the rule. Even the young children worked in the fields as a matter of course, especially when the work to be done required little skill or experience. Many of the crops—berries in particular—had to be got to market quickly, and to avoid spoilage all available hands were pressed into service. Moreover, family earnings depended upon the number of hands working, and the low piece rates were an incentive to the use of children whenever possible. Children no more than six or seven years of age picked cotton and cranberries and sometimes did a part of the work on other crops as well. On most crops the services of the children were utilized only in the harvest season, but some helped with cultivating also, and in the beet fields even the youngest helped with the thinning of the new plants in the spring. * * *

"The hours reported by the children who worked in the fields were excessively long. With the low piece rates offered, this was necessary if earnings were to amount to anything at all."⁷

In 1923 Ellen N. Mathews, Director of the Industrial Division of the U. S. Children's Bureau, denied vehemently that the thousands of children reported by the United States Census as "gainfully employed in agricultural pursuits," meant that so many farm boys were engaged in chores or other light tasks on their parents' farms.

"This is far from being the case. If we are willing to face the facts, we must recognize that many of the children, even those who actually are employed on the home farm, are very young, that they are engaged in back-breaking toll for the long hours of the adult agricultural laborer's working day, and that their parents are not always so mindful of their opportunities for schooling as we assume they are. * * * moreover, as large-scale, one-crop, industrialized types of farming have developed, child labor on the farm is no longer confined to the home farm. The children of seasonal farm laborers go out from our cities and towns to work in beet or onion fields, to pick strawberries, cherries, cranberries, and tomatoes, to harvest peas and beans and other truck crops. There is scarcely any section of the country where child workers are not employed at some season of the year in some of these forms of industrialized agriculture, often speeded up under the eye of the 'row-boss' or field overseer to get in the crop before it spoils, or before rain or frost overtakes it."⁸

"California, the Golden," is the title of a study undertaken by the National Child Labor Committee in 1920. In the Imperial Valley the

¹ California, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Twenty-first Biennial Report* (1923-1924), p. 100.

² California, State Relief Administration, *Agricultural Migratory Laborers in the San Joaquin Valley* (1937), p. 14.

³ U. S. Department of Labor, *Migration of Workers*: preliminary report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 298 (74th Cong. 1935), pp. 245-246. See also specific studies referred to in footnote 67 and publications of the National Child Labor Committee.

⁴ U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Proceedings of the Truth Annual Convention of Governmental Labor Officials of the United States and Canada*, May 1-4, 1923 (Bull. No. 352, December, 1923), p. 111.

investigator found cotton pickers as young as three years, with five-year olds picking steadily all day, "from dawn to dark."¹

California law at the time prohibited the employment of children under 16 while school was in session. In addition every child between 8 and 16 was required to attend school while it was in session unless specifically exempted. In this connection, the investigator commented:

"Enforcement of school attendance laws lies in the hands of local trustees, but when these very trustees are often cotton ranchers, and themselves workers of little children, it is with difficulty that they can be persuaded to vote bonds for education."²

The consensus in the valley, according to this writer, was that if child labor laws were enforced, the most serious obstacle to the enforcement of school attendance laws would be removed. "Propaganda to the contrary notwithstanding, the enforcement of child labor laws and of school attendance laws is possible, even with the present school facilities, which in certain sections of the valley it is true are inadequate. The existing school facilities and equipment need never be made adequate if the child labor law is not enforced."³

Before going into the valley, the investigator interviewed various state officials concerned with enforcement, all of whom knew of the violations of the child labor and school attendance laws. Some of them stated that no single move could suddenly be put through to bring about complete enforcement of the law, that such things had to come more slowly, by a process of evolution. Replied the investigator to this sentiment:

"Evolutionary processes, however, in matters of this sort do not come without effort; with a 'let alone' theory these matters will not right themselves of their own accord; and the most fundamental step in securing to children their educational rights and their right to a happy childhood is to prevent employers from working children in violation of the state laws. No 'education' or warning of employers on these matters has, up to this time, been effective. The child labor situation in the agricultural areas of California, especially in the Imperial Valley, has admittedly grown worse, and will continue to grow worse, unless the child labor law is enforced. The law is clear. The violations are open and undenied."⁴

A survey of labor conditions in the State made by the California Bureau of Labor Statistics four years later showed approximately 5,000 children working on the farms. While the compulsory school attendance law was generally enforced during the asparagus, walnut, and cotton seasons and the children were not permitted to work during school time, the survey found children of school age, as well as children under school age, used in the harvesting of prunes, grapes, apricots, peaches, tomatoes, and onions during school vacations. They were also found hoeing beets and melons, and working in the dry yards. Since this work was being done while schools were not in session, the law was not being violated.

In some counties, the report stated, school districts deliberately adjusted their vacation periods so as to permit the children to work in the fruit crops. In the counties of Colusa, Contra Costa, Fresno, Glenn, Los Angeles, Napa, Orange, San Joaquin, Santa Clara, Solano, and Sonoma, schools were closed temporarily during certain fruit crops. In other counties they were closed late in summer and opened late in fall. In Tulare, for instance, schools in the prune and raisin districts opened late

¹ Emma Duke, "California the Golden," National Child Labor Committee, *The American Child*, November, 1929, pp. 236-237.

² *Ibid.*, p. 239.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁴ Duke, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

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and in Solano County, the Vacaville school started late on account of the
prune crop.

In the course of its investigation, the bureau's investigators dis-
covered

"many children under school age who were working in the fields, especially in the pick-
ing of prunes and in the cotton fields. In some cases where the children of school age
were at school, the bureau's field agents discovered children under eight years of age
picking cotton. At the present time, the law does not prohibit the employment of chil-
dren under eight years of age either before, during, or after school hours. The employ-
ment of children under eight years of age should not be permitted. Since they are not
required to be at school they are often kept in the fields long hours, helping their par-
ents do their work."³

Almost 20 years later, the LaFollette Committee found that, directly
or indirectly, agricultural employers were hiring child labor "principally
in cotton, hops, peas, beans, carrots, and tomatoes, prunes, olives, and
nuts; they also are employed extensively in the fruit cutting and drying
sheds." The committee also found that schools for migratory children
were widely operated at a minimum instead of a full day, at least during
the peak of the harvesting season.

The committee pointed out that where crops in which children are
employed move in interstate commerce, compliance with the county mini-
mum school day may not be meeting the requirements of the Federal
Fair Labor Standards Act. This act prohibits the employment of chil-
dren under the age of 16 unless approved by the Children's Bureau.
The bureau may approve such employment only if it does not interfere
with proper schooling. Outside of school hours, however, children of any
age may be employed in agriculture, horticulture or viticulture since they
are expressly excluded from the provisions of the law.⁴

Collective Bargaining

Labor unions have made comparatively little progress in organizing
field labor either in the United States as a whole or in California.⁵ From
1913 through the 1930's, the history of employer-employee relations in
California agriculture was punctuated by riots, killings, and bitter
strikes. Investigators found that low earnings, unemployment, and intolerable
living conditions gave rise to these disturbances. In addition, there
was evidence of the presence of outside "agitators," beginning with the
I. W. W. in 1913 and continuing with the communists in the 1930's.

The Wheatland hop riots in 1913 in Yuba County resulted in four
killings and the conviction of two labor organizers for murder. Three
thousand people had replied to advertisements for help scattered through-
out California and Nevada. No preparations had been made for their
accommodations. There were at the most eleven toilets, crude boxes placed

¹ California, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Twenty-first Biennial Report* (1923-1924), pp. 93, 105.

² U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; report . . . pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), (77:2, S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 3, 1942), p. 380.

³ For brief summary of general problems of organization of agricultural labor, see U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Backgrounds of the War Labor Problem* (May, 1942), pp. 138-169. Also U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; report . . . pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), (77:2, S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 3, 1942), pp. 238-254. A detailed discussion is found in the publication of the U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Labor Unions in American Agriculture*; by Stuart J. Jamieson, 457 p. (Bull. No. 836), 1945.

over holes two feet deep. Provisions for garbage disposal were as primitive. The water supply was absolutely insufficient for the camp. The California Commission of Immigration and Housing, which investigated the situation for the Governor and the United States Industrial Commission, reported that:

"While the wage scale and other factors contributed to the feeling of discontent, the real cause of the protest of the pickers seemed to come from the inadequate housing and the insanitary conditions under which the hop pickers were compelled to live."¹

A strike in Imperial Valley in 1928, organized by the Mexican Field Workers Union, demanded wage increases for tomato pickers. The strike was broken by mass arrests on charges of disturbing the peace.²

In 1933-34, a second strike by the Mexican workers brought about a federal investigation. Failure of the Mexican union to gain concessions from the employers enabled the Cannery and Agricultural Workers Industrial Union, a communist affiliate, to sign up members and call a strike. The workers' right of free speech, free press, and free assemblage were persistently violated. A representative of the American Civil Liberties Union was abducted and escorted out of the valley. The federal investigators

"uncovered sufficient evidence to convince us that in more than one instance the law was trampled underfoot by representative citizens of Imperial County and by public officials under oath to support the law * * * large numbers of men and women were 'picked up' but not booked. * * * Only by a substitution of the state vagrancy law could some of the prisoners be arrested or held. * * * In our opinion, regular peace officers, deputized officers and civilians displayed pistols altogether too freely, and the police unwarrantedly used tear-gas bombs. * * *"

The complaints of the workers related to low wages, failure to pay for minimum hours, contract labor, transportation charges to and from the fields, lack of good drinking water, living and sanitary conditions, and opposition on the part of employers to the organization of employees.³

While investigation by employer interests found room for improvement in housing and called attention to the need for providing wholesome water for drinking and bathing, their report emphasized that the disturbances in the valley were "definitely associated with a great and far-reaching world revolutionary movement." It pointed out in this connection that "the citizens of the valley have passed through a period of great excitement during the past few months in which things have been done by individuals and by groups which undoubtedly would not have been done under less trying circumstances." Denying that employers had ever discouraged the organization of labor, a committee composed of employer representatives declared:

"The committee supports the rights of free speech and free assemblage, but it points out that it is time to make a distinction between free speech and unlicensed speech, and that any organization demanding the protection of the Constitution, must

¹ California Commission of Immigration and Housing, *First Annual Report* (1915), pp. 15-18. See also U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor; report * * * pursuant to S. Res. 266* (74th Cong.), 77-12, S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 3, 1942, pp. 243-247; and hearings (75-3, 1940), pt. 34, exhibit 8768, pp. 2601a-26073.

² California State Relief Administration, *Migrant Labor in California* (1936), pp. 58-61.

³ U. S. National Labor Board, *Report by Special Commissioner on Imperial County*, San Francisco Regional Labor Board Release No. 3325 (February 11, 1934), pp. 2-11. See also U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violation of Free Speech and Rights of Labor; hearings * * * pursuant to S. Res. 266* (74th Cong.), 75-3, 1940, pt. 34, exhibit 8765, pp. 2637, 2601a-26041.

were as primitive as camp. The California Commission investigated the

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be able to show clean hands and no connection with a movement to overthrow this Constitution and subvert these rights."¹

Situations in which "peaceful" residents banded against the agricultural strikers occurred in the San Joaquin Valley and at Lodi in 1933, at Santa Rosa and in Orange County in 1935, and at Salinas and Stockton in 1936.²

A conference called by employer associations in 1937 unanimously adopted a policy aimed at improving working conditions and condemning all unfair labor practices to their employees, pledging all their resources to protect every agricultural worker in his right to work, and strongly condemning "any policy of intimidation or coercion on the part of employers, employees, or racketeers."

The conference declared itself not opposed to collective bargaining, but insisted that agriculture "must be kept free from the effects of the imposition of the 'hiring hall' and the 'closed shop,'" because of the "perishable nature of agricultural products and because of the many uncontrollable factors and elements in producing and marketing such products."³

The LaFollette Committee, which made the most thorough-going analysis yet presented of the labor situation in California agriculture, found that organized protests of agricultural workers against living and working conditions had been met with "the blacklist, the denial of free speech and assemblage through the application of illegal ordinances of various kinds and through acts of outright vigilantism."⁴

It found collusion between antunion groups in industry and in agriculture, ostensibly to prevent organization of farm workers, but actually "to provide a back-log of rural opposition to a burgeoning trade unionism which could be exploited by urban industrial interests to impose legislative restrictions on the rights of labor and back up employers in their struggle for public opinion in times of strike or conflict with unions."

This aim, declared the LaFollette Committee, was implemented by organization of the Associated Farmers backed by funds furnished by the Industrial Association of San Francisco and the California Packing Corporation, through levies "upon industrial interests such as railroads, utility companies, banks, oil companies, paper and box companies, and other suppliers of materials and services to agriculture. There were substantial contributions from the organized processing and packing industry groups." * * * The principal source of financial support for this organization was the financial districts of San Francisco and Los Angeles.⁵

¹ Investigating Committee Appointed at Request of California State Board of Agriculture, California Farm Bureau Federation and the Agricultural Department of the California State Chamber of Commerce, report on *The Imperial Valley Farm Labor Situation* (April 16, 1934), pp. 11, 14; also *Supplement to Report* (distributed by Associated Farmers of California, Inc., undated), p. 5.

² John Steinbeck Committee to Aid Agricultural Organization, *Report of Bakewell Conference* (1938), pp. 1-4; also U. S. Congress, House Committee on Labor, *Labor Disputes Act*; hearings (H. R. 6228) (74th Cong.), pp. 342-343, 352-367.

³ California State Chamber of Commerce—Agricultural Department, Agricultural Council of California, California Farm Bureau Federation, Associated Farmers of California, Inc., Farmers Union-California Division, *Farm Labor Policies Unanimously Adopted by the Agricultural Conference* (1937), pp. 1-2.

⁴ U. S. Congress, Senate Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*, report (pursuant to S. Res. 266 (74th Cong.), S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 1, 1942), p. 38.

The steps that led to the incorporation of the organization, as described by the committee, were:

"In November, 1933, the Board of Directors of the State Chamber of Commerce created a special committee which was directed to coordinate the activities of local organizations with reference to the strike phase of the agricultural labor problem. Under the direction of that committee various leaders were rallied and a groundwork laid. The chamber enlisted the cooperation of the California Farm Bureau Federation. Organizers representing the state chamber and the California Farm Bureau Federation were sent into the agricultural counties of the State to stimulate the formation of select local committees. Representatives of these select groups were welded into a state-wide organization, which became the Associated Farmers of California, Inc."¹

The committee found that the attitude of the Associated Farmers toward agricultural labor was characterized by opposition to government action on wage fixing, public housing, and collective bargaining, and opposition to extension of federal and state labor laws to agriculture. Furthermore, it found "affirmative interference with the unionization of labor in the fields and processing and packing houses, whether or not sponsored by the A. F. L., C. I. O., or so-called 'independent' organizations."

Toward industrial labor, the LaFollette Committee reported, the Associated Farmers displayed an opposition to the development and activities of trade unions in the transportation industry, notably the water-front workers and the teamsters, and a general support of the employer position "in contest with unions."²

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING CONDITIONS

President Theodore Roosevelt's Country Life Commission, reporting on its investigations in 1909, pointed out that the scarcity of farm labor was not an agricultural difficulty alone, but one phase for expression of the general labor supply problem. The commission went on to say:

"So long as the United States continues to be a true democracy it will have a serious labor problem. * * * So long as the labor supply is not equal to the demand the country cannot compete with the town in securing labor. The country must meet the essential conditions offered by the town or change the kind of farming. * * * The shortage of labor seems to be the least marked where the laborer is best cared for. It is certain that farming itself must be so modified and organized as to meet the labor problem half way. * * *

"The best labor, other things being equal is resident labor. Such reorganization of agriculture must take place as will tend more and more to employ the man the year round and to tie him to the land. The employer bears a distinct responsibility to the laborer, and also to society, to house him well and to help him contribute his part to the community welfare."³

In 1940, when the problem revolved around labor surplus rather than labor shortage, the California State Chamber of Commerce declared: "The problem of migratory agricultural labor is only one interrelated segment of the larger problem. * * * It is a phase of the national unemployment problem."⁴

¹ U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, *Violations of Free Speech and Rights of Labor*; report 177, pursuant to S. Res. 266 (73d Cong. 1, 1933); S. Rep. No. 338, pt. 1, 1941, pp. 1612-1614. Also 177(2), S. Rep. No. 1150, pt. 1, 1942, p. 127; 177(3), S. Congress, Senate, Country Life Commission, Report 136(2), S. Doc. No. 765, 1933, pp. 11-15.

² California State Chamber of Commerce, *Migration*; report and recommendations of the state-wide committee on the migrant problem (May, 1940), p. 24.