

The AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE

in the
**SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY,
CALIFORNIA —**

**Characteristics
Employment
Mobility**

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CONTENTS

	Page
Preliminary considerations	1
Hired labor in the California agricultural economy	2
Rigidities and stratifications in the labor force.	3
The San Joaquin Valley	4
Number of farm workers in the Valley	7
Types of farm workers.	8
Farm-labor requirements.	10
Place of agriculture in the San Joaquin Valley economy	13
Nature of the 1948 season.	15
Survey of 1948 farm-labor force in San Joaquin Valley.	17-19
Characteristics of the workers	20
Place of origin.	21
Time in California	22
Age and family composition	23-24
Occupational backgrounds	25
Types of work done during previous twelve months	30
Nonfarm activities	31
Relocation migrants.	33
Occupational mobility.	33
Specialization and mobility by major types of crops.	35
Days employed during previous twelve months.	37
Days in the hired labor market	37
Days worked.	38-44
Days employed at farm and nonfarm work	44
Days worked by wives and dependents.	45
Earnings	46
Days lost from work.	47-49
Methods of obtaining employment.	49
Geographic movement.	51
Types of mobile workers.	52
Extent of movement	53
Migratory paths.	55
Northwest migrants	58
California-Arizona migrants.	59
Central California migrants.	59
California-Oklahoma migrants	59
Migratory paths of workers registered at Extension Service offices .	60
Relation of migrancy to age and family status.	61
Habitations and homes of the workers	64
Types of habitation.	64
Homes of the workers.	65
Summary.	67
Appendix -- Methods used in study.	69

THE AGRICULTURAL LABOR FORCE IN THE
SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIFORNIA:
CHARACTERISTICS, EMPLOYMENT, MOBILITY, 1948 1/

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PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

Studies as to the size, composition, and use of the Nation's labor force are of comparatively recent origin. They were developed during the depression years as a barometer to the functioning of one phase of our economic system — the extent to which it provided employment and purchasing power to the working population. 2/ They also served a valuable wartime use as a measure of our resources in manpower for the war effort. Since the war the field of studies of the labor force has greatly broadened. Figures are being collected periodically by the U. S. Bureau of the Census for the country as a whole. The U. S. Employment Service has been making a check by cities and by industries of the labor market, indicating the extent to which the labor force is being used. More detailed surveys have been made of the employed, the unemployed, of workers who are constantly changing employment, and of other special groups.

Data regarding the labor force for California are complicated by the fact that the population is highly mobile and is expanding rapidly. During the last 25 years some 7 million people have moved into the State and made it their home. Many more, however, have shifted back and forth between California and the States to the East. Their movements are irregular and keep the labor supply in a state of flux.

Trade and industry expanded rapidly with the growing population and experienced newcomers found it relatively easy to make an entry into those lines of activity. Agricultural production expanded also but largely through increased productivity per worker rather than through an increase in manpower. Census data indicate a relatively small increase in number of farm operators during the last 25 years. There were 117,670 in 1920, 135,676 in 1930, and 138,917 in 1945, an increase of 18.1 percent. The increase in number of hired farm workers can only be estimated through the increase in the total farm wage bill. Total wage payments were \$110,000,000 in 1919, \$130,000,000 in 1929, \$114,000,000 in 1939, and \$302,000,000 in 1944. When these are placed on a comparable basis, they indicate 1,475,000 man-months of hired labor in 1919, 1,820,000 in 1929, 2,076,000 in 1939, and 2,090,000 in 1944, a total increase in 25 years of 41.1 percent. During this period the total population of the State increased by over 150 percent. Employment opportunities in agriculture, therefore, have not moved ahead with the general growth of the State.

1/ This study was made under the joint auspices of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and the Institute of Industrial Relations of the University of California. Members of the staff of the Institute gave technical and advisory help.

2/ See Labor Force Definition and Measurement, Social Science Research Council, 1947.

The general situation in California has been that a surplus of people with an agricultural background has flooded the farm-labor market. The surplus was particularly great during the 1930's when midwestern farmers who were forced out by drought, and sharecroppers who were displaced by machinery, sought opportunities in the State. The surplus disappeared during the war when farm workers left farms to work in defense plants up and down the Pacific Coast. When the war ended, some of them remained in the towns; others returned to farm work.

Since the war they have been joined by a new flow of in-migrants, again mostly from the southwestern States and this time including a few Negroes. They are not in as straitened circumstances as their predecessors in the 1930's, yet have limited resources. They come into an agricultural economy which, except for cotton picking, is strange to them and which offers them comparatively good wages for very irregular periods of employment.

HIRED LABOR IN THE CALIFORNIA AGRICULTURAL ECONOMY

The agricultural economy in California is based on the production of fruit, vegetables, and other cash crops, for the market. Labor in producing such crops is not continuous but comes to a sharp peak at harvest time. A farm operator uses comparatively little hired labor during most of the year; then suddenly when the crop ripens he needs many hands. The harvest season for such products as raisin grapes, cherries, apricots, plums, and peaches, lasts only a couple of weeks; for oranges, lemons, lettuce, carrots, cotton, and asparagus, it runs into several months.

A second feature of this commercialized type of agriculture is that growers in a particular locality tend to specialize in the crop or crops best adapted to the local soils and climate. This means that peak labor needs pile high first in one locality then in another. Growers in each locality need an ample supply of labor at the particular time their crop is ready to harvest. A heat wave, or threatening rain or frost, or other unpredictable condition, may cause them to speed operations to the utmost to prevent loss.

These conditions call for a labor supply that is both ample and mobile; otherwise many local scarcities of labor will occur and crops will be lost. This means that a worker who begins to "follow the crops" becomes something of an economic pawn, sacrificing a settled home life for work in first one locality and then in another. Lack of automobiles, tires, and gasoline slowed this movement during the war. Workers were likely to settle where they were, perhaps to build homes and become part of the community. Now the necessity of fairly regular employment is sending them on the road again.

A third feature of this type of agriculture is uncertain yields and uncertain markets, particularly for the fruit and vegetable crops. Growers must make heavy expenditures for labor, water, and implements if they are to obtain a crop. Unfavorable yields or markets may leave them heavily in debt. Hence they try to keep down the high labor costs, but they do not bear all the risk. When crops fail, a worker may search from place to place and not find enough work to provide food for his family. When prices are low a grower expects him to take a corresponding reduction in wages.

Much of the labor on farms in California prior to 1930 was done by Mexican or Oriental workers who accepted very simple levels of living. ^{3/} The dust-bowl migrants of the 1930's had to fit into this farm-labor pattern at a most trying time. In spite of this, in the San Joaquin Valley they became the mainstay of the farm-labor force. They settled along the creeks and canal banks, in camps, and in farm-labor communities. They carried their families from harvest to harvest, and followed their own bent rather than stay through to the end of a season. They earned the reputation of being temperamental workers.

The situation is one that is fraught with dissatisfaction to both the growers and the workers. The growers must rely on workers who may become restless or discontented and leave just at the time they are needed most. The workers complain of irregular employment, insecurity, and unsympathetic treatment. One of the causes of this situation lies in the seasonal rush and strain that accompanies the harvest. It tries the patience and ruffles the tempers. The trouble is likely to remain in the minds of both the growers and the workers, and affects their behavior in later seasons. Many workers become less manageable season after season; many growers also become more suspicious and uncompromising.

In areas that have a long work season, a large resident farm-labor force has developed. This is especially true in the vegetable, citrus, and cotton areas of the State. Areas that have short work seasons, on the other hand, have been served largely by a migratory work force that comes in only for the harvest period. Such areas are basically responsible for the migratory farm workers.

RIGIDITIES AND STRATIFICATIONS IN THE LABOR FORCE

Local customs greatly influence the type of worker that will be used in a particular operation, hence they limit the mobility of workers from one kind of work to another. These customs are partially based on natural aptitude but sometimes are a matter of local social usage. Mexican and Oriental workers are used for the hand operations in such crops as lettuce, carrots, asparagus, and sugar beets, but they find it difficult to get work that requires technical knowledge, as driving tractors or as milkers. But if Anglo-Americans asked to cut asparagus in the San Joaquin delta they would be probably told that Filipinos are much more proficient and are not bothered by peat dust, and so are being employed.

Workers of Mexican extraction do most of the vegetable and citrus work in the southern end of the State, but the "Okies" from the southwestern States have secured a foothold in the seasonal fruit and cotton work in the San Joaquin Valley. Many came into the State along with the cotton industry but spread out into fruit and general farming in order to have more continuity of employment. Negroes are readily accepted for cotton work but have difficulty getting into many other lines.

^{3/} For a description of the types of farm workers who came to California, see Varden Fuller, "The Supply of Agricultural Labor as a Factor in the Evolution of Farm Organization in California," Ph. D. thesis, University of California, 1939.

Customary rules also apply in regard to family labor. Concerted family activity is the general rule among hired workers in such work as picking cotton, prunes, or figs. Heads of families that habitually follow this type of work may refuse to hire to producers of peaches, apricots, cherries, and other tree crops who ordinarily do not care to hire women or children for picking or thinning. But if any sorting, cutting, or packing of the fruit is to be done, then the women may have a chance. Producers of asparagus, lettuce, and similar crops usually have housing for single men but not for men with families. This keeps them hiring the same type of worker.

Some of the rigidities are due to a combination of (1) the unwillingness of growers to hire or train workers who are not experienced at the particular job to be done, together with (2) the unwillingness of inexperienced workers to accept earnings of \$2 or \$3 a day until they acquire proficiency. If the untrained worker is hired he soon quits with the feeling that he has no aptitude for that kind of work. Thus he adds to the grower's attitude that untrained workers are unreliable and should not be employed. The result is that many workers perform only a few types of work although a small amount of training and patience would enable them to perform many more.

The result of these rigidities is that part of the farm-labor force is always idle. In the spring the asparagus grower may be gloomy in regard to number of workers at the same time that thousands of "white" workers are inquiring at welfare offices for food for their families. Again in the fall, when a cotton grower is concerned about the labor supply, he does not expect Filipino workers to come into the field for they traditionally do not do that kind of work.

Social usages have developed that limit the work that a farm operator engages in. Except under the most pressing conditions, he does not tie carrots, thin sugar beets, cut asparagus, or pick potatoes or do many other kinds of hand labor. His place is to operate the tractors, trucks, and other mechanized equipment which call for responsible handling. The effect of such customs is to set hired farm workers, and particularly those who do stoop labor, apart from the farm-operating group. This stratification varies for different crops and for different parts of the State.

THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

California may be divided into four major parts agriculturally: Southern California, the San Joaquin Valley, the Sacramento Valley and Northern California, and the central coast counties.

The first is the citrus and winter-garden area where much of the farm work is done by local Mexican and other workers.

The San Joaquin Valley area is the center for the production of cotton, grapes, peaches, and tomatoes. (See fig. 1.) The harvest season for most of these crops is relatively short and many workers must move from one part of the area to another if they are to have a full year's employment.

The Sacramento Valley has even shorter harvest seasons and the work force is even more migratory than in the San Joaquin Valley. The major crops are peaches, tomatoes, pears, and grain.

MAJOR CROPS, SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIFORNIA, 1948

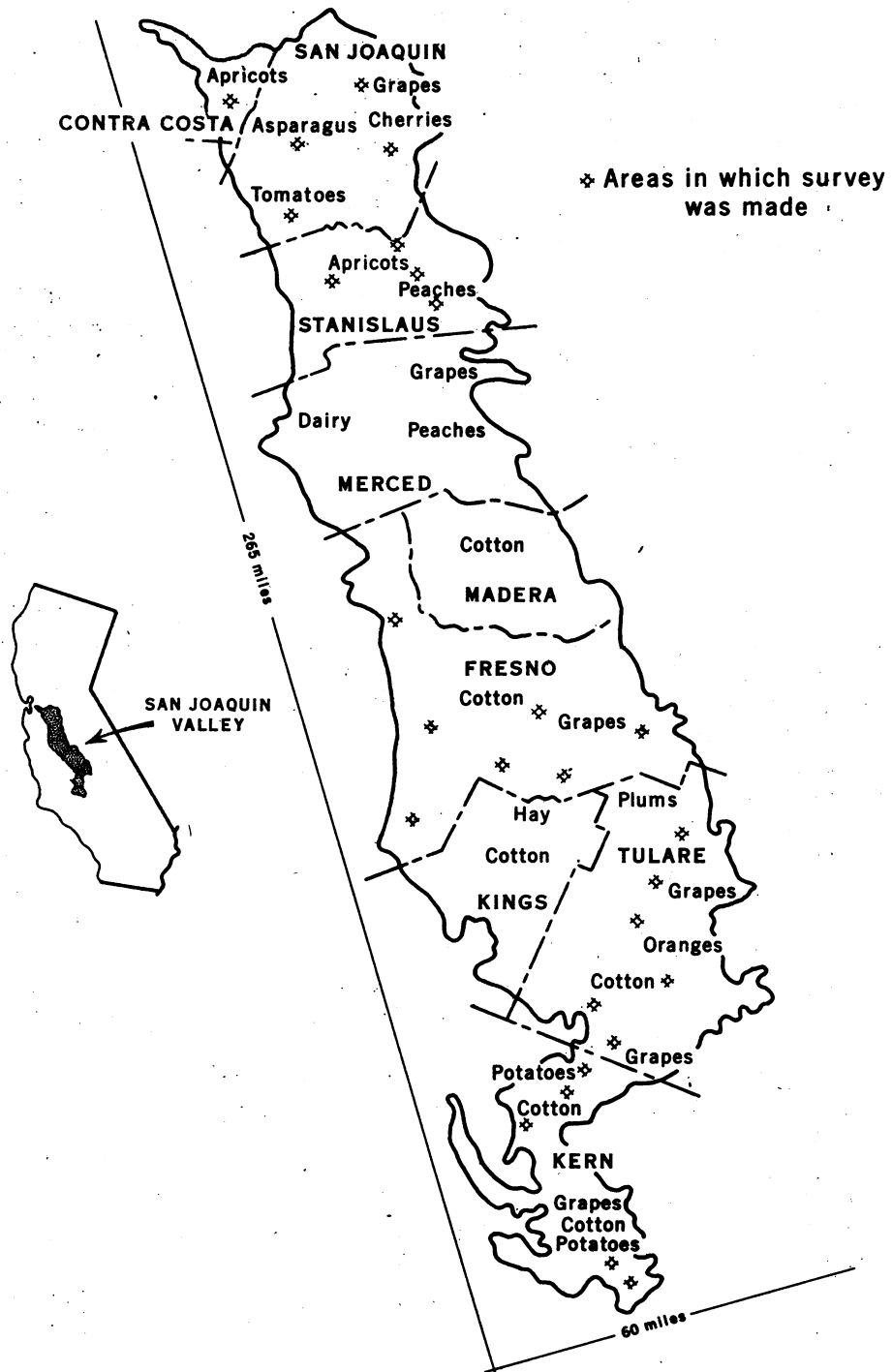


FIGURE 1

The coast counties have several local specialties: vegetables in Monterey and Santa Barbara, apricots and prunes in Santa Clara and San Benito, wine grapes, apples, and hops in Sonoma. Migratory workers are increasingly common but most of the work is done by local labor. 4/

The type of work force that is found in the various localities in the State depends on the labor requirements for the crops raised there. In the San Joaquin Valley, this means a relatively large proportion of hired workers. Farm operators even on the smallest farms are unable to meet the labor needs for such crops as cherries, peaches, plums, and grapes. Possibly they could harvest their own cotton, oranges, and other long-season crops, but with workers asking for employment, they no longer do any of their own harvest work except for weighing, hauling, and processing. In fruit, cotton, and vegetable areas there are three or more farm workers to each farm operator.

The cycle of needs for harvest labor varies from one part of the Valley to another. In the cotton area at the southern end the intensive need is in October, November, and December, when workers are drawn from all over the State. At the northern end the greatest labor needs are in the cherries, apricots, peaches, grapes, and tomatoes. These needs begin in May and end in late October, but there usually is an interval between harvests. This means that workers must come in, leave, and then return. In the central part of the Valley, around Fresno, the peak season lasts only 3 weeks in late August and early September when the raisin grapes must be cut and laid out on the trays to dry before the fall rains begin.

The result is the development of a certain type of farm worker who engages only in picking fruit and cotton, except that he does a little fruit thinning or cotton chopping, during the lean spring. He must move from one harvest area to another as the season progresses. In the spring when there is little harvest or other farm work to be done he is left to his own devices. If he has not saved enough money to take care of his family during the slack period he becomes a client at the relief agencies.

A majority of these workers live in the southern part of the Valley. The work season there is somewhat longer and cotton also has acted as a magnet. They are also settling in large numbers in Stanislaus County where cannery and packing-house work provide good wages. Many have built their own homes — some in the farm-labor sections of the cities and towns, others in towns composed entirely of farm laborers. Some have no fixed home but move about from one farm-labor camp, trailer, or auto court, to another. Others have lived in the same camp or trailer court for 8 or 10 years. These towns and camps are growing rapidly as new workers come from the southwestern States or from the urban areas of California.

The San Joaquin Valley is the home of more migratory farm-labor families than any other part of the State and the number making their homes there is increasing. This fact is creating a problem for farm mechanization is beginning to reduce the number of workers needed in the Valley. If the use of the mechanical cotton picker is perfected it may displace as many as 70,000 workers for 3 months in the year. The reduction may be as much as 750,000 man weeks of labor out of an annual Valley total of 2,630,000. 5/

4/ A more detailed description of the crop areas in California is to be found in Agricultural Extension Service, Preliminary Surveys of Major Areas Requiring Outside Agricultural Labor, Farm Labor Circular 38, Sept. 1947.

5/ Figures from annual reports, "Labor Requirements for California Crops: Major Seasonal Operations." Issued by State Department of Employment, Sacramento California.

The balance between the working population and the agricultural economy in the area has been a problem ever since the beginning of specialized agriculture. The economy calls for a labor force that will expand or contract according to the season. The problem was given a new turn when the "Okies" started coming in with the intention of establishing permanent homes. They were badly needed at peak seasons of the year but could not be shrunk in off seasons. They now constitute a surplus population group for approximately half the year. A mechanized cotton harvest would lengthen that surplus period for many of them by 3 months.

NUMBER OF FARM WORKERS IN THE VALLEY

Census data for January 1945 indicate that 79,068 people were working in agriculture in the San Joaquin Valley at that time. ^{6/} Of these, 31,505 were farm operators, 10,560 were unpaid members of their families, and 37,003 were hired workers (Table 1). The census data were taken in January which is during the slack season of the year; furthermore, in 1945 the week covered by the enumeration was one of heavy rains so many of the usual seasonal workers in cotton, oranges, and other crops, did not work during that particular week.

A comparison with Census data of January 1935 indicates that almost 11,000 more farm workers were enumerated in the area at that time — 89,924. The number of hired workers, however, was similar, 38,732 as compared with 37,003. Almost the entire difference between the 1945 and 1935 counts was in the number of operators and members of their families. This was 51,192 as compared with 42,065 in 1945. Part of this reduction may be attributed to manpower needs for the armed services and for defense activities, so was of a temporary nature. Part can be attributed to a reduction of approximately 3,000 in the number of farm operators in the Valley.

The Census of Population in 1930 and in 1940 contribute some additional figures on the agricultural labor force in the Valley. Data were collected in April and relate to the last week in March at which time farm employment in the Valley is close to the minimum. In 1930, 82,281 people reported that they had done farm work during the enumeration week; in 1940, a slightly smaller number reported work, 75,018.

The data from the four census enumerations, then, are fairly consistent in showing a working force of approximately 80,000 persons in the Valley during the slack season of the year. The figure for the number in the hired labor force in the slack season is also rather stable, 37,003 in 1945, 39,114 in 1940, 38,732 in 1935, and 41,896 in 1930.

There is less evidence as to the number of workers at the height of the working season. The growers in the Valley reported to the Census in 1940 that they had hired 84,651 workers during September 1939, or more than twice as many as during the slack season. But September is not the peak month of labor use in the Valley. Estimates made by the Farm Labor Office, formerly of the Agricultural Extension Service and now of the California Employment Service, indicate

^{6/} Data based on eight counties: Kern, Kings, Tulare, Fresno, Madera, Merced, Stanislaus, and San Joaquin. Part of Contra Costa County is also in the Valley area but this has been omitted in these totals.

Table 1.-Number and types of workers in farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1930, 1935, 1940, and 1945 ^{1/}

Type of worker	Year			
	1930 ^{2/}	1935 ^{3/}	1940 ^{2/}	1945 ^{3/}
Family labor	40,385	51,192	35,904	42,065
Farm operators	37,979		32,190	31,505
Male	36,537		31,164	
Female	1,442		1,026	
Unpaid family workers	2,406		3,714	10,560
Male	2,260		3,103	
Female	146		611	
Hired workers	41,896	38,732	39,114	37,003
Male	41,288		38,362	
Female	608		752	
All workers	82,281	89,924	75,018	79,068
<hr/>				
Hired workers				
March ^{4/}			28,376	
September ^{5/}			84,651	
Hired by month				
March ^{4/}			8,100	
September ^{5/}			7,927	
Hired by day or week				
March ^{4/}			12,155	
September ^{5/}			27,178	
Other hired				
March ^{4/}			8,121	
September ^{5/}			49,546	
All workers				
March ^{4/}			68,850	
September ^{5/}			123,584	

^{1/} Data are for eight counties: Kern, Kings, Tulare, Fresno, Madera, Merced, Stanislaus, and San Joaquin.

^{2/} U. S. Census of Population. Data are for April 1, in 1930 include workers 16 years old and over, in 1940 those 14 years old and over.

^{3/} U. S. Census of Agriculture. Data are for first week in January 1935 and 1945.

^{4/} Data are for last week in March 1940, from U. S. Census of Agriculture.

^{5/} Data are for last week in September 1939, from U. S. Census of Agriculture.

that normally from 15,000 to 25,000 more workers are needed at the peak of the cotton season in October and November than during September. Their figure for the 1948 season is that 27,000 more workers were required in October than in September. This would mean that a peak of approximately 110,000 hired workers are engaged in the Valley in October and that this number drops to 39,000 by March.

TYPES OF FARM WORKERS

Census data in 1940 distinguished between workers who were hired by the month, those who were hired by the day or week, and those who had other kinds of compensation. This classification throws some light on the different types of farm workers in the Valley. Those paid by the month would include three groups, (1) those hired on a year-round basis, (2) those hired for the most active season, April to

October, and performing both cultural and harvest operations, and (3) those employed to work during the harvest season only. All three would usually be engaged in what is known locally as "general farm work." Those employed in the spring would do cultivating and irrigating; during the harvest they would haul the fruit or other produce and look after boxes, ladders, and other equipment. The year-round worker would continue after the harvest was over. He would do such work as pruning and repairing equipment. Only the larger ranches have enough work to keep workers busy for the full 12 months. Dairy and poultry operations are an exception to this rule. Census data show 8,100 workers hired by the month in the Valley in March 1940 and 7,927 in September 1939, a rather constant number.

The number of workers paid on a daily or weekly basis was somewhat larger and more fluctuating, 12,155 in March and 27,178 in September. Their employment is more closely associated with the harvest and might include some picking of fruit, but it usually includes general farm work, comparatively short operations of spraying, hauling, irrigating, swamping, dry yard work, and harvesting hay or grain.

The third Census group is largely composed of workers who pick fruit, cotton potatoes, tomatoes, or other crops, and are usually paid at piece or hourly rates. The experienced worker prefers payment on a box or pound basis so his proficiency will count. The grower likes it because it provides a bonus for a higher output. Crops that call for a highly selected product are picked on an hourly basis. These include plums and grapes for the market, and peaches, apricots, and pears for the market or cannery.

Census data indicate that this group comprised 8,121 workers in March and 49,546 in September. In March, asparagus is the only major crop being harvested in the Valley; it calls for some 6,000 workers. There is also some activity in hay and in miscellaneous vegetable crops. In the latter part of September, the other Census date, the grape harvest is on the decline, the tomato harvest is getting under-way, and a few growers are starting to pick cotton. These are the major groups in the September total.

Census data on unpaid family workers also call for some interpretation. Of 38,318 farm operators in the Valley in January 1945, 31,505 reported doing some farm work during the special enumeration week. But only 10,560 persons were reported as unpaid family workers. The general custom, therefore, was that the members of the operator's family did no large part of the farm work.

The members of the labor force are predominately male. The 1940 Census data indicated that less than 2 percent of the hired workers and only 3.2 percent of the entire farm-labor force were female. The highest proportion of females was in the group of unpaid family workers, 16.4 percent. As these data were collected for March they show the situation at the slack season of the year. A great many more women do seasonal farm work at the peak of the harvest in cotton, grapes, tomatoes, and similar crops. Officials of the California Farm Labor Office estimated that the proportion of women workers in the Valley at the peak of the 1947 season was around 20 percent.

The number of workers under 18 years of age is small except in a few crops, as cotton, raisin grapes, and figs. The California school laws require that all youth under 18 who work for someone other than their parents shall have a work permit. The regulation is difficult to enforce but tends to make both employers and workers careful about using children for farm work. Farm Labor Office

officials estimated that around 10,000, or 9 percent, of the workers in the Valley at the peak of the 1947 season were under 18 years. Both the number and proportion at other seasons is much smaller. Of the 6,000 boys and 4,000 girls in the group approximately one-third were unpaid family workers; hence only 7,000 were part of the hired labor force.

FARM-LABOR REQUIREMENTS

It is impossible to tell how many workers will be required for a given harvest or season. An entire crop may ripen suddenly so that all the growers need workers at the same time, or it may ripen so slowly that a comparatively few workers can move from farm to farm and take care of it. So far as the growers are concerned the only safe situation is to have a supply of workers on hand that will take care of the crop under any circumstance. Hence it is not uncommon to hear the cry "labor shortage" at a time when workers are clamoring because they can't find employment. Growers know by experience that they may still lose their crops. 7/

Yet the number of man-days of labor required to handle a particular crop can be estimated with considerable accuracy. The average output of peach pickers, cherry pickers, and similar workers, can be calculated for varying yields and harvest conditions. The Division of Research Statistics of the California State Employment Service issues weekly estimates as to the number of workers required for the major seasonal agricultural operations in the State.

These estimates are made week by week at the county level on the basis of crop production, worker performance, processor activities, weather conditions, and other pertinent data. They center around the volume of work to be done rather than whether it will be performed by operators, unpaid family workers, or hired workers. Such nonseasonal operations as milking and caring for livestock and poultry are not included. As the number engaged in such operations is comparatively small, the estimates cover nearly all the labor requirements for the Valley.

Their estimates for 1947 have been compiled on the basis of 2,633,350 man-weeks of labor required to perform the major seasonal operations in the Valley. 8/ On a 52-week basis this means an average of 50,641 workers at any one time. The week-by-week labor requirements are set down in Table 2. During the first half of the year the requirements usually run in the range of from one-fourth to one-half of those in the fall. In March they drop to as low as 7 percent of the peak requirement in October.

A comparison of the annual labor requirements in the San Joaquin Valley with those in the State as a whole show the greater seasonality of the labor needs in the Valley. (Fig. 2.) In fact, the major fluctuations in the demands arise from those in the Valley. The low point for both is in March when the labor requirements in the State drop to 44 percent of the annual average; in the Valley they drop to 17 percent. The high point is in October when the State needs are 56 percent above the annual average; at that time labor demands in the Valley are 94 percent above the average.

7/ Lloyd H. Fisher, "The Harvest Labor Market in California," Ph. D. thesis, Harvard University, March 1949.

8/ "Labor Requirements for California Crops: Major Seasonal Operations," State of California Department of Employment, 1948.

Table 2.-Estimates of labor requirements for major seasonal operations, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1947 ^{1/}

Week Ending	Workers required	Percentage of peak requirements	Week Ending	Workers required	Percentage of peak requirement
Jan. 4	40,270	39.6	July 5	36,480	36.0
Jan. 11	42,460	41.8	July 12	32,590	32.1
Jan. 18	42,030	41.4	July 19	31,760	31.3
Jan. 25	37,810	37.2	July 26	34,980	34.4
Feb. 1	33,870	33.3	Aug. 2	37,950	37.3
Feb. 8	26,870	26.5	Aug. 9	45,430	44.7
Feb. 15	20,700	20.4	Aug. 16	53,160	52.3
Feb. 22	16,100	15.8	Aug. 23	68,400	67.3
Mar. 1	9,670	9.5	Aug. 30	81,450	80.2
Mar. 8	7,460	7.3	Sept. 6	84,520	83.2
Mar. 15	6,770	6.7	Sept. 13	74,800	73.6
Mar. 22	7,590	7.5	Sept. 20	68,560	67.5
Mar. 29	10,620	10.5	Sept. 27	77,040	75.8
Apr. 5	13,900	13.7	Oct. 4	92,110	90.7
Apr. 12	17,570	17.3	Oct. 11	99,250	97.7
Apr. 19	22,430	22.1	Oct. 18	100,680	99.1
Apr. 26	31,140	30.7	Oct. 25	101,580	100.0
May 3	40,290	39.7	Nov. 1	99,720	98.2
May 10	46,710	46.0	Nov. 8	97,830	96.3
May 17	54,280	53.4	Nov. 15	93,130	91.7
May 24	58,750	57.8	Nov. 22	85,460	84.1
May 31	58,640	57.7	Nov. 29	78,320	77.1
June 7	53,240	52.4	Dec. 6	72,870	71.7
June 14	48,460	47.7	Dec. 13	62,680	61.7
June 21	43,820	43.1	Dec. 20	49,650	48.9
June 28	41,310	40.7	Dec. 27	40,190	39.6

^{1/} Source: "Labor Requirements for California Crops, Major Seasonal Operations," State of Calif. Dept. of Employment, Nov. 1948.

The weekly reports of the Farm Labor Office for 1948 indicate that labor requirements for major operations in the Valley were around 40,000 workers in January but dropped to 10,000 during March. They rose to 25,000 during the early part of May and to 55,000 in June. After the spring cotton chopping, thinning, and hoeing were over labor requirements dropped back to 40,000 workers. During September, seasonal labor needs for grapes began to push total seasonal labor requirements upward. By September 20, 91,375 workers were needed. After a lull, when the raisin-grape harvest was over, demands for cotton and tomato pickers pushed the total labor needs up to 118,000 by the latter part of October. By the end of the year the labor needs in the Valley had dropped to 65,000. The cycle is much the same as it was in 1947 and earlier years.

As these figures are for labor needs in the Valley as a whole, the local fluctuations in the demand for labor are somewhat obscured. The high and low labor requirements for the counties in the area during 1948 were as follows:

INDEX OF FARM LABOR REQUIREMENTS IN CALIFORNIA AND SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, MAJOR FARM OPERATIONS, 1947

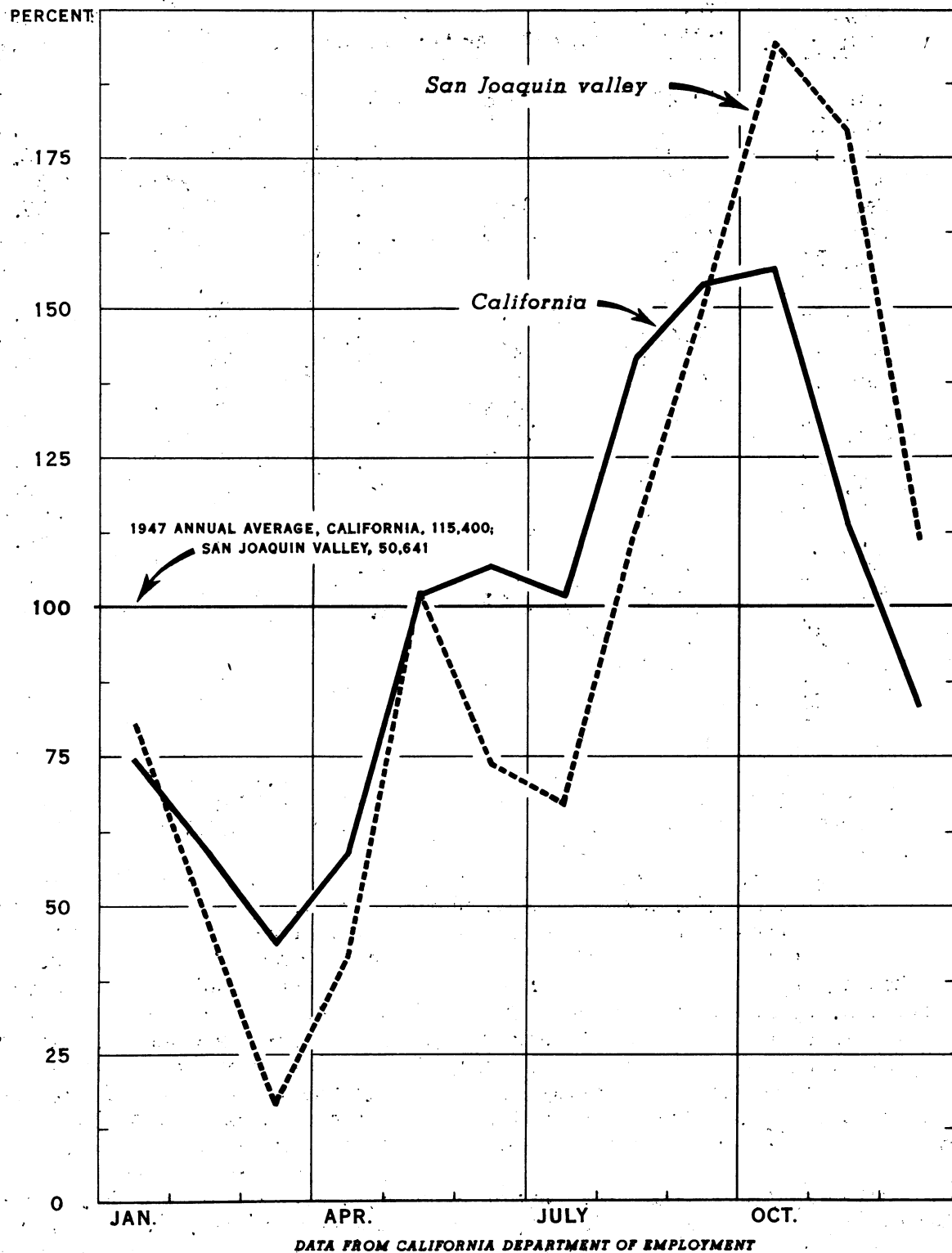


FIGURE 2

<u>County</u>	<u>Peak month</u>	<u>Slack month</u>
San Joaquin	September 18,550	February 0
Stanislaus	August 11,450	March 50
Merced	September 8,600	March 500
Madera	November 9,300	March 50
Fresno	October 32,250	March 800
Tulare	October 23,500	March 1,175
Kings	November 11,000	March 0
Kern	November 23,875	March 850

The period of low labor requirements is often rather extensive. For example: In 1948, in Stanislaus County, fewer than 1,000 workers were needed for a period of 2 months, and less than 5,000 workers for 10 months. The need for more than 10,000 workers existed for only 1 week.

Farm organizations, agricultural officials, and others connected with the situation have studied the irregularity of manpower needs at great length. They have readily admitted that it is incompatible with a stable population and community life, but they have been stopped by the hard economic fact that certain crops are much better adapted to one local area than to another. They know, too, that it is disastrous to plant the crops for which they are at an economic disadvantage with other areas. So specialization and the accompanying irregular labor demands have persisted.

It should be noted, too, that the peak month differs from one county to another within the Valley. A mobile work force to take care of these peaks is a natural development. The place of the harvests of Fresno grapes, San Joaquin tomatoes, and Kern County cotton, in this movement is shown graphically in figure 3.

PLACE OF AGRICULTURE IN THE SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY ECONOMY

These specialized and seasonal farm activities are the base of the Valley's economy. At the southern end of the area highly productive oil fields give employment to some 9,000 workers. (Table 3.) The rest of the industry in the Valley is closely tied to agriculture. Approximately half of the workers engaged in manufacturing are producing food products. Most of the rest are in such activities as farm-machinery production and repair, box making, and cotton ginning.

Census data for January 1940 show that 79,000 people in the Valley were either farm operators or farm workers, while 155,000 were employed in other industries. But these figures are for the slack season, both in agriculture and in manufacturing. Farm activities utilize twice that number at the peak of the harvest. The extra persons in the farm and manufacturing labor forces in the fall come partly from the students in school and the housewives who have been out of the labor force during the slack months. Some shift over from other lines of work to take advantage of the higher earnings that can be made picking raisin grapes or cotton. Many, however, come into the Valley during the period of peak labor needs and leave when it is over.

ESTIMATES OF FARM WORKERS REQUIRED FOR MAJOR SEASONAL OPERATIONS IN THREE COUNTIES, SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, 1947

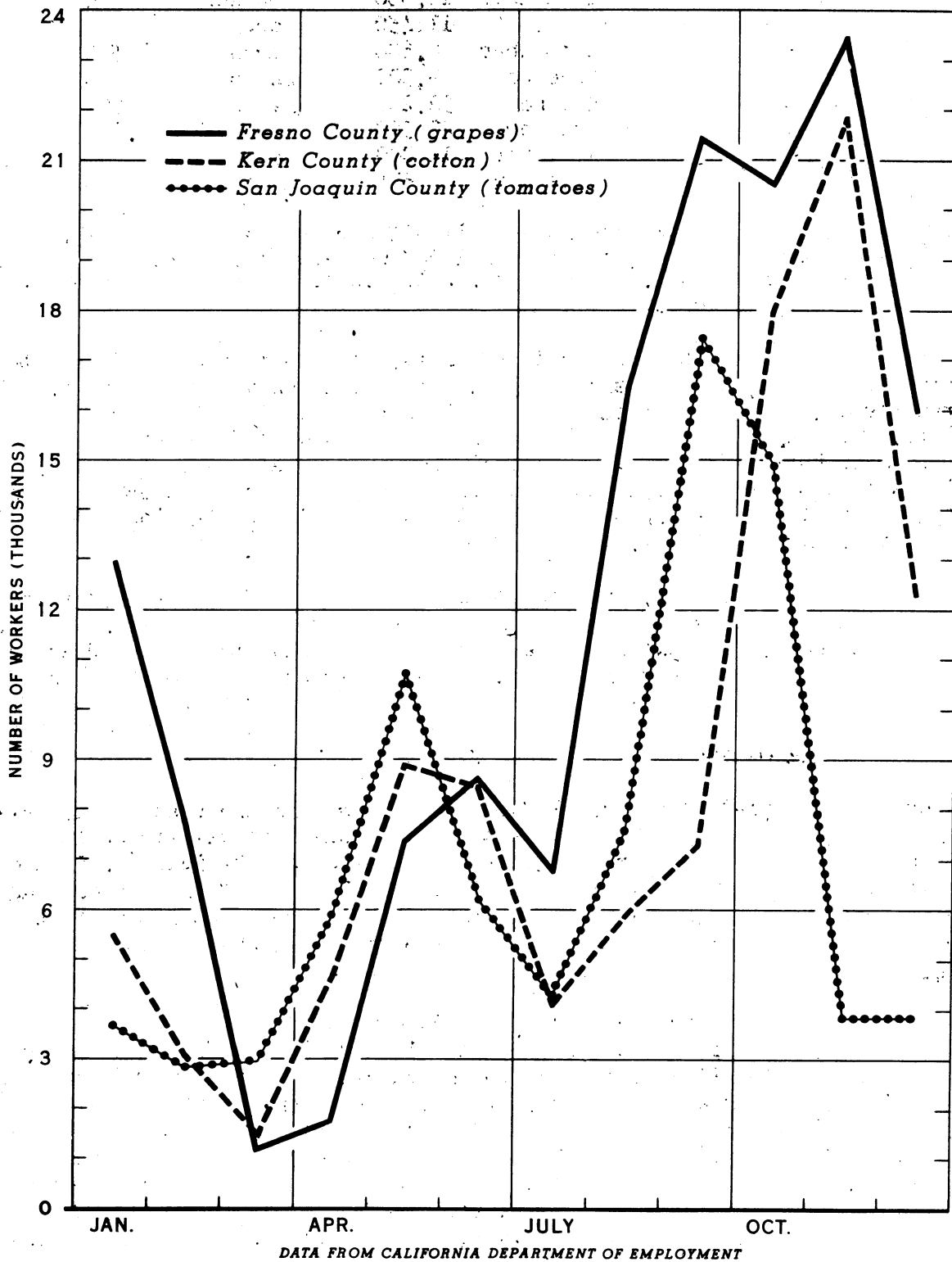


FIGURE 3

Table 3.-Population, number in labor force, and in selected industry groups, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1940 ^{1/}

Group	Number	Percent
Population	735,384	
Persons over 14	563,745	
Not in labor force	275,079	
Employed	234,563	100.0
Agriculture	79,234	33.8
Non-agriculture	155,329	66.2
Petroleum	9,096	3.9
Construction	12,336	5.3
Manufacturing		
Food and kindred products	8,889	3.8
Other manufacturing industries	9,979	4.2
Transportation, communications, utilities	14,920	6.4
Trade	42,261	18.0
Finance and insurance	5,241	2.2
Service	40,200	17.1
Miscellaneous	12,407	5.3
(Government, forestry, fishery, mining, quarrying, and industries not reported)		

^{1/} Source: U. S. Census, 1940.

As the nonfarm industries are so closely tied up with agricultural activities they tend to go through similar seasonal and cyclical fluctuations. This is particularly noticeable in areas where there is much specialization in a particular crop. In those areas the activities of the entire business and production system are likely to fluctuate with the prosperity or depression of the producers of the local agricultural specialty.

NATURE OF THE 1948 SEASON

Agriculture in California is highly sensitive to changing economic conditions. During periods when a decline in prices is anticipated California growers begin to cut the costs of production. These ordinarily are relatively high, and a rapid price decline may bring about heavy financial losses. The year 1948 was marked by this kind of uncertainty. Postwar declines in farm prices were anticipated; but labor, equipment, water, power, and other costs were still high. Therefore many growers followed a policy of hiring fewer workers and reducing their expenditures for such work as cultivating, spraying, fertilizing, and land leveling. Some discharged highly paid workers and hired others at lower rates. Others discharged their year-round employees and hired workers on a day-by-day basis instead.

Both the type of labor force and the amount of employment in the Valley in 1948 were directly affected by the nature of the season. Four elements combined to make it an abnormal year. These were: (1) The short 1947 cotton season, (2) the delayed winter rains, (3) the cold spring, and (4) the high acreage in cotton.

The cotton crop in the Valley normally provides irregular employment all through the winter, for workers who need money can still snap cotton in February and March. But the fall of 1947 was so dry and clear, and the work force was so ample, that practically all the cotton was out by the first of the year. This was fortunate for the growers but a calamity for those farm workers who did not have money to carry their families through the slack months of January through April.

The dry weather also caused a curtailment of spring cultural operations. By February 1, 1948, only 0.79 of an inch of rain had fallen in Kern County and 1.66 inches in Fresno, compared with a normal of 2.9 and 4.86 inches, respectively. As farmers were not sure they could plant their crops they discharged many of their workers at the time they would normally hire additional ones for such work as plowing, cultivating, and irrigating. The rains finally came in March and April accompanied by windstorms that blew the topsoil off the cotton seed, necessitating replanting. Growers, still wary, hired a minimum number of workers for the spring.

The work situation did not improve greatly during the spring and early summer. The late season caused crops to mature slowly and often to be of poor quality. Workers would move to a place at the normal time for harvesting a crop and find the cotton still 2 or 3 weeks away from maturity. Living costs were high and many had to leave before the harvest started. Those who remained found that the crops ripened slowly and unevenly and that it was difficult to earn much at piece rates.

Farm workers who left the Valley when the cotton harvest was completed in January 1948 did not fare any better. They flooded the labor market in the Imperial County. Toward the end of the month the pea crop in Imperial County was practically wiped out by frost and several thousand workers were stranded. The Red Cross and other relief organizations helped them out. Workers who planned to follow the peas into other areas were also disappointed as the yields were light.

The reduced demand for labor during the first half of the season produced erratic and disorganized movements of the labor force. Families without funds who had never followed the crops before set out to find work. Those who had settled down during the war had to take to the road. Welfare authorities were strictly limited in the amount of assistance they could give stranded workers. Appeals to State authorities brought no help as these officials pronounced it a local matter. Workers sold their watches, radios, spare tires, and other personal property, to get food. Some grocers who were deluged for credit said the situation was worse than at any time during the thirties. 9/

This picture changed during the fall. The largest cotton crop had been planted in the history of the Valley — 800,000 acres compared with a prewar average of 300,000. The yield was normal and piece rates for picking were relatively high — \$3 per hundred pounds for first picking. Workers left the half-picked fields of tomatoes, prunes, and grapes, to pick cotton. The fall weather was dry and warm and the workers could meet their daily financial needs again. This time they made a special effort "to lay something by," to meet periods of slack employment.

9/ The plight of the 50,000 unemployed farm workers in the Valley is described in the San Francisco Chronicle, March 24-25, 1948.

There was more movement in 1948, therefore, than there had been for several years, and fewer days of work. Erratic movements of the workers produced such dislocations of the labor force as this: Workers living in Tulare County rushed away to find work in the cherries and apricots, many of them going on into Oregon and Washington. When the nectarines and plums ripened in that county several weeks later the usual local labor supply was scattered all along the Coast and some growers in the county did not have enough workers to harvest their crops.

Many migrants claimed that fewer workers were available in 1948 than in other years. Their theory was that many people had gone back to the Southwest at the end of the cotton season when they saw a long period of unemployment ahead of them, and had not returned. This may have been true at the early part of the season but by cotton-picking time the largest force in the history of the industry was available. Officials of the California Farm Labor Placement Service estimated it at 85,000 people. The labor supply for some crops was short but this was always coupled with low earnings, due mostly to poor crops, slow ripening, small fruit, and similar factors that reduced worker output. Growers were slow to raise the piece rates under such conditions as their own returns for the season were uncertain. These maldistributions of the labor supply added to the general confusion of the 1948 season.

SURVEY OF 1948 FARM-LABOR FORCE IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY

According to the plans, this is the first of several studies to be made of the agricultural labor force in various sections of the State. The objective is to obtain as accurate a picture as possible of the composition of the hired farm-labor force, the extent to which it shifts between farm and nonfarm employment, the extent to which its members are employed locally or move from place to place, the employment they obtain in the course of a season, and the types of work they do.

In connection with this survey 512 farm workers were interviewed as to the crops, localities, and operations in which they and the members of their families had worked during the past 12 months; the time worked and the days lost; their shifts between farm and nonfarm employment, and the means by which they obtained work. They were selected to constitute as accurate a cross-section of the farm-labor force in the Valley as possible. Guidance as to the make-up of this cross-section was obtained, county by county, from officials at the Farm Labor Offices of the California State Employment Service and other informed people. ^{10/} They indicated the racial composition of the local work force, the proportion that was resident and migratory, and the proportion that was year-round and seasonal.

THE SAMPLE

Of the 512 workers in the sample, 393 were Anglo-American, 76 were Mexican, 26 Negro, and 17 Filipino. These numbers are roughly in proportion to the number of each of these groups in the farm work force in the Valley.

A total of 445 of the 512 farm workers had families; 67 were unattached. The single workers were mostly Anglo-American or Filipino. Of the 438 wives, 257 did

^{10/} See note on Methods Used at end of report.

some work for pay during the year, 204 did farm work only, 32 worked at nonfarm jobs only, and 21 did both farm and nonfarm work. The number of children and other dependents in their households was 1,152, of whom 246 did some work for pay. Except for a few cases, they helped their parents or relatives on farm jobs.

Hence the survey covered 2,113 persons, an average of 4.1 per family. Of these 1,026 had done some work during the past year — an average of 2 persons per family unit. (Table 4)

Table 4.—Persons covered in sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Group	: Anglo- : American	: Latin- : American	: Negro	: Filipino	: Total
Singles and irregular	52	9	3	12	76
Heads	352	67	23	5	447
Wives	343	67	23	5	438
Working 1/	216	24	17	0	257
Non-working	127	43	6	5	181
Children and other dependents	886	218	36	12	1,152
Working 1/	194	47	5	0	246
Non-working	692	171	31	12	906
Total persons	1,633	361	85	34	2,113
Average per family	4.1	4.8	3.3	2.0	4.1
Average excluding singles 2/	4.6	5.3	3.6	4.4	4.8
Total workers	814	147	48	17	1,026
Average per family	2.0	1.9	1.8	1.0	2.0
Average excluding singles 2/	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.0	2.1

1/ Those who worked for pay during past 12 months.

2/ For family groups only, excluding single persons.

Workers were interviewed at the quarters they were occupying rather than in the field. In counties that have numerous worker settlements (such as Tulare, Kern, and Stanislaus), the interviews were usually at their permanent homes. In other areas they were usually made in labor camps. The 512 families or economic groups were interviewed at the following types of habitations:

66 in 19 grower camps
 54 in 14 labor contractor camps
 97 in 12 grower association camps
 127 in 39 private commercial camps
 7 in 3 city camps
 161 in 29 town residential areas

Workers who lived in camps were more migratory than those who had homes. Of the 512 families, 226 lived and worked in one county, 138 worked in another county during the slack period at home, and 148 made a seasonal circuit of three, four, five, or more counties. A few covered the entire Pacific Coast.

An occupational classification of these workers has several complications. Some had no fixed occupation. Apparently they moved about according to their whims and engaged in any job they could find; the proportion of these people was not large. Another group might be classified as displaced: a rather sudden change had thrown them into the farm-labor market. The largest number of these were nonfarm workers who had quit, been laid off, or been discharged. Some had been farm or business operators. Others had been discharged from year-round farm jobs and were filling in with other work until they could locate a more permanent position. They usually were new at obtaining seasonal farm work.

A total of 71 might be classified as displaced and 441 as being engaged in rather regular work routines.

Of the 512 heads of economic units, 315 engaged only in farm work during the year; 197 did some work in town, usually in food processing operations or in construction activities.

A simple but not too precise method of classifying the workers is according to the complexity of the farm operations they do:

- 152 workers engaged in harvest work only — picking fruit, field crops, or vegetables.
- 109 workers did harvest work plus such work as thinning fruit, chopping cotton, and hoeing sugar beets.
- 203 did seasonal general farm work — pruning, spraying, irrigating, cultivating, hauling, etc.; usually this was in addition to harvest and preharvest work.
- 48 worked at least part of the year as year-round workers, on the basis of continuous year-round employment for one farm operator.

This classification over-emphasizes the number of general and year-round farm workers, as all people who did work of those types for any part of the year are included.

THE UNIT OF STUDY

Labor-force studies ordinarily deal with the individual worker as the unit of study, irrespective of sex or family status. But such studies are based on the urban pattern of employment, in which father, son, wife, or daughter, if in the labor market at all, is likely to have his or her own job and kind of employment. The agricultural work pattern is different. The earning unit is usually the family rather than the individual. Members of the family may sometimes work at very different jobs, but the most common pattern is for them to work together. The work of the head of the household is fundamental; that of the other members is largely supplementary and sporadic.

The one dependable unit of study, therefore, is the head of the household. This group also includes those unattached workers who are economically on their own. So this study revolves around 512 persons who represent that many separate economic units. The activities of the other household members are dealt with more briefly.

In agriculture, the terms "in the labor market" and "employed" lose much of their meaning when applied to members other than the head of a household. The

usual situation is for the husband to get a farm job and to be helped as much as possible by other members of the family. The amount of assistance depends mainly on the age of the children, the ruggedness of the wife, the financial status of the group, and the extent to which employers are willing to allow women and children in the field. In crops like cotton, in which family labor is common, wives with small children spend relatively short hours in the field, and while there may devote considerable time to caring for their families. Young people in the field usually do a good deal of playing. A few have been trained to work dependably but more of them resist efforts to keep them on the job. To classify them on the same basis as urban workers who are either employed or unemployed would be a mistake.

A possible exception could be made in the case of the families of tractor and truck drivers, irrigators, and other workers who work at tasks at which other members of the family cannot help. If wives and children in such families work it usually is on jobs of their own.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WORKERS

The most important element in the work force in the Valley — the "Okies" — are usually previous tenants or sharecroppers from the Southwest. Their friendly, easy-going ways have undergone some changes in California. They haven't been carried along by a landlord; Californians have demanded that they look out for themselves. With the available employment being so irregular, this has been difficult for them to do. Their children have helped in the cotton fields and in the fruit orchards as much as the law would permit. Now many of the parents are old, and their children have set out for themselves, yet they still follow the crops. Both generations can be found in the cotton fields, and members of the third generation may also have small cotton sacks and pick enough cotton to earn a daily coke or candy bar.

The Mexican, the chief competitor of the "Okie", is also a family man and is also amiable and good-natured. Many growers prefer Mexicans to "Okies" because they are not so easily insulted by quick demands or sharp criticism. They work in the vegetable crops and sugar beets, at stoop labor under a hot sun, and never falter unless they become addicted to alcohol.

Mexicans are most numerous at the southern end of the Valley, and Filipinos are concentrated in the Delta area around Stockton. They are usually short and agile and can easily cut twice as much asparagus in a day as the comparatively slow "white," Mexican, or Negro worker. But many of them came to the United States as young men before World War I and are getting old. The asparagus growers are wondering who can take their place when they can no longer get out into the fields 7 days a week, rain or shine, during the 3-month asparagus season. The Mexicans are likely to be unmarried and they like the bright lights of Skid Row in Stockton.

The Negroes are still outsiders except for a few long-established communities in Bakersfield, Tulare, Alpaugh, and Wasco. They are still settling in those localities and in Fresno, Stockton, Delano, and other centers. Their specialty is cotton and they have some difficulty in getting into other lines of farm work, so they frequently work in connection with a hotel, cafe, or garage, or with a trucking firm. The incoming Negroes are young and are not so likely to have large families. They like California and encourage their friends and relatives to come.

PLACE OF ORIGIN

Variability was an outstanding characteristic of members of the sample group. All four races were represented, some 4 or 5 foreign countries, and 32 of the States. Yet this variability was confined to one-third of the group. Two-thirds of them were from the southwestern States and more than one-third from Oklahoma. (Table 5.) Compared with this, only 3.7 percent came from the southeastern States, 2.9 percent from the Midwest, and 2.0 percent from the Northeast.

Table 5.-State, region, or country of origin, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Area	: Anglo-American	: Latin American	: Negro	: Filipino	: Total	: Percent of Total
<u>Southwest</u>	297	18	15		330	64.4
Oklahoma	161	1	7		169	33.0
Texas	58	17	6		81	15.8
Arkansas	48		2		50	9.8
Missouri	30				30	5.8
<u>Southeast</u>	17		2		19	3.8
Tennessee	9		1		10	2.0
Louisiana	5		1		6	1.2
Georgia	3				3	.6
<u>West</u>	56	34	9		99	19.3
Arizona	33	10	4		47	9.2
New Mexico	8	5			13	2.5
California	4	15			19	3.7
Oregon	4				4	.8
Washington	1		2		3	.6
Other	6	4	3		13	2.5
Midwest	14	1			15	2.9
Northeast	9	1			10	2.0
Mexico		22			22	4.3
Philippines				14	14	2.7
Hawaii				3	3	.6
Total	393	76	26	17	512	100.0
Percent of total	76.8	14.8	5.1	3.3	100.0	

The proportion who came from the Western States was 19.3. On closer inquiry these also indicated that they had come at one time from Oklahoma, Texas, or Arkansas, and had settled for a time in Arizona, New Mexico, or Washington. Four of the 393 Anglo-American workers had been born in California.

Fifteen percent of the workers in the sample were of Mexican origin. These people were comparatively numerous at the southern end of the Valley, but except for the tomato harvest, were not commonly found toward the northern end. Approximately 30 percent had come to California from Mexico and 20 percent from Texas. Another 20 percent had been born in California. None of these workers were Mexican Nationals imported under governmental contract since practically all had been removed from the Valley before the 1948 season.

The number of Negroes in the farm-work force in the Valley fluctuates. Most of them have come into the area only recently and when they cannot find enough work they have to leave for Los Angeles or other cities. Five percent of the workers in the sample were Negroes and a majority of these came from Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas.

A total of 17 Filipino workers were included in the sample — 16 from the asparagus area near Stockton and 1 from the vegetable area in Fresno County. Three came from Hawaii and the others from the Philippine Islands.

A sprinkling of Japanese workers were returning to the Valley at the time the survey was made but they were so few and so scattered that no attempt was made to obtain a sample of them.

TIME IN CALIFORNIA

The workers generally have lived in the State but a short time. Only 15 percent of the 512 farm workers in the sample were in California before 1939, and these were largely of Mexican extraction. The real influx started around 1935. From that year through 1939, 20.7 percent of them came to the State. In the 6 years, from 1940 through 1945, 38 percent more came in; the rest came in after 1945. (Table 6.)

Table 6.—Period came to California, sample of farm labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Time	: Anglo- : American		: Latin : American		: Negro		: Filipino		: Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Born here	4	1.0	15	19.8					19	3.7
Came prior to 1929	24	6.1	23	30.3			12	70.6	59	11.5
1930 - 1934	24	6.1	3	3.9			5	29.4	32	6.3
1935 - 1939	93	23.7	7	9.2	1	3.8			101	19.7
1940 - 1941	53	13.5	5	6.6	2	7.7			60	11.7
1942 - 1943	58	14.7	7	9.2	7	26.9			72	14.1
1944 - 1945	46	11.7	6	7.9	11	42.5			63	12.3
1946	27	6.9	1	1.3	3	11.5			31	6.1
1947	29	7.4	3	3.9	1	3.8			33	6.4
1948	35	8.9	6	7.9	1	3.8			42	8.2
Total	393	100.0	76	100.0	26	100.0	17	100.0	512	100.0

The picture of recent entry is further clarified when the workers are divided into nationality groups. All the Filipinos came into the State between 1920 and 1934. Their migration to this country started after the first World War, and was restricted after 1934. More than 50 percent of the Mexican workers had come to the State before 1929, approximately 24 percent came in during the war, and almost 8 percent had come in during the past 12 months. These were not Mexican Nationals

but workers who had come in from Texas, Colorado, and other states to work in California. 11/

Only 1 of the 26 Negro workers in the sample was in California before 1939. Most of them, 69.4 percent, came in during the period 1942-45. Their movement into the State tapered off after the war and amounted to only 3.8 percent of the total number of the group both in 1947 and in 1948.

Only 13.2 percent of the Anglo-American workers were in California before 1935. During the next 5 years of drought and displacement, 23.7 percent came in. Migration of this group into the State continued at a heavy rate during and after the war. Forty percent of them came in during the 6 years 1940-45; 22.3 percent came in during the last 3 years.

These figures, particularly in regard to Anglo-American workers, also point toward a heavy movement out of the farm-work force. Many farm workers who had come to California in the migration waves of the thirties evidently had been able to find employment in canneries, packing houses, filling stations, and in other nonfarm work and had given up farm work. They were assisted in this process by unemployment insurance which tided them over slack periods at the canneries, in construction work, or at other seasonal types of nonfarm activity. Their places in the farm-work force were taken by more recent entrants into the State.

AGE

The age groupings that seemed most important for farm workers were: Under 35, 35-54, and 55 and over. The first one included the young year-round workers who drove trucks and tractors, loaded sacks and boxes, and were in demand for general farm work. The group also included some young men who had recently been released from the army and had not yet settled down to steady farm work.

It was a common saying among farm workers that they were through at the age of 55. But almost 20 percent of the workers in the sample were above this age. They ordinarily were not hired for jobs that required the use of machinery or ladders but were at no great disadvantage in such work as chopping and picking cotton.

The proportion in these three age groups as compared with the proportions in the male civilian labor force in the United States is as follows:

	<u>Sample group</u>		<u>United States</u>
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Percent 12/</u>
Under 35	156	30.5	41.4
35 - 54	262	51.2	40.0
55 and over	94	18.3	18.6

11/ For movement of Mexican and Oriental workers into California agriculture see Varden Fuller, "The Supply of Agricultural Labor as a Factor in the Evolution of Farm Organization in California," Ph. D. thesis, University of California, 1939.

12/ Data from "Annual Report on the Labor Force, 1948," U. S. Bureau of the Census, Washington, D. C.

The difference in the proportions below 35 years of age and between 35 and 55 is probably largely due to the fact that the data are not strictly comparable. The San Joaquin Valley sample includes only heads of households whereas the Census count is of all male workers. Almost one-third of the Census group from 14 to 35 years old are under 21 years old and therefore probably living at home with their parents.

FAMILY SIZE AND COMPOSITION

The count in regard to economic family units raised some questions because two or more related families sometimes lived and worked together so closely as almost to constitute a single unit. Unless the economic unit was complete only one of such families was included in the survey. There were two major types of situations in which a "doubled-up" family was counted as a single unit: (1) when a married daughter, possibly with a child or two, was divorced from her husband and lived and worked with her parents, (2) when one or both parents, too old to support themselves completely, now lived with one of their children and became part of the economic unit.

Close association between economic units was not confined to family groups. Unattached workers sometimes traveled together with varying economic, financial, and housekeeping arrangements. There were 67 of these units comprising 74 persons.

A comparison between the types of family or economic units in the sample and in the United States population generally could easily be overdone but will serve to give a general idea of the types of family units involved in the labor force of the Valley. Unattached persons constituted 13 percent, compared with 18 percent in the Nation generally. (Table 7.) This was in spite of the unattached Filipinos and "bindle stiffs." The proportion of families with one to two children was about the same in the sample as for the United States. The differences were in the proportion of childless couples and in the proportion that had 3 or more children. Only 18 percent in the sample were married couples without children in the household; the proportion in the United States was 39.7. On the other hand, 39.5 percent of the farm-labor families had 3 or more children compared with 11.4 percent for the United States — or approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as many.

Large family groups were not uncommon. There were 23 families with 8 members, 10 families with 9, 8 with 10 members, 1 with 12, and 1 with 13. In several of the larger family groups all the children were below working age. During the lean spring months such families had to resort to public assistance.

Families of Mexican workers averaged larger than for the other groups 4.8 persons compared with 4.1 persons for Anglo-Americans, 3.3 for Negroes, and 2.0 for Filipinos (Table 4). Most of the Filipinos were single but those who had married had small families. It was also a point of pride with Filipino husbands that their wives were at home caring for the family rather than working in the fields. Most of the Negroes were married but their families were small. The wife usually worked in the field during the cotton chopping and picking seasons.

The tradition among Mexicans that the wife works until she bears children was generally carried out but wives with children sometimes worked in packing sheds or in the cotton. Mexican wives generally, however, were much less likely to work than those of the Anglo-Americans.

Table 7.-Type of family unit, sample of farm-labor force,
San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948.

Type of group	: Number in : each type	:Proportion in: : each type	:Proportion in :U. S. population 1/
	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Unattached	67	13.1	18.0
Husband and wife	92	18.0	39.7
Husband only works	27	5.3	
Both work	65	12.7	
Husband, wife, and 1-2 children	151	29.5	30.9
Husband only works	56	10.9	
Husband and wife work	61	11.9	
Husband, wife, and children work	24	4.7	
Husband and children work	10	2.0	
Husband, wife, and 3 or more children	202	39.4	11.4
Husband only works	47	9.2	
Husband and wife work	62	12.1	
Husband, wife, and children work	52	10.1	
Husband and children work	41	8.0	
Total	512	100.0	100.0

1/ Data from "Characteristics of Households, Families, and Individuals:
April 1948," U. S. Census, Current Population Reports.

Whether the wives of Anglo-Americans worked or not also seemed to be related to family tradition. Wives in families from the South expected to do their share of work in the cotton fields. On the other hand, women did not expect to engage in cultivation, irrigation, spraying, and hauling as they considered that a man's work. Therefore it was usual for the wives and children of migratory harvest workers to be in the field with the head of the family, but the wife of the year-round tractor driver, milker, or truck-driver was likely to confine her activities to her home. The year-round employees sometimes came from a somewhat different economic and cultural level than the harvest workers.

OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUNDS

The workers were questioned in regard to their major employment during three periods: 1938-40, 1943-45, and 1946-48. This was done to get a general idea of their occupational background — before, during, and after the war. The results do not supply a complete record of their occupational movements. Some worked in the shipyards or were in the armed forces for only a few months; such activities do not show in this account.

A second point is that all the interviewed workers were in farm work at the time of the survey. Almost half of them had gravitated from other lines of work, usually farm operator or nonfarm employment, to farm work. This affords but one aspect of the occupational changes connected with farm labor in the Valley. As workers now in urban employment but previously in farm work were not interviewed, the strong movement in the opposite direction — that is, from agricultural work to industry and business — does not show in this report.

PREWAR OCCUPATIONS

During the period 1938 to 1940, approximately half of the workers in the sample were engaged in farm work, slightly more than one-fifth were at nonfarm jobs, and another fifth were farm operators. (Table 8, fig. 4.) A few had not yet entered the labor force. The nonfarm jobs most commonly engaged in were construction work, oil-field activities, and truck driving.

Table 8.—Major occupation in 1938-40, 1943-5, and 1946-8, of workers in sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

		Major occupation		Number	Percent
1938-40	1943-5	1946-8			
				109	21.3
Farm operators 1/	Farm operator	Farm operator	8		
	Army	Farm operator	3		
	Farm operator	Farm work	15		
	Farm operator	Nonfarm	2		
	Farm work	Farm work	48		
	Armed forces	Farm work	5		
	War industry	Farm work	16		
	Other nonfarm	Farm work	8		
	Other nonfarm	Nonfarm	4		
				252	49.2
Farm workers	Farm work	Farm work	159		
	Farm operator	Farm operator	1		
	Farm operator	Farm work	3		
	Armed forces	Farm work	33		
	War industry	Farm work	31		
	Other nonfarm	Farm work	10		
	Other nonfarm	Nonfarm	8		
	Farm work	Nonfarm	4		
	Army	Nonfarm	3		
				113	22.1
Nonfarm 2/	Nonfarm	Nonfarm	35		
	Construction	Construction	10		
	Extraction	Extraction	7		
	Other nonfarm	Other nonfarm	18		

(Continued)

Table 8.-Major occupation in 1938-40, 1943-5, and 1946-8, of workers
in sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948
(continued)

		Major occupation			
1938-40	:	1943-5	:	1946-8	: Number : Percent
Nonfarm		Nonfarm		Farm work	56
Construction		Construction		Farm work	8
Extraction		Extraction		Farm work	9
Transportation		Transportation		Farm work	10
Extraction		War industry		Farm work	10
Other nonfarm		War industry		Farm work	9
Nonfarm		Other nonfarm		Farm work	1
Nonfarm		Armed forces		Farm work	9
Nonfarm		Farm work		Farm work	22
Construction		Farm work		Farm work	8
Extraction		Farm work		Farm work	6
Other nonfarm		Farm work		Farm work	8
					38 7.4
		Not in labor force		Not in labor force	1
		Not in labor force		Farm work	10
		Not in labor force		Nonfarm	1
		Farm work		Not in labor force	1
Not in labor		Farm work		Farm work	1
force 3/		Armed forces		Farm work	10
		Nonfarm		Farm work	2
		Nonfarm		Nonfarm	1
Grand Total					512 100.0

- 1/ Owners and tenants classed as operators, sharecroppers as laborers.
2/ Includes those in business for themselves.
3/ Includes 4 in armed forces 1938-40. Others not in labor force usually were in school.

CHANGES DURING THE WAR

The picture was very different in 1943-45. Only 163 of the 252 who had been principally engaged in farm work just before the war were employed as farm workers during this period. Thirty-six of them had gone into the armed forces; 31 worked in the shipyards, aircraft plants, and other wartime industries; 18 were in other lines of nonfarm activity; and four had gone into farming for themselves.

Of the 109 who had principally been farm operators before the war only 25 continued. Eight had gone into the armed forces, 16 into war industries, and 12 into other lines of nonfarm employment. Significantly, 48 of them had shifted from farm operator to farm work. This shift was often associated with a move to California or to another State.

PAST OCCUPATIONS OF HIRED FARM WORKERS IN SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, 1948

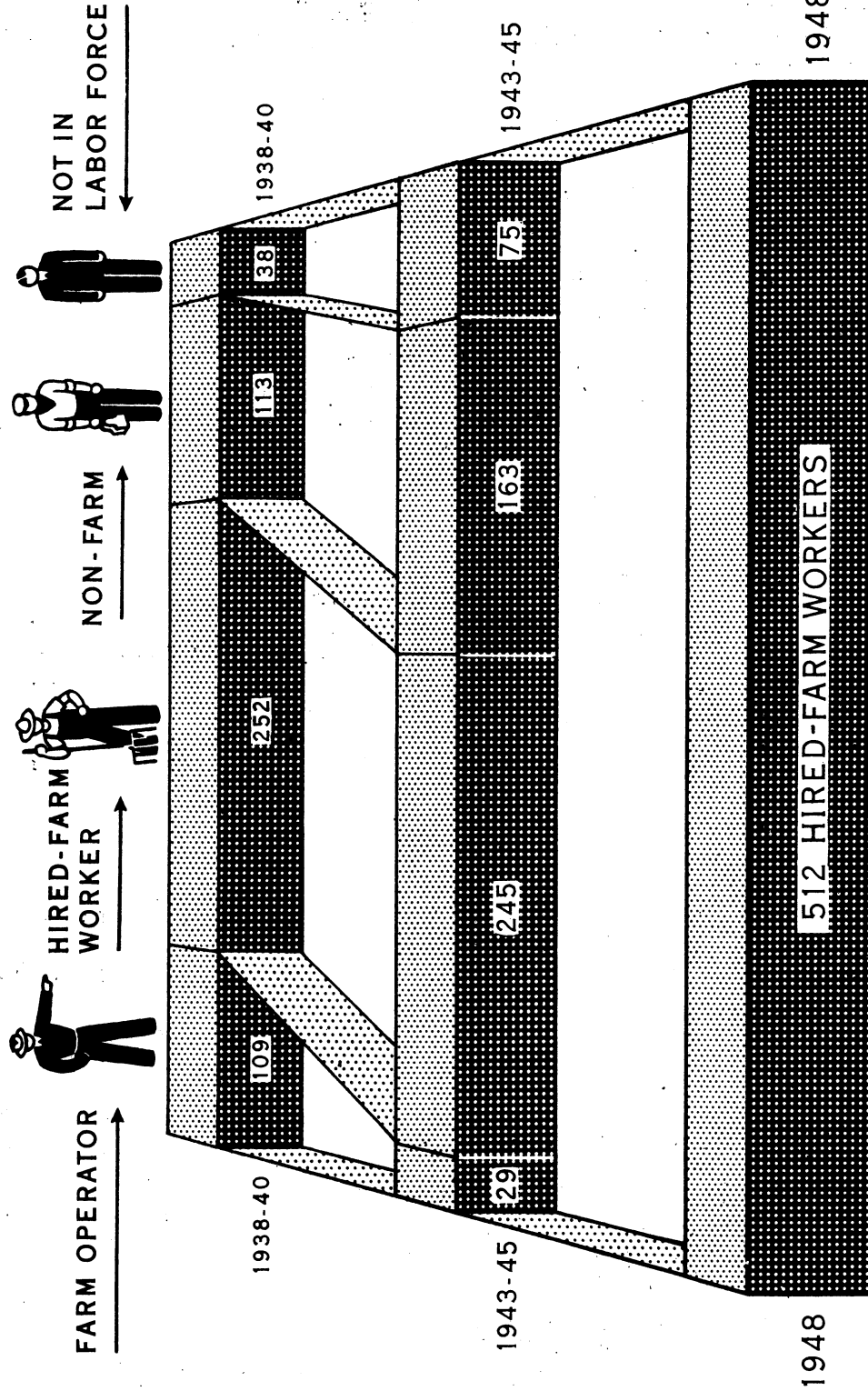


FIGURE 4

A total of 22 of the 113 workers in nonfarm employment before the war shifted to farm work and were still following it from 1946 to 1948. Nineteen of them went into war industries and 9 into the armed forces. Their position in the urban work force must have been marginal as all of them were principally in farm work during the postwar years.

Fifteen of the 38 who were not in the work force before the war entered it during the war and 10 more went into the armed forces. Twelve of the 15 went into farm work.

During the 1943-45 period, then, a total of 29 were farm operators compared with 109 immediately before the war; 245 were in farm work compared with 252; and 163 were in nonfarm activities compared with 113. In addition, 63 were in the armed forces. A total of 77 persons had shifted from agriculture to industry, while 22 had shifted from industry to agriculture.

POSTWAR OCCUPATIONS

Not all the 512 farm workers were principally employed in farm work during 1946-48. Some had only been in farm work for a few days before the interview. Twelve were largely farm operators, 55 were nonfarm workers, 3 were in the armed forces, and 2 were not in the labor force.

Changes over the entire 10-year period were significant. Only 11 of the 109 farm operators still were principally in that business. Only 35 of the original 113 nonfarm persons were still primarily in nonfarm work. A total of 236 of the 252 original farm workers were at farm work again, although approximately one-third of them had been out of it during the 1943-45 period. Four of the farm workers had risen to farm operators but three had dropped back to farm work. (The fourth lost his farm during the spring of 1948.) Most of the rest were in the armed forces or in the shipyards, and shifted back to farm work later.

The nonfarm workers included 26 who were connected with construction activities. They usually worked as carpenters or painters, or as laborers on large construction projects. Most of the 32 connected with extractive industries worked in the oil fields in Oklahoma or in the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. The next largest group, transportation workers, included several types of persons. Some were principally truck drivers, others were employees in railroad section crews, some hauled produce on a contract basis. Truckers who bought, hauled, and sold farm produce or other goods, as well as doing small hauling jobs, were classed as business men.

Not all those who were in nonfarm employment could be classed as unskilled. The group included a foreman of a steel plant, a crane operator in a tube mill, a locomotive fireman, a steamfitter, an owner-operator of two grocery stores, an owner-operator of a filling station and tank truck business, a musician, and several ministers.

TYPES OF WORK DONE DURING THE PREVIOUS TWELVE MONTHS

It is impossible to make a simple and accurate occupational classification of all the workers. Some were employed at several lines of farm and nonfarm work during the previous season. One illustration will suffice: A worker in Tulare County was currently engaged in picking cotton. Two weeks before he had quit work in a small sawmill in the hills, to come to the cotton harvest. Prior to a week's employment at the sawmill he had worked for 2 weeks in a brush factory in San Francisco. He reported he was really a painter by trade but did this other work for a week as he had become subject to paint poisoning. During the summer he worked for 2 months in a cannery at Tulare. Before that he had been employed for 2 months at general farm work — pruning trees, irrigating, and thinning apricots and peaches.

This is an extreme case, but it indicates that careful generalization is needed if a worker is to be classified accurately. Although the man in question was a painter by trade his past year's work would cause him to be classified otherwise.

Although all the interviewed persons were engaged in farm work at the time of the interview, some had only recently left urban employment. A few were doing some harvest work to help finance a vacation in the open air. More of them were doing farm work during the slack season in their regular employment in construction or cannery activities, a shift they made each year. Almost 40 percent of them had done some kind of nonfarm work during the previous year. (Table 9.) ^{13/}

Farm jobs can be classified roughly into harvest, preharvest, and general farm work. Harvest jobs are highly seasonal and generally require a minimum knowledge of agriculture. In this case they include only picking and ranch packing. Related harvest work, as hauling, swamping, turning raisin trays, working in the dry yard or at the dehydrator, have been classed as general farm work.

Preharvest operations are rather similar to the hand operations in the harvest. They consist of thinning peaches, apricots, or other fruit crops, chopping cotton, and hoeing sugar beets or other field or vegetable crops.

General farm work includes cultivating, hauling, spraying, and other work involving the handling of farm equipment. It also includes pruning, irrigating, and caring for hay, grain, poultry, or livestock.

Approximately 30 percent of the workers did harvest work only. This usually meant picking the fruits in season, then picking tomatoes, or cotton. More than half of these people did some nonfarm work in addition to their harvest activities.

More than 20 percent did harvest work plus preharvest jobs. These workers were much more likely to remain in farm work the entire year. Only 16.3 percent worked at nonfarm jobs.

^{13/} There is no sharp dividing line between farm and nonfarm work particularly in packing-shed labor. Work in commercial packing houses has been classified as nonfarm; in growers' packing sheds as farm.

Table 9.-Type of farm work done, sample of farm-labor force,
San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948 ^{1/}

Type of farm work done	Workers who did						Total
	Farm work		Farm and non-				
	only		farm work				
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Harvest work only	69	21.9	83	42.1	152	29.7	
Harvest and preharvest	77	24.4	32	16.3	109	21.3	
General farm work only	33	10.5	15	7.6	48	9.4	
Year-round	29	9.2	1	.5	30	5.9	
Seasonal	4	1.3	14	7.1	18	3.5	
General and harvest work	62	19.7	45	22.8	107	20.9	
General and preharvest	17	5.4	6	3.1	23	4.5	
General, harvest and preharvest	57	18.1	16	8.1	73	14.2	
Total	315	100.0	197	100.0	512	100.0	
Percent of total		61.5		38.5		100.0	

^{1/} Basis of classification:

Harvest: picking and packing jobs only.

Preharvest: thinning, chopping, hoeing.

General farm work: primarily handling equipment or livestock, but includes pruning, irrigating, and swamping.

Less than 10 percent of the workers were employed at general farm work only. These were usually employed by one operator on a year-round or long-season basis. The others worked in canneries or packing houses during the summer or fall, and then did pruning, cultivating, and irrigating during the winter and spring.

The remaining 40 percent did a combination of harvest, preharvest, and general farm-work jobs. During the winter and spring they did pruning, cultivating, and irrigating. At harvest time they switched to picking fruit and other crops. Some did general farm work all season until cotton-picking time when there was little general farm work to be done; then they went into the cotton field. Those workers who engaged only in harvest and general farm work were likely to have some nonfarm employment during the year. Those who engaged in the whole work cycle of general, harvest, and preharvest operations were more likely to stay in farm work the entire season.

NONFARM ACTIVITIES

A total of 197 or 38.5 percent of the 512 persons in the survey did nonfarm work during the year. For 91 persons or 17.8 percent, nonfarm work was their major activity; the most common was in food processing. (Table 10.) Many more farm workers wanted to get into it than could find jobs. The rate of pay was higher than for farm jobs and it enabled them to "draw social security" during the slack season. Most of these people worked in canneries; after the cannery season was

Table 10.--Types of nonfarm activity of workers: sample of farm labor-force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Type of non-farm work done	: General farm : : workers 1/	: Harvest and: : preharvest	: Harvest : : workers :	Total	
	Number	Number	Number	Number	Percent
Food processing	28	7	20	55	27.9
Other manufacturing	12	0	9	21	10.7
Construction	11	8	19	38	19.3
Extraction	6	4	4	14	7.1
Transportation and utilities	5	2	5	12	6.1
Trade	6	1	4	11	5.6
Service	4	3	11	18	9.1
Two or more types	10	7	11	28	14.2
Total	82	32	83	197	100.0

1/ Includes all workers who engaged in general farm work at any time of the year.

over they went into field work. Some engaged in the harvests but many looked for the more skilled jobs such as hauling, tractor driving, and irrigating.

Construction men were numerous among the farm workers. They were of several types. Most usual were the men who moved about from one large construction project to another and filled in between projects with farm and other casual work. This type had been attracted to the area by the Friant-Kern Canal project but apparently had not been able to get steady work. A second group was composed of the small independent carpenters and painters whose contracts did not keep them fully employed.

There was some back-and-forth movement between the oil fields and the farms, and between section crew labor and farm employment. Other shifts between farm and nonfarm appeared to be sporadic and incidental rather than part of a routine.

A few workers had no regular pattern of employment. When they tired of one job or location they looked for another. Such workers were also frequently unstable in their personal habits.

A third group of workers that shifted from farm to nonfarm work was composed of those who hunted for any jobs they could get in town during the slack season in farm work. The young and able-bodied could get work digging cesspools. Others get sporadic work at washing and waxing cars, digging ditches, doing yard work, hauling out rubbish, and other odd jobs. Some worked on the streets and in the parks and cemeteries on a relief-work basis. Members of this last group were not included in the farm to nonfarm classification.

Some workers changed from nonfarm to farm work in order to get a place to stay. Lack of housing would force them into a "Government" camp. While there, they could work only at farm jobs except during the slack months.

RELOCATION MIGRANTS

Possibly some workers should be placed in a special category. They had suddenly been thrown into the labor market as unemployed during the year, and evidently were at a loss to know what to do next. Most of them were people who had been discharged from urban employment; to them could be added 6 of the year-round workers who were in a similar situation, and probably all 20 of the farm operators. Members of the last group had given up a farm, usually a small one, in some midwest State during the year. All were uninformed in regard to the means of getting employment and the location of the crops to be harvested. They were untrained in most of the farm operations of the California type.

Of the 71 persons in this group 60 had done some nonfarm work during the year. Forty-five could be classified as predominantly nonfarm. Of these, 6 had been operators of business establishments and 39 had been employees. They were highly mobile partially because they were at a disadvantage in getting and holding farm jobs. Sixty percent of them worked only at harvest jobs; the rest get more responsible kinds of farm work.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Movement of the workers from one type of farm operation to another is obscured to some extent by the fact that almost half of them, at some time of the year, did "general farm work." This term is very flexible. It may include any of the scores of tasks that arise in maintaining a farm and in the growing and harvesting of crops. There is some flexibility, too, in the other job classifications. Hence the data obtained are likely to understate the actual degree of change that occurred.

It was impossible to learn how many jobs many of these workers had held during the year. Some worked for one or more labor contractors for a large part of the season so they were moved from one farm to another, and possibly from one type of work to another, without having any definite information as to whose farm they were working on. But they could tell the operations they had engaged in and the approximate time they had spent at each so their mobility can best be stated in terms of the different operations they worked at during the year.

By way of illustration, the sequence of activities engaged in by some of the more mobile were as follows: (1) Farm for self in Minnesota 90 days; work in copper mill in Arizona, 80 days; pick cotton, Kern County, 10 days; work in dairy, Los Angeles County, 75 days; pick oranges, Tulare County, 14 days; pick cherries, San Joaquin County, 10 days; or (2) Pruning, Stanislaus County, 18 days; pick berries, Oregon, 24 days; construction work, Oregon, 26 days; sales and warehouse work, Contra Costa County, 12 days; pick apricots, Stanislaus County, 4 days; pick peaches, Stanislaus County, 16 days; pick hops, Sonoma County, 21 days; and pick cotton, Fresno County, 6 days.

These cases show an extreme amount of geographic and occupational mobility. But they serve as concrete illustrations of the type of farm and nonfarm operations engaged in by the workers studied, and of the kinds of shifts made. At the other extreme, a few workers had been at the same job on the same ranch for as many as 20 or 25 years.

The more nearly typical cases in the area can be presented best in terms of local crops and operations:

- A. In the Kern County cotton-potato area:
Dig cesspools, 70 days; chop cotton, 6 days; pick up potatoes, 31 days; pick melons, 15 days; pick cotton, 85 days.
- B. In the Tulare citrus-cotton area:
Pick spring oranges, 20 days; chop cotton, 26 days; cut grapes, 18 days; pick cotton, 60 days; pick fall oranges, 14 days.
- C. In the Fresno grape-cotton area:
Prune, 11 days; work at odd jobs in town, 15 days; weed and irrigate, 60 days; pick grapes, 9 days; pick cotton, 64 days.
- D. In the Stanislaus peach-apricot area:
Prune, 48 days; thin peaches, 26 days; pick apricots, 2 days; work in cannery, 76 days.
- E. In the San Joaquin tomato-grape-cherry area:
Tractor work, 70 days; dust tomatoes, 20 days; pick tomatoes, 1 day; haul tomatoes, 26 days; knock walnuts, 4 days; work in warehouse, 40 days.

These illustrations are for resident workers. Two common types of work patterns for workers who make one move are as follows:

- A. Home in Kern County, move northward in summer:
Irrigating, Kern County, 28 days; chop cotton, Kern County, 6 days; pick up potatoes, Kern County, 21 days; pick prunes, Santa Clara County, 18 days; pick walnuts, Santa Clara County, 12 days; pick cotton, Kern County, 71 days.
- B. Home in Stanislaus County, move to cotton area in fall:
Prune grapes, Tulare County, 10 days; on social security, Stanislaus County, 2 months; thin peaches, Stanislaus County, 26 days; pick berries, Stanislaus County, 21 days; work in cannery as machinist operator, Stanislaus County, 80 days; pick cotton, Tulare County, 70 days.

These illustrations of somewhat typical resident and two-county workers indicate that the work routines vary from one part of the Valley to another, depending on the local systems of crops and operations. A worker who studied the local succession of operations could obtain some continuity of employment by avoiding specialization and working at all types of farm jobs.

In every area, however, the workers exhibited some tendency to specialize. They were more adept at some operations than at others and gradually ceased doing those at which they were less proficient. Occupational specialization often was preferred even though it meant movement from one area to another.

Some farm workers tried to specialize in only one crop or type of operation. A few followed the picking of peas from the Imperial Valley northward through Kern, Merced, San Joaquin, and Sacramento Counties, and on into the northwestern States. Yet these operations afforded no employment during the fall and there was always the hazard that the pea crops in some areas would be frozen or rained out. So most of them also picked tomatoes and cotton or other crops. A few workers devoted a good part of the year to potato or cherry picking but had to fill in with other lines of work.

SPECIALIZATION AND MOBILITY BY MAJOR TYPES OF CROPS

To obtain some measure of the specialization and of movement from one type of crop activity to another, all workers in the sample were classified into six groups, depending on whether they had spent the major part of their time during the previous year in general farm work, fruit, cotton, or vegetable operations, as farm operators, or in nonfarm work. Then their minor activities were tabulated.

Only 57 had remained in the same one of these major lines of work throughout the year and for 33 of them this was general farm work. (Table 11.) Only 10 had restricted their activities to fruit and 9 to cotton operations. On the other hand, 163 had worked at two lines of activity and 177 at three lines or more. The figures point toward participation in a wide variety of tasks rather than toward specialization.

Compared with the 33 general farm workers who had remained entirely in this line of work, 104 had engaged in one, two, three, or more other lines of activity. Cotton picking and nonfarm work were the most common minor activities. In addition, 39 or more workers whose major employment had been in other lines also did some general farm work.

Workers who spent the major part of their time at fruit, cotton, or vegetable work, had an even wider range of activities. So also did those who had been farm operators or who had engaged principally in nonfarm work. Although 9 workers engaged in cotton operations alone, 109 engaged in 2 lines and 39 in 3 or more. It is significant that 84 of them engaged in nonfarm work. There is some supplementary relationship between cotton picking and summertime nonfarm employment.

There is another supplementary relationship between general farm work and cotton-harvest operations. Twenty-four who worked mainly at general farm work spent the fall in the cotton harvest.

NUMBER OF OPERATIONS PERFORMED

The preceding figures show changes between major types of crops but not between specific operations. A check over the latter portrays another aspect of the occupational mobility of the workers. The 512 persons surveyed worked at a total of 2,130 different farm or nonfarm operations during the year or an average of 4.2 per worker. One in 17 worked at only 1 operation — the broad classification known as general farm work; a few worked in as many as 9 or 10. (Table 12.) The most frequent practice was to work in 3, 4, or 5 of them.

Table 11.-Extent of specialization in major types of crops, sample of farm-labor force,
San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Major line of activity 1/	Minor lines of activity										Total
	One					Two or more					
	: General : Fruit : Cotton :Vegetable: Nonfarm:Farm work:Farm and :					: None :farm work: work : work : work : only : nonfarm :					
	: None :farm work: work : work : work : work : only : nonfarm :										
General farm work	33	0	12	24	5	23	24	16	137		
Fruit work 2/	10	16	0	6	5	11	26	8	82		
Cotton work 2/	9	8	15	0	14	72	15	24	157		
Vegetable work 2/	5	4	3	1	0	4	6	2	25		
Farm operator 4/	0	1	4	0	1	5	8	1	20		
Nonfarm work	0	10	11	17	6	0	47	0	91		
Total	57	39	45	48	31	115	126	51	512		

^{1/} Distinction between major and minor on basis of time spent on these operations during the year. This gives an advantage to general farm and cotton work which have longer seasons than fruit operations.

^{2/} Picking, chopping, and thinning only. Pruning, irrigating, cultivating, and hauling are included under general farm work.

^{3/} Includes potatoes, tomatoes, melons, and beans. Specialization was in potatoes.

^{4/} All operators included, though a few had spent more time at hired labor than in working for themselves.

Table 12.-Number of workers who engaged in a given number of operations during the previous year, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948 ^{1/}

Number of operations worked at	: Workers who engaged in a given number of operations		: Workers engaged in farm operations only	: Workers engaged both in farm and nonfarm operations	: Workers who engaged in a given number of non-farm operations			
	Number	Percent	Number	Number	No.	No.	No.	No.
1	30	5.9	30					
2	82	16.0	50	32	32			
3	91	17.8	48	43	36	7		
4	102	19.9	55	47	36	9	2	
5	78	15.2	47	31	27	2	2	
6	81	15.8	56	25	23	1		1
7	23	4.5	12	11	9	2		
8	10	2.0	8	2	2			
9	12	2.3	8	4	2	2		
10	3	.6	1	2	1	1		
Total	512	100.0	315	197	168	24	4	1

^{1/} The term "farm operation" as used here refers to a specific farm task such as picking cotton, chopping cotton, picking peaches, cutting grapes, irrigating, pruning, tractor driving, or milking. The exception is general farm work which was also accepted as a type of operation although the worker on such a job performed various farm tasks. When the same operation was performed on more than one farm or in more than one area, this has only been counted once, e.g., cherry picking in San Joaquin County, California, and in Oregon.

Shifting about from crop to crop was an absolute necessity in farm work. The habit of movement apparently also carried over to nonfarm employment. A total of 24 or almost 12.5 percent of those who did nonfarm work engaged in two different lines, 4 engaged in three lines, and 1 in four lines.

DAYS EMPLOYED DURING PREVIOUS TWELVE MONTHS

DAYS IN THE HIRED LABOR MARKET

All workers were questioned as to (1) the number of days they had worked during the previous year, (2) the specific operations they had worked at and the number of days on each, (3) the number of days they had lost because of sickness, injury, weather, travel time, vacations, and inability to find work, and (4) the number of days worked by other members of the family. The first three items provided a three-way check on the use of their time during the previous year.

It is to be remembered that many of them had not been in the hired labor market for a full year. It is impossible to say accurately just how long most of them had been in this market (farm and nonfarm) but a rough estimate on the basis of the interviews is as follows:

In the hired labor market under 100 days	5 percent
In the hired labor market 100-200 days	10-15 percent
In the hired labor market 200-300 days	25-30 percent
In the hired labor market 300 days and over	50-60 percent

Considerations entering into these estimates include the following: Some of the older and less able-bodied planned to work only in a few relatively light operations such as picking cotton and grapes. Other workers had only recently quit farming or other business for themselves, and had been in the hired labor market only a few weeks when they were interviewed.

Other workers planned to work only through the 6 or 7 heavy months and to save enough to get by for the rest of the year. This might include some cannery and some field work. The unemployment compensation derived from the cannery job would help them along when farm work was scarce.

Many workers accepted it as a matter of annual routine that there would be no work during February, March, and April. Some took trips back to Oklahoma or Arkansas or to the warm climate of Southern California or Arizona during this period. Others planned to improve their homes, set out their gardens, and the like. A few helped construct their neighbors' houses. They would not refuse a job if it were offered but were not actively seeking work as they thought there was none to be had. For some it was simply a period of unemployment; for others it is one of relaxation.

The matter of being in or out of the labor market does not mean the same thing to many of the "Okie" farm workers as it does to the industrial workers in the city. Their work traditions were fashioned in a more leisurely way of life. Their work in cotton and corn in the Southwest demanded only part of their time; the rest was their own to spend as they chose for there were no perishable crops. So in California they may work for several days or weeks, then take time out to go fishing, visit friends, or putter around the house. They report honestly, "I don't try to work all the time" or "I couldn't say just how many days I did lay off for one reason or another." These habits exasperate the usual California grower who places a high value on dependability; they also play hob with any effort to obtain precise data regarding time in the labor market.

DAYS WORKED: LABOR MARKET FACTORS

The over-all amount of employment obtained by the workers depended on two major kinds of factors; those that arose from the labor-market situation and those associated with the type of labor force. The general market situation provided a reduced amount of employment for all groups of farm workers during the 1948 season. Yet the varied types of people in the labor force resulted in a wide variation of work obtained by the individual worker.

Two labor-market factors were most commonly reported by the workers as reducing the average amount of employment obtained — the abnormality of the season and the apparent over-supply of workers. The basic elements in this abnormality have been mentioned — the short cotton-harvest season, and the delayed spring

operations (page 16). 14/ How to translate them into a figure for days lost is a question. Actually, the 1947 cotton crop was the largest in the history of the Valley and the fact that it was harvested by January 1 instead of March 1, was a matter of timing and labor supply rather than a decrease in the total labor expended. The workers put in full days during the fall rather than half-days and half-weeks during 4 or 5 rainy or foggy fall and winter months. So their estimates that they had lost from 50 to 75 days because of the early termination of the cotton season do not stand up but they may have lost some time because laborers were relatively abundant.

The same principle pertains, to a lesser extent, to the delay in spring activities. Although the growers started late because of dry weather, most of the customary spring operations had to be done. There were some real losses in employment, however, where some growers decided to do less spraying or pruning, or to curtail other work.

The main losses in days of employment probably came in the damaged and light crops of peas, cherries, and apricots. Losses of employment for workers in these crops probably ranged from 20 to as much as 50 days.

The ample labor supply was apparently a more positive factor in the reduction of days of work per worker. Both growers and workers were amazed at the large number of workers in a cotton field and with the speed at which they finished it. The spring pruning, thinning, and chopping operations were shortened in the same way. Many harvest workers remarked on the shortness of the harvest seasons. Those who had expected to pick raisin grapes at Fresno for 3 weeks, for example, found they were able to get only from 6 to 10 days of work.

The market situation, too, was rather unorganized which meant an uneven distribution of work. Some workers said in effect: "The labor contractors have got a monopoly on most of the jobs. They want to keep their crews busy, so they go from farm to farm trying to get contracts for all the work to be done. If we want any work we've got to go to the labor contractor. Then he puts a crew of 50 in a field that should have only 5 or 10, and we finish it up in a day or two. We go from one grower to another and then are told we'll have to go on with the contractor into the next county if we expect to continue to work. If we don't go along we can't find anything to do."

Or again, "We people in the camp have an advantage over those that live in town. Both the labor contractors and the growers come here if they want more workers." It was observed in one instance that this disorganized state of the market resulted in the loss of farm produce. Growers calling at a camp in Tulare County were short of workers to harvest their nectarines and plums. No workers were available partly because most of them had gone north looking for work in the cherries and apricots. Yet in the farm-labor residential areas a few miles away the farm workers who hadn't gone north were deeply discouraged because they couldn't find employment. In this and in some similar cases observed neither the growers nor the workers had registered their needs at the California State Employment Office.

14/ See "Farm Unemployment is Expected to Last All Summer." San Francisco Chronicle, March 5, 1948.

Where labor demands are so seasonal and both growers and workers are likely to lose by any delays it would seem doubly essential that both groups should cooperate with a central labor-distributing office. It seemed that such a system might develop during the war when the labor supply was tight, and a genuine effort was made toward cooperation. But after the war, the old catch-as-catch-can system reasserted itself. Those workers who learn their way about among growers and labor contractors can get fairly regular employment. The more inept have work only at periods of heavy labor demand.

DAYS WORKED: INDIVIDUAL FACTORS

Of the individual characteristics that made for a longer or shorter period of employment the most important were technical skill, age, physical condition, and the wish to work. Of these age alone is subject to precise measurement.

The worker who is reliable and fairly good at making personal contacts with employers can gradually acquire more farm-work skills and become a year-round employee having comparatively dependable employment. Many so-called year-round workers were employed for the entire year, but it was more common for such workers to be off during the 2 or 3 slack months. Those in the survey averaged 263.4 days of work during the previous year; some indicated that they thought their work was too steady. Many tractor drivers worked 12 or more hours a day and some irrigators had a 24-hour day with every other day free.

Workers who did general farm work, first for one employer and then another, averaged only 159.3 days. This was considerably higher than the days for the worker who did merely harvest and preharvest work. He averaged 134.0 days during the previous season and the man who did harvest work only 123.6 days. (Table 13, fig. 5.) These averages are for workers who did farm labor only during the year. Those who also engaged in nonfarm work had significantly more employment, 196.9 days for those who were principally nonfarm workers and 178.1 for those who were principally farm workers.

Workers who confined themselves to a narrow circle of cotton or fruit operations were frequently asked why they did not work at additional tasks, as irrigating or pruning. The usual answer was about like this: "I don't know how, and I got no way to learn. The growers want only experienced workers and that leaves me out." An inexperienced worker has to get over this barrier somehow, if he is to advance above the lowest ranks. This calls for some natural aptitude, desire to get ahead, and ability to make favorable contacts.

Persons who did both farm and nonfarm work also were at an advantage in obtaining work. This was true whether they followed a customary pattern of shifting from nonfarm to farm work during the busy season or lost urban employment during the year and came out to the farm to fill in the rest of the season. Much of this, of course, was due to the greater regularity of their nonfarm employment.

Farm operators who were relocating did not do as well. They usually came from other States and were not familiar with the crops of California, the seasons, or the methods of employment. They usually sought advice from everyone, and much of what they received was not very reliable. Displaced year-round workers found it difficult to settle down to cotton or fruit picking, but could not readily find other year-round jobs.

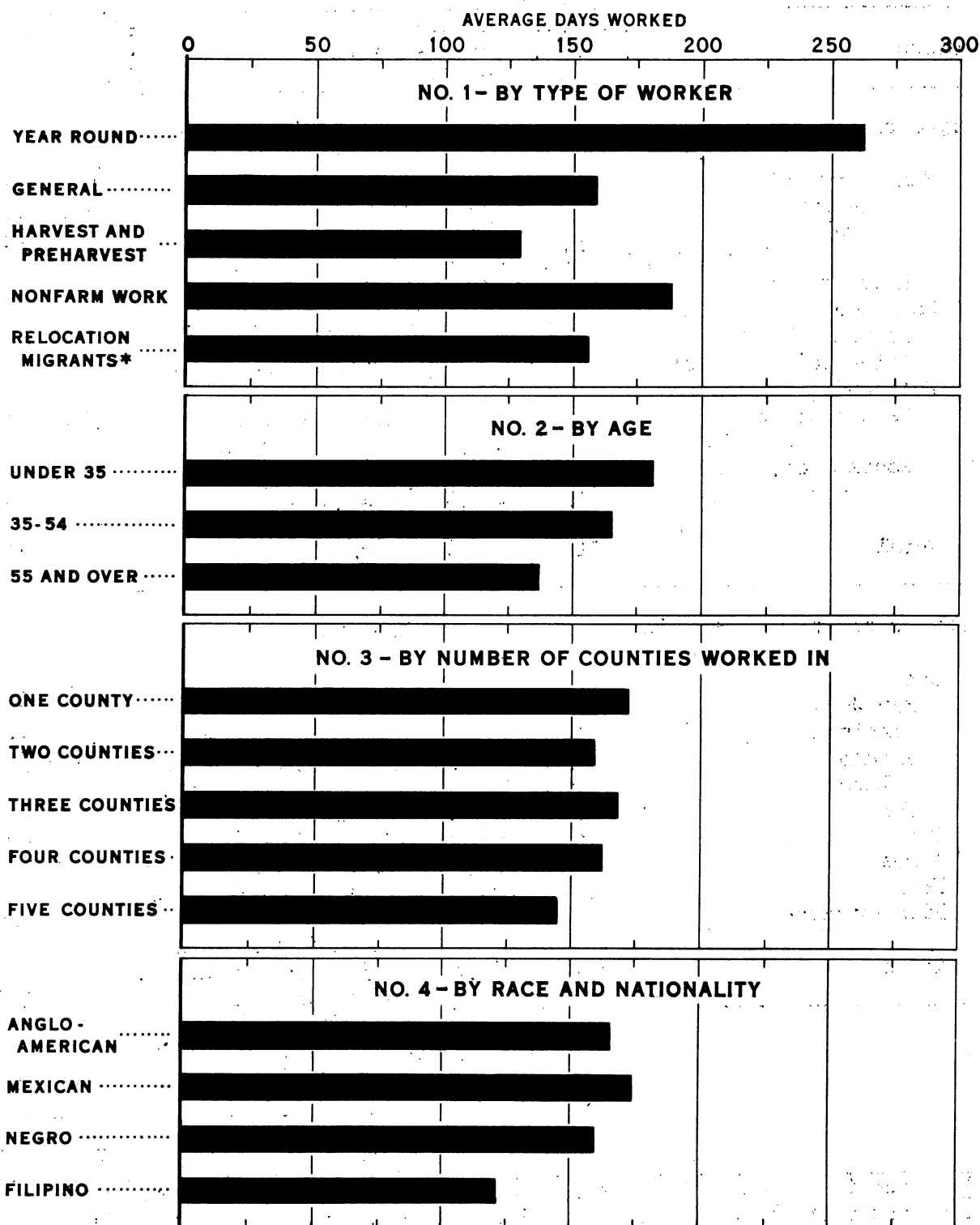
Table 13.-Average days worked during previous 12 months by head of household, sample of farm labor-force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Group	:Number:Average:: : in : days :: :group :worked ::		Group	:Number:Average : in : days :group :worked	
Type of worker			Age		
Farm work only			Under 35	156	180.7
Year-round	36	263.4	35 - 54	262	164.8
General	139	159.3	55 and over	94	137.2
Harvest and preharvest	71	134.0			
Harvest only	58	123.6	Total	512	164.6
Farm and nonfarm work			Race or Nationality		
Principally farm	77	178.1			
Principally nonfarm	60	196.0			
Detached 1/					
Farm operators and workers	26	118.5	Anglo-American	393	166.1
Nonfarm operators and workers	45	177.5	Latin American	76	174.4
			Negro	26	159.7
			Filipino	17	122.4
Total	512	164.6	Total	512	164.6
Number counties worked in			Family status		
One	226	172.3	Unattached	67	144.1
San Joaquin	19	160.4	Husband and wife		
Stanislaus	32	166.6	Head only works	27	152.8
Fresno	45	170.6	Both work	65	152.3
Tulare	64	178.6	Husband, wife, and 1-2 children		
Kern	66	175.2	Head only works	56	180.4
Two	138	158.9	Both parents work	61	164.9
Three	54	168.5	Parent and children work 2/	34	167.9
Four	39	162.4	Husband, wife and 3 or more children		
Five or more	55	144.6	Head only works	47	186.3
Total	512	164.6	Both parents work	62	174.7
			Parent and children work 2/	93	167.3
			Total	512	164.6

^{1/} Recently displaced workers, those thrown into the farm labor market during the past year who were making a major change in occupational activity.

^{2/} Husband and children were only workers in 10 and 41 cases respectively.

AVERAGE DAYS WORKED DURING PRECEDING 12 MONTHS, SAMPLE OF FARM LABOR FORCE, SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIF., 1948



*RECENTLY DISPLACED FROM FARMS OR FROM SEMI-PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT

FIGURE 5

Age and physical condition also definitely affected amount of employment. Workers under 35 years of age averaged 180.7 days; those 35 to 54 years old, 164.8 days; and those over 55 years, 137.2 days. The workers under 35 years would have had a higher average except that the group included a number of returned veterans who had not yet fully adjusted themselves to civilian work habits. Some older persons complained that they were being shoved aside because of their age, although they were still able to do a good day's work. Others said they had heart, stomach, respiratory, or other ailments that limited them to lighter work, as picking or chopping cotton. Such people frequently counted the days they would have to wait before becoming eligible for the old-age pension.

Some older workers blamed the workmen's compensation laws for their inability to get work that involved ladders or tractors. "Workers over 55 just can't get ladder or tractor jobs. The growers say there is too much danger of injury and they don't want to carry compensation on us." As compensation premium rates do not vary with age, it is more probable that the growers preferred the younger, quicker, and more durable men for this work.

The days worked during the previous 12 months were also related to family status. Unattached workers were employed an average of only 144.1 days, those with a wife and no children an average of 152.3 days, those with families averaged more than 170 days. These differences are partially associated with age. Older couples whose children had grown up and gone off for themselves frequently did not try to work every day they could. The unattached older men were even more inclined to work only as much as was necessary to meet their rather simple needs.

Age and family status also show up in the average amount of work performed by the various race and nationality groups: 174.4 days for the workers of Mexican extraction, 166.1 for the Anglo-Americans, 159.7 for the Negroes, and 122.4 for the Filipinos. The Filipinos were mainly unattached workers around 50 years of age, whose years of hard work had begun to tell on their health and physical stamina. The Mexicans were younger, had large families, and had comparatively close contacts with labor contractors.

Resident workers averaged more employment than those who moved about. This is partially accounted for by the inclusion of the year-round workers in this group. Those workers who moved widely up and down the coast found 1948 to be a singularly bad year. They were mostly harvest workers and the harvests of that year were uncertain.

Average days of employment for workers who lived and worked in a single county were higher at the southern end of the Valley. This probably is associated with the greater length of the work year in the cotton-producing area.

A classification of the workers according to the number of days worked indicates that 9.2 percent worked the equivalent of a full year — that is 270 days or more; 16 percent more worked from 210 to 270 days, or over two-thirds of the time. (Table 14.) The largest proportion, 37 percent, worked from 150 to 210 days, one-half to two-thirds of the time; 25 percent worked from 90 to 150 days; and 13 percent worked under 90 days.

The difference in days of employment of men who did farm work only and those who did both farm and nonfarm work is significant.

Table 14. -Persons who worked a stated number of days during the past 12 months, sample of farm labor-force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Days worked :		: Workers who did farm work only :		: Workers who did farm and nonfarm work :		: Workers who were self-employed part of the year 1/ :		Total	
Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	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	25	8.3	9	5.0		8	24.2	42	8.2
90 - 119	43	14.3	12	6.7		1	3.0	56	10.9
120 - 149	55	18.7	11	6.2		4	12.1	70	13.7
150 - 179	62	20.6	44	24.8		5	15.2	111	21.7
180 - 209	41	13.6	34	19.1		2	6.1	77	15.0
210 - 239	24	7.9	26	14.6		1	3.0	51	10.0
240 - 269	11	3.6	22	12.4				33	6.5
270 - 299	15	4.9	11	6.2				26	5.1
300 and over	12	3.9	9	5.0				21	4.1
Total	301	100.0	178	100.0		33	100.0	512	100.0
Average days worked	159.3		187.0			88.9		164.4	
Median days worked	154.1		191.5			77.0		167.9	

1/ Days worked at hired labor only. No data obtained on days worked while in business for themselves. Some were greatly underemployed.

Only 11.7 percent of the workers who did both farm and nonfarm work worked less than 120 days, compared with 26.8 percent of those who did farm work only. On the other hand 23.6 percent had worked over 240 days as compared to 12.4 percent of those who had done farm work only.

In the calculations of the study, those workers who had been self-employed for part of the year were separated and distributed separately as they have been a factor in reducing some of the averages. Their days at hired labor only have been entered in all computations as no data could be obtained on the number of days they actually worked while operating a farm or a business for themselves. In one instance these figures are so bunched as to reduce an average materially; that is, of displaced farm operators and workers in table 13. They also were a factor in reducing the average days of employment for Anglo-Americans as compared with Latin-Americans. When they are excluded the average employment for Anglo-Americans was 173.2 days.

DAYS EMPLOYED AT FARM AND NONFARM WORK

On an average the workers in the sample spent more than three-fourths of their time at farm labor and less than one-fourth at nonfarm work, 128.7 and 35.9 days, respectively. Resident workers spent less than half as much time at nonfarm labor as the migratory workers — 22.4 days compared with 46.5. (Table 15.)

Table 15.-Average days at farm and at nonfarm labor, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Group	: Number :		: Average days at :			: Percent days at		
	: in :	: group :	: Farm :	: Nonfarm :	: Total :	: Farm :	: Nonfarm :	: Total :
All workers	512		128.7	35.9	164.6	78.2	21.8	100.0
Resident <u>1/</u>	227		150.1	22.4	172.5	87.0	13.0	100.0
Migratory <u>1/</u>	285		111.8	46.5	158.3	70.6	29.4	100.0
Workers who did both farm and nonfarm work								
	197		87.2	98.7	185.9	46.9	53.1	100.0
Resident <u>1/</u>	61		106.0	89.4	195.4	54.2	45.8	100.0
Migratory <u>1/</u>	136		79.2	103.2	182.4	43.4	56.6	100.0

1/ Resident workers: those who lived in one county only and worked only there or in an adjacent county. Migratory workers: those whose work caused them to change their residence across county lines.

These broad averages, however, include the time of many workers who had done no nonfarm work. When only the 197 workers are considered who had done both non-farm and farm labor the average shifts; they performed only 87.2 days of farm work compared with 98.7 days of nonfarm work. Resident workers spent somewhat more time at farm than at nonfarm labor but the migratory workers averaged 79.2 days at farm work compared with 103.2 days at nonfarm employment.

DAYS WORKED BY WIVES AND DEPENDENTS

Although the survey dealt principally with the activities of chief bread-winners in an economic unit, estimates were obtained as to the days worked by the other members of the family. The figures are inexact, for many women worked only as they could spare the time from their other duties. The data have been classified on a race or nationality basis only. They indicate that 2 out of 3 of the wives of Anglo-American and 3 out of 4 of the wives of Negro workers did some work for pay during the year and that they put in somewhat less than half as much time on the average as did their husbands. (Table 16.) Wives of Mexican workers, however, worked much less; approximately one-third of them worked, and they were in the field an average of 57.6 days, or about one-third as much as their husbands.

One woman in 5 engaged in nonfarm work which was usually in canneries or packinghouses. These usually had a 60 to 90 day season. A few worked in stores or offices for as many as 300 days in the year.

Employment data in regard to days worked by the children and other dependents are subject to considerable error. Some parents were inclined to forget or gloss over the work of their children. The State laws prohibiting child labor are rather strict and the parents naturally avoided saying anything that might get them into trouble. Furthermore, the work done by children was usually sporadic and not easily computed. "They work some after school and on Saturdays during the cotton season, but that ain't regular." Or "They come into the field after

Table 16.--Days worked by wives of farm workers during the previous 12 months, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Days worked	: Wives who worked a given number of days									
	: Anglo-		: Latin-		: Negro		: Filipino		: Total	
	: American		: American		: Negro		: Filipino			
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
None	127	37.0	43	64.2	6	26.1	5	100.0	181	41.3
Under 30	47	13.7	11	16.4	4	17.4			62	14.2
30 - 59	43	12.5	4	6.0	2	8.7			49	11.2
60 - 89	40	11.7	1	1.5	6	26.1			47	10.7
90 - 119	33	9.6	6	8.9	1	4.3			40	9.1
120 - 149	24	7.0	2	3.0	3	13.1			29	6.6
150 - 179	17	5.0			1	4.3			18	4.1
180 and over	12	3.5							12	2.8
Total	343	100.0	67	100.0	23	100.0	5	100.0	438	100.0
Average days worked, all wives	48.8		18.9		47.5				43.6	
Proportion of wives who worked	63.0		35.8		73.9				58.6	
Average days worked, working wives	81.2		57.6		78.0				78.9	

school but hardly ever get settled down to work before quitting time. They might pick 10 or 15 pounds of cotton or they might not even have a handful." The employment of such a child was generally estimated at from 10 to 15 days for the cotton season. (Table 17.)

Chances for work for children in the fruit harvests were less numerous. Some picked prunes, figs, or raisin grapes, or cut apricots. They averaged much less work than children or youth in the cotton area.

EARNINGS

Workers were not questioned specifically in regard to their incomes but wages and earnings were frequently discussed in regard to various crops and types of work. Most of them worked at piece rates and their earnings varied with yields and other picking conditions. Earnings of \$3 to \$5 a day were rather common in the early-season crops, particularly cherries and apricots and they were not high in the tomatoes. Most workers agreed that cotton was the best paying crop for them during the season. In the spring they had made from 75 cents to 80 cents an hour at cotton chopping; in the fall some made from \$12 to \$15 a day at cotton picking but from \$7 to \$9 was more common.

Workers who had records, and others who tried to calculate a figure for their average earnings generally arrived at an estimate of around \$6.50 as the average amount earned per working day during the year. Such estimates were obtained for the head of the household only. None were obtained from salaried year-round workers.

Table 17.-Days worked by children and other dependents, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Days worked	Number in group 1/					
	Male		Female		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Under 30 2/	45	27.7	37	44.6	82	33.3
30 - 59	24	14.7	20	24.1	44	17.9
60 - 89	25	15.3	15	18.1	40	16.3
90 - 119	12	7.4	6	7.2	18	7.3
120 - 149	18	11.0	2	2.4	20	8.1
150 - 179	18	11.0	3	3.6	21	8.5
180 - 209	11	6.8			11	4.5
210 and over	10	6.1			10	4.1
Total	163	100.0	83	100.0	246	100.0
Average days worked	88.8		46.6		75.6	

1/ Includes 17 adult workers; the rest are boys and girls.

2/ Distribution does not include 906 dependents who were reported as having done no work during the year.

DAYS LOST FROM WORK

A few of the farm workers kept records and could account for all their time during the year. But after the average worker had detailed all the operations on which he had worked, almost half the year still remained unaccounted for.

NO WORK AVAILABLE

The major proportion of this time was the 3 to 4 months in the winter and spring when very little farming was being carried on. Two-thirds of the workers in the study were subject to this seasonal lay-off. Only one in six said they had had no period of unemployment at all due to no work being available. (Table 18.)

SICKNESS OR INJURY

Next highest loss of time was due to sickness or injury. Less than 40 percent of the workers lost time for this reason but the average loss was high because a surprising number had suffered either from disabling illnesses or injuries that they reported as running into months or even a year or more.

According to replies to questions, the injuries had usually been received in such lines of work as construction, manufacturing, mining, or trucking. They moved to camps usually occupied by farm workers because of the low rates of rent and they did light work in agriculture while waiting for complete recovery.

The average loss was also increased by that group of workers who were approaching a state of unemployability because of age accompanied by rheumatism, heart trouble, or other disabling ailments. They almost invariably blamed their

Table 18.—Days lost because of sickness or injury, weather conditions, travel time, vacations, and inability to find work, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Days lost	Workers who lost a specified number of days because of									
	Sickness or injury 1/		Weather conditions 2/		Travel time 3/		Vacations, visits 4/		No work available	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
None	313	61.1	211	41.2	344	67.2	452	88.3	83	16.2
1 - 12	67	13.1	164	32.0	98	19.1	18	3.5	21	4.1
13 - 24	37	7.2	67	13.1	32	6.3	15	2.9	18	3.5
25 - 48	32	6.3	58	11.3	35	6.8	11	2.2	39	7.6
49 and over	63	12.3	12	2.4	3	.6	16	3.1	351	68.6
Total	512	100.0	512	100.0	512	100.0	512	100.0	512	100.0

- 1/ Due to workers own sickness or injury and not to that of members of his family.
 2/ When weather did not permit them to work, the days lost because of frozen or delayed crops not included.
 3/ Travel time to new locations, and not local travel looking for work.
 4/ Time taken out for major trips only.

lack of employment on their illness. Some people pointed out, however, that most farm workers were used up physically at around the age of 55. After that, diseases set in that reduced their efficiency and regularity of work.

WEATHER

The dry fall weather in 1948 permitted work without interruption in the crops of cotton, grapes, citrus fruits, and tomatoes. But workers did lose time in the spring because of late rainfall. More than 40 percent lost no work at all and 32 percent more lost less than 12 days. (Table 18.)

Some workers lost several weeks or more because crops were destroyed by rain or frost or were delayed in ripening by cool weather. This time was counted as lost because no work was available rather than because of weather conditions.

TRAVEL TIME

All but a few workers indicated that the time spent in traveling from job to job was negligible. Two-thirds of them reported that they had lost no days of work at all, and 20 percent more reported that it was only a few days. Fourteen percent claimed an actual loss of time, usually 25 or 30 days. These were mostly people who were unacquainted with the area and rushed about from place to place to find work. They were, usually, somewhat ahead of the season and unwilling to wait for the ripening of the crops. Some of these families made the entire length of the Pacific Coast twice or more during the course of the year.

This hasty and erratic movement was more frequent during the early part of the season when rains, cool weather, and heavy local surpluses of labor made employment uncertain.

The time spent in travel did not always correspond with the number of counties in which work was done. Sometimes extensive travel resulted in no work at all, as going to the Imperial Valley where the peas were frozen at the beginning of the season, or to some parts of Oregon where heavy rains and floods kept some families from going on to the cherry-producing areas. In the second place, a few families felt no immediate financial pinch and traveled in a leisurely fashion. Travel time for them mounted up rapidly, as they only worked where the wages were the most attractive.

TIME FOR VACATIONS, VISITS, TRIPS

The "Okie" farm workers like to hunt, fish, visit friends or relatives, or make trips back to their home States. Almost 90 percent of those in the survey, however, claimed they had taken no trip or vacation during the previous year. The trips taken by the rest were almost invariably to see relatives and friends back in Oklahoma, Texas, or Arkansas. These were not regarded as vacations but as the payment of filial or social obligations. Such trips were generally made during the slack season, but several of the workers had made them at the peak of the harvest season.

Actually most of them did not keep a close record of their time, and short fishing trips or visits were evidently not recalled. These were of the same general nature as time spent in keeping their cars in repair. It might amount to a considerable total but it was done in off times so they felt it should not be counted.

METHODS OF OBTAINING EMPLOYMENT

The workers were questioned in regard to the means they used to get work. As many of them had several jobs during the year their method of finding them is of some importance. Practically all the means used could be summed up in two ways. "I go out and get them myself" or "I get them through a labor contractor." The worker who was well-established in a community sometimes gave a different answer. "I work for several people around here and when they want me they let me know."

The replies do not lend themselves to statistical treatment because persons badly in need of work used all available ways and gave little thought as to which had yielded them a job. A worker's first move usually was to go to the growers or foremen he had worked for before. If he had no such contacts he went along with an acquaintance who had them. Sometimes a friend or neighbor who already had a job might be able to get him on the work with them.

When efforts among friends, neighbors, and previous employers failed three chances still remained: to go to a labor contractor, to make a search from farm to farm, and to go down to the "Unemployment." The labor contractor is almost a necessity for those Mexican and Filipino workers who do not have a ready command of the English language. Other workers prefer to get their own jobs unless the labor contractor is a friend or neighbor whom they feel they can trust. But sometimes there is no other recourse. Labor contractors may have contacted the growers ahead of the season and obtained a virtual monopoly on all the jobs. Most of the labor contractors are bonded and licensed, so they cannot now avoid payment of just wage claims, but many workers show a distrust of them. A few

contractors are inclined to engage in sharp practices; for example, to require that all workers ride to work in their trucks and pay a relatively high fee for transportation. Some may insist that their workers repick fields of tomatoes even though very few tomatoes remain, for if workers leave before what can be called the end of the season they forfeit a bonus of 2 cents a box.

Labor contractors handled practically all the jobs in picking peas, tomatoes, and asparagus in 1948. They handled most of the larger jobs in picking cherries, and in cotton. They had less of a part in general farm work and in the picking of apricots, peaches, and grapes. Their activities varied from one crop and locality to another. In peas, the labor contractors recruited a force of workers and then moved them from one area to another, starting in the Imperial Valley and moving north into Kern, Merced, San Joaquin, and Sacramento Counties. They went ahead of their crews and lined up picking contracts with the growers and made arrangements for housing or for tent space. In asparagus, resident contractors generally made contracts with growers to handle all the cutting and packing for the season. The growers furnished a bunkhouse, lights, water, and fuel, the contractor supplied the crew and the crew bosses; sometimes he also furnished the workers with meals or groceries.

The flexibility of the labor-contractor system gives it an advantage over other methods of employment. If transportation, housing, meals, or credit, are needed the labor contractor furnishes them. He also takes over most or all of the responsibility for supervising the work. Actually he assumes a great deal of risk. If a crop is frozen he may have several hundred penniless families on his hands. If the crop is light on the particular ranches with which he has contracts his workers may all leave him, or he may resort to questionable practices to hold them. If other contractors outbid him for workers he may have to scour several States to recruit a new crew.

Whether the worker goes to a labor contractor depends to a large extent on the crop that is to be handled. For fruit or general farm jobs he is more likely to strike out for himself. By inquiring from grower to grower he is likely to find some work if any is available. For vegetable or field-crop work he soon finds it necessary to apply to a labor contractor.

During the course of his search he may stop in at an office of the State Employment Service. When he goes to a new area this may be one of his first stops. But workers claim: "A good employer will know workers in the community and when he has work to do he will call on them. The one who can't get a man to work for him twice, though, he'll call on the Unemployment." But some dependable growers regularly use the facilities of the Service. Employers call on it, too, when they have a sudden need for a large number of workers. Apparently, it becomes more and more of an emergency agency as a larger number of workers comb the area looking for their own jobs.

The most useful function of the Employment Service seems to be the general direction of farm workers to or away from particular harvest areas. For example, members of its staff are informed as to the need for workers in the harvest of tomatoes in San Joaquin County; they may direct workers to go there and to avoid other areas which have reported surpluses of workers. Broadcasts of this information over the radio are particularly helpful.

The placement activities of radio station KTRB at Modesto, an independent station with a community viewpoint, were used by a large number of workers at the northern end of the Valley. Between 5 and 8:30 each morning this station had four regular broadcasts of job opportunities. These were broadcast free of charge as a community service. Workers who were in the labor market kept their radio sets tuned to it, but several had one complaint, "When you hear of a desirable job, there'll be 17 people out there ahead of you." Yet the workers deeply appreciated this service, and made a point of listening to the first broadcast in the morning so they could rush out and get nearby jobs. Only the Modesto area had such a service.

The placement problem is more difficult for a farm worker who lives away from the others. He does not have access to the person-to-person information that is passed along in the camps and he is not within the reach of the loud-speaker systems that operate at the "Government" camps. A grower can go to one of those camps and have his needs announced over the loud speaker; ordinarily his car is loaded with workers in a few minutes. The "Skid Row" worker who is out on the street early enough may have several opportunities to climb onto the trucks of the labor contractors.

GEOGRAPHIC MOVEMENT

Farm workers in the San Joaquin Valley are far less migratory now than they were before the war. Yet the basic conditions that will tend to set them on the road again are still there. In fact, migration in 1948 was much greater than it was during the war when there were at least five causes for a reduction. Most important was the lack of housing. A worker who gave up his house or cabin might not be able to find another, so he looked for work locally. In the second place, the labor situation was so tight that he could find enough work in the locality. In the third place, the farm-placement program was utilized by both growers and workers which meant more use of local labor. Fourth, movement was slowed down by the difficulty of getting gasoline, tires, and automobiles. And fifth, good wages and steady work provided some spare cash for the workers and they began investing it in lots, in spare lumber, and in building supplies. In spite of wartime restrictions, many cabins and small homes went up. It appeared that the California migratory farm-labor force might be settling down.

But the transportation and housing situations eased, the postwar flow of potential farm workers from the southwestern States and from urban areas set in. These people went direct to the growers and asked for jobs. Grower contacts with the public employment offices then began to diminish. Each worker was on his own again to get work wherever he could find it.

The adverse spring in 1948 stimulated movement. Only the best established workers were able to get much local work. The rest lived on their meager resources, then took to the road. Laborers sought up and down for comparatively scarce farm jobs. The work force had to adapt itself to the basic pattern of labor demand in the Valley, to move from area to area according to the ripening time of the local crop specialties.

But the workers are basically more settled than before the war. They are strongly inclined toward having homes of their own. Those who are capable and dependable and have some degree of bargaining ability have built up fairly secure

work connections in their localities. But workers who have not done this have to keep moving to the areas of strongest demand.

There are many degrees of movement. A few workers are almost entirely nomadic; they have no permanent domicile and no established work connections. In 1948 most workers had an established domicile but moved from it in order to have sufficient employment to feed their families. Some moved considerable distances and were on the road 8 or 9 months in the year; others merely went into a nearby county for a few weeks. Some families worked in three or more States but returned to their home regularly each fall. At present, more and more workers are constructing permanent homes, yet the basic crop situation in the Valley will call for just as much crop-to-crop movement as before.

TYPES OF MOBILE WORKERS

There are numerous types of mobile workers although it would be difficult to classify many families as belonging strictly to one or another.

Probably the most definite type is the seasoned migratory family that has followed the harvests from area to area for years. They are now a small minority among the workers who move about. Ordinarily they do harvest work only but may also thin fruit, chop cotton, or do a few other preharvest jobs. A few try to specialize in a particular operation, as picking peas, cherries, cotton, or potatoes but ordinarily this requires considerable travel in order to obtain any regularity of employment. They generally have substantial trailers and are found in particular camps to which they come year after year. They follow somewhat the same travel pattern each season but may change their itinerary on receipt of adverse crop or weather news. Many of them have learned to use radio reports to advantage. They pride themselves on knowing their way about and making very few mistakes.

The helter-skelter group of newcomers to California or to farm labor is more numerous. These include families from outside the State who lack local contacts and don't know their way around; urban workers from California cities whose work has become slack, or who had other employment difficulties; and other people who merely took to the road because their previous economic or social position had not been satisfactory. The movement of most of these people was frantic and confused compared with that of the seasoned migrant.

A third type has a short annual pattern of movement. They probably live in an "Okie" town during the winter but may live in one of the larger cities in the State. They go out to make the fruit harvest and possibly the tomato and cotton harvests; then they go home again. They have done this often enough to move rather carefully.

The fourth type is related to the third. They are semisettled farm or non-farm workers, who traveled from crop to crop in the 1930's, are doing it again out of necessity, but do not want to resume nomadic habits.

A fifth type also does not care to be labeled as migratory. They have developed a pattern of movement between two areas that afford a fairly regular year's work. They live in one of these areas but have friends in the other.

A sixth type of mobile worker is composed of those who are not working on a strictly "bread-and-butter" basis. Some are sight-seers who want to earn part of their travel money, others are semiretired people who need some extra money, some are farm operators from the Middlewest or Southwest who are checking over the State with the idea of settling here, a few are open-air health seekers. They move in a more leisurely way than the regular fruit-pickers, and are likely to wonder why those pickers are so restless and dissatisfied.

Probably unattached men should not be placed in a separate category as many of them fit into the group that makes helter-skelter movements. Yet some of them have worked at farm labor for years and regard the "Okie" families as newcomers. Two or more of them often travel together. They prefer to work at grain, live-stock, or general ranch jobs, but sometimes engage in fruit or cotton picking. Many of them have unstable habits and have difficulty in getting along with employers.

This brief account by no means exhausts the variety of persons and families that go to make up the "migratory" group of workers. Some were difficult to analyze. They might indicate at the start of an interview that they were residents of Los Angeles or San Francisco "just out for a vacation." But further questioning might reveal that they had come out for harvest work each summer for many years, because they needed the wages. Or they might finally say they were "just fruit tramps" who tried to pick up a job or two in the city during the slack months.

EXTENT OF MOVEMENT

Of the 512 workers in the sample, 226 or 44 percent, worked only in their home counties during the year. (Table 19.) But 50 of these worked at points 35 or more miles apart within the same county — in the Wasco and in the Arvin areas in Kern County, or in the Huron and Sanger areas in Fresno County. For some workers this meant a move of habitation from one part of the county to another; for others it meant from 3 to 4 hours of daily travel in addition to 9 to 16 hours of farm work. Workers agreed that from 30 to 35 miles was the maximum distance they could travel to and from, and still do a full day's work.

A total of 67 workers were employed in two counties in the State. They usually had homes in one and worked during the off season in the other. Frequently they had established a work connection in the other county and knew just where they were going and whom they would work for. The most common two-county work circuits were as follows: First, workers with homes in Stanislaus County worked in the apricot, peach, and tomato harvests there during the summer. In October they went to the cotton area in Kern or Fresno County and worked until January. Second, workers with homes in Kern or Tulare Counties moved north during the summer to work in the apricots or peaches in Stanislaus County or in the apricots, pears, and prunes in Santa Clara County. Then they returned in time for the grape, cotton, and orange harvests in their own counties.

This leaves 219, or 43 percent, of the workers who were of a more migratory character. The 54 workers who were employed in three counties in the State begin to show the patterns of wider movement. Thirty-eight of them worked in at least one county outside the San Joaquin Valley. Five worked as far away as Imperial County.

Table 19.—Number of counties and States worked in during previous 12 months, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Area worked in	Number	Percent
One county in California	226	44.1
One locality in county	176	34.4
Different parts of county	50	9.7
Two counties in California ^{1/}	67	13.1
Adjacent counties	12	2.4
Nonadjacent counties	55	10.7
Three counties in California	54	10.5
Four counties in California	28	5.5
Five or more counties in California	43	8.4
Two States (including California)	72	14.1
One adjacent to California	35	6.9
One nonadjacent to California	37	7.2
Three States	19	3.7
Four or more States	3	.6
Total	512	100.0

^{1/} County-to-county movement outside California was not checked. Figures in the table are based on the assumption that their movement in other States was only to one county. This assumption is likely to be correct for southwestern States but not for Oregon or Washington.

The families who worked in from 4 to 10 counties in the State approach the nomadic. Only 3 of the 71 families in this group limited their movements to the San Joaquin Valley and only 14 said their homes were there.

Approximately one family in five worked outside the State during the year. Of the 94 who did so, 72 worked only in one other State. This ordinarily was Oklahoma, Arizona, or Oregon. Nineteen families worked in three States, and 3 in four States. Two workers were employed outside the United States, in Mexico.

Employment in another State than California does not necessarily indicate a high degree of moving about. This is particularly true of those who had jobs or farms in another State before they came to California. No record was taken as to the number of counties worked in in other States, but their record in California is as follows: Worked only in 1 county, 39 percent, in 2 counties, 18 percent, in 3 counties, 17 percent, and in 4 or more counties, 26 percent.

An illustration taken from among the records given by interstate migratory workers is as follows: A young man with a wife and two children had been a used-car dealer in Missouri before the war. He came to California in 1943 and has followed seasonal farm work ever since. His most profitable work is picking cotton near Five Points in Fresno County. In December 1947 when the season ended there he reported hunting for two months before finding a job. He finally found

one at construction work in Monterey County which yielded him 24 days of work. He then went to Sacramento County and picked peas for 2 weeks. He liked to work in Oregon and got 14 days of work there picking beans and berries. Work was rather slack, however, so he moved on to Idaho where he had 5 weeks of work picking peas, berries, and cherries. His next stop was in Sebastopol, Sonoma County, California, where he picked apples for 2 weeks. The tomato season was opening in Sacramento County so he went to Walnut Grove and picked tomatoes for 12 days. He heard the tomatoes were better at Tracy so came to the camp where he was interviewed. He had worked there for 2 weeks but was going to leave for the cotton area in a few days.

This worker had neither an established home nor established work contacts. He knew the crops at which he could make the most money and the places where the yields were best. He felt no responsibility to his employers nor to the communities in which he worked. He seldom worked through to the end of a particular harvest but left when the best picking was over. He seemed to be a natural product of the impersonal type of agricultural economy that exists in the State.

MIGRATORY PATHS

Farm workers do not follow fixed patterns of movement. In most months there are several different crops in different localities that they can work in. They follow their preferences and the advice they are given along the road. During the winter the range of selection is quite narrow. They can pick cotton in any of the five cotton counties in the southern part of the Valley pretty well into December. After that, cotton picking is irregular because of rain, fogs, and cold. A few can work in oranges and olives. The major alternative is cotton picking in Arizona which generally lasts into February or March. Some workers can pick peas in the Imperial Valley but again the demand is limited and the crop is sometimes destroyed by frost. The more settled workers remain at home during January and February; the more migratory go to Arizona or the Imperial Valley.

The demand for workers is even more restricted in March. In that month the pea harvest begins in Kern County but the oversupply of workers there means only a few days of work apiece. The work season actually begins with potato picking which starts in Kern County in April. It is the first major labor-using operation and occupies some 6,000 workers during the peak in May. Cotton chopping begins in the Valley during the latter part of April and requires some 11,000 workers in May. Valencia oranges in Tulare County call for 2,000 workers before the cotton and potato operations are complete so a movement toward the south end of the Valley begins during April and May.

The thinning of apricots, plums, and peaches occupies a few workers during the early part of May but the fruit season actually starts with the cherry harvest in San Joaquin County which reaches a peak during the latter part of that month. The cherry season in Santa Clara County starts several weeks later. At its conclusion apricots ripen first at Winters in the Sacramento Valley, then at Brentwood in Contra Costa County, and then in Stanislaus and Santa Clara Counties. These operations start a northward movement which sometimes leads into Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. Some workers attempt to pick only the cream of the crop in several of these areas.

After a midseason lull the peach season starts in August in Stanislaus, Sutter, and other Counties. This is followed quickly by the pear season in Placer, Lake, and Santa Clara Counties. These points of activity are largely north of the San Joaquin Valley and occupy many of the workers during the summer. The raisin grape harvest around Fresno in late August calls many of them back. Others remain in the north and pick prunes in Santa Clara County and tomatoes in San Joaquin. When the cotton matures in late September or early October it again draws the bulk of the labor force into the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley.

These staggered harvests lend themselves to an easy crop-to-crop movement among the workers. Three typical migratory paths are as follows:

<u>Month</u>	<u>Northwest circuit</u>	<u>Arizona circuit</u>	<u>Central California circuit</u>
January	Oranges, Tulare	Cotton, Arizona	Cotton, Kern
February		Peas, Imperial	
March		Peas, Imperial	
April		Peas, Kern	Peas, Kern
May	Oranges, Tulare	Peas, Yolo	Cotton, Kern
	Cherries, San Joaquin	Potatoes, Kern	Cherries, San Joaquin
June	Cherries, Santa Clara	Apricots, Yolo	Apricots, Yolo
July	Cherries, Oregon	Apricots, Stanislaus	Apricots, Contra Costa
	Berries, Oregon		Apricots, Santa Clara
August	Beans, Washington	Peaches, Stanislaus	Peaches, Sutter
	Pears, Washington		
September	Hops, Oregon	Grapes, Fresno	Prunes, Santa Clara
October	Apples, Washington	Tomatoes, San Joaquin	Apples, Santa Cruz
November	Olives, Butte	Cotton, Fresno	Cotton, Kern
December	Oranges, Tulare	Cotton, Arizona	Cotton, Kern

The ripening time for the various labor-using crops produces a generally northward movement during the spring and early summer and a southward movement in the fall and winter. (Fig. 6.) There are many exceptions, however, and some workers cross the Valley and the State in every direction before the harvest is over. The greatest reservoir of farm labor is toward the southern end of the Valley, and the bulk of the movement is northward to the apricots and peaches during the early part of the season and back to the grapes and cotton in the fall. Otherwise the movement in the Valley is mostly from one harvest area to another, irrespective of direction.

The wider movements into and out of the State also follow a north-south pattern according to the season. Few of the workers move all the way from Arizona or Imperial County to Oregon or Washington. Only 6 families in the sample said they did so. On the other hand, 27 California families reported going into the Northwest in the spring and returning in the fall. Likewise most of the movement from Arizona ended in California; 20 families in the sample made this type of movement. Another group of families, 33, spent part of the year in Oklahoma, Arkansas, or Texas, and part in California. Some of these worked in Arizona on their way to or from California.

MAJOR MOVEMENT, SAMPLE OF FARM LABOR FORCE, SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY, CALIFORNIA, 1948

SPRING AND EARLY SUMMER

FALL AND EARLY WINTER

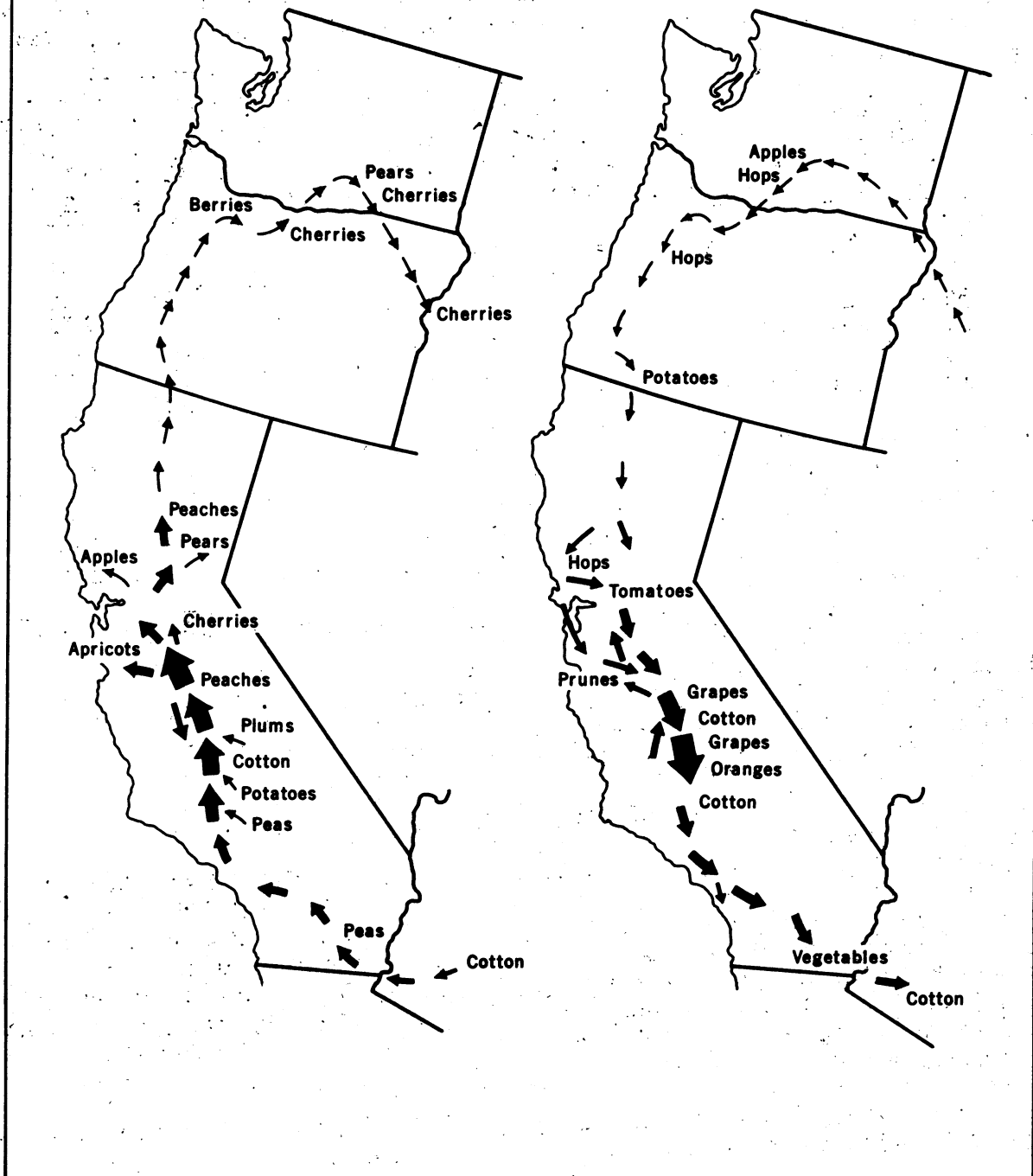


FIGURE 6

A total of 217 of the families worked for 2 weeks or more in places outside the Valley. Their major location is shown month by month in table 20. During the winter 65 were in Southern California, Arizona, or New Mexico, 30 more were in the southwestern States, Oklahoma, Texas, or Arkansas. During July, 49 were in the central coast counties of California harvesting apricots, apples, and other crops, and 27 were in the Pacific Northwest. The table also shows, however, that movement into and out of the Valley does not occur all at one time. Although 217 families worked outside the Valley the greatest number in any one month was 130.

Table 20.--Month-by-month location of workers who worked outside the San Joaquin Valley, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948 ^{1/}

Month:	Number working outside the Valley								Number
	: Central :	: Oregon :	: Okla- :	: Southern Coast :	: Northern Ariz.- :	: Washing- :	: homa :	: Other :	
Calif. :	Counties :	Calif. :	New :	ton :	Texas :	States :	Total :	Valley	
: 3/ :	4/ :	: Mexico :	Idaho :	Ark. :	5/ :	: 2/ :			
Jan.	40	14	5	25	3	30	10	127	90
Feb.	37	14	7	23	3	30	10	124	93
Mar.	36	14	5	22	4	28	7	116	101
Apr.	29	17	6	15	5	28	9	109	108
May	23	19	12	12	8	26	9	109	108
June	18	28	13	8	24	21	8	120	97
July	16	49	8	6	27	16	8	130	87
Aug.	10	46	13	7	15	16	8	115	102
Sept.	5	44	15	11	9	16	8	108	109
Oct.	8	16	6	14	6	17	8	75	142
Nov.	16	12	3	16	5	21	8	81	136
Dec.	22	11	4	22	3	24	10	96	121

^{1/} Data have been generalized to fit into monthly averages, hence minor movements do not show in the table.

^{2/} Number families involved, 217.

^{3/} Largely Imperial County; San Bernardino next most common.

^{4/} Largely Santa Clara and Sonoma Counties.

^{5/} Widely scattered, Nevada to Georgia.

NORTHWEST MIGRANTS

The families who moved into the Northwest generally "followed the fruit." They preferred that to picking cotton or potatoes. They were likely to have come from parts of the United States where no cotton was grown. About half of them went into Oregon only, where they worked in the cherries and berries and then returned to California. An equal number went on into Washington and spent several months there in the cherries, peaches, pears, apples, and other crops. Some went on into Idaho, Montana, or Utah, but most of them came home as soon as the weather turned cool in the Northwest.

Most of these workers had previously worked in the harvests in California but had recently thought that they could earn more in the Northwest. They said that growers in those States treated them more on a person-to-person basis and wrote to them in the spring to tell them when their crops would be ready to harvest.

They usually had trailers so as to be ready for sudden rains or changes in temperature, and stopped at trailer courts rather than at growers' ranches as that did not obligate them to work for anyone in particular. Most of them regarded their homes as being in the San Joaquin Valley because that is where they usually spend the slack season of the year.

CALIFORNIA-ARIZONA MIGRANTS

The group called the California-Arizona migrants has developed because of the lull in farm work in the San Joaquin Valley during the early months of the year. They shift directly between Arizona or the Imperial Valley and the San Joaquin instead of stopping in Riverside, San Bernardino, Los Angeles, or other counties in the citrus area. Most of the harvest work there is done by contract crews of local Mexican or "white" workers, hence the migratory worker has little chance to work for awhile and then move on.

They may have their homes either in Arizona or in the San Joaquin Valley. Cotton is the basic crop they follow but they also work in fruit and vegetable harvests to fill out the year.

CENTRAL-CALIFORNIA MIGRANTS

A worker who does not go to Arizona and the Imperial Valley generally expects to be without work for 2 or 3 months during the early part of the year. This is the slack season for both farm and nonfarm work. The small amount of pruning to be done can be handled by a very few workers. So he is likely to use February, March, and possibly April, as vacation months.

During the summer he does not go north of the Sutter County peaches nor the Placer County pears. He may go over toward the coast and pick apples in Sonoma County or apricots, pears, or prunes in Santa Clara. He also does not go south of Kern County during the winter. While the other groups had a predominantly northward movement in the spring and southward in the fall these people do a great deal of zig-zag moving from one harvest area to another.

CALIFORNIA-OKLAHOMA MIGRANTS

There is a rather steady flow of people between Oklahoma, Arkansas, Texas, and the State of California. Some still have their homes in the Southwest; others have definitely made California their home but go back every year or so to visit their relatives, get in a little hunting or fishing, or to do farm or nonfarm work. Workers here are constantly having relatives or friends out to see them and to work in some of the more important crops. The movement of these people into the State is somewhat stronger in May and June than in other months; the heaviest outward movement is in September or October. Many families remain through the early part of the cotton season and return in December.

Usually a migratory family from Minnesota, Indiana, or Georgia had little knowledge of the location and timing of the various crops in California and no reliable friends to tell them. A family from Oklahoma, however, usually moved to the various crops with friends or relatives, and was less likely to engage in erratic and ill-timed movements.

MIGRATORY PATHS OF WORKERS REGISTERED AT EXTENSION SERVICE OFFICES

The Agricultural Extension Service was maintaining Farm Labor Information Stations on the major highways leading into the State during the period March to November 1947. Registrations at these stations provide some supplementary data as to the general movement of San Joaquin Valley farm workers. During the 8-month registration period, 594 family groups indicated at the Arizona stations that they were proceeding from the southwestern States to the San Joaquin Valley to do farm work. This was roughly half of all the registrants coming into the State. Approximately 30 percent of these people registered in March and April and 40 percent in May and June. They were asked in regard to their second destination. Approximately one-third planned to stay in the Valley, another third did not know their second destination, and one-fifth planned to return to the Southwest. About 8 percent of the families planned to go on into Oregon and Washington and a somewhat smaller number into northern or coastal California.

A total of 342 workers registered on their way from California and the San Joaquin Valley. (Table 21.) Of these, 212 were on their way back to Oklahoma, Texas, and Arkansas, and 130 were going to Arizona. The bulk of this outward movement came in September and October. Two-thirds of the registrants planned to return to the San Joaquin Valley. Some of those going to Arizona expected to proceed to the Southwestern States a little later.

Table 21.--Routes of travel of registrants at farm labor information stations at the Arizona border stations, March-October, 1947 ^{1/}

Month and destination	Route of travel		
	: Southwestern	: San Joaquin	: San Joaquin
	: States to San	: Valley to	: Valley to
	: Joaquin Valley	: Southwestern States	: Arizona
<u>Month registered</u>			
March-April	172	31	22
May-June	244	38	26
July-August	78	49	31
September-October	100	94	51
Total	594	212	130
<u>Second destination</u>			
San Joaquin Valley	192	144	73
Southwestern States	110	53	16
Arizona			31
North and Coast			
Counties	39		
Northwest States	45		
Other	21	9	7
Unknown or not given	187	6	3
Total	594	212	130

^{1/} Compiled from registration cards, Agricultural Extension Service Farm Labor Information Stations.

Fewer workers registered at the information station at the Oregon border and the movement indicated was mostly between northern California and the northwestern States rather than from the San Joaquin Valley. The northward movement came in June and July and the return movement in September and October.

The data from the Farm Labor Information Stations probably are subject to some sampling bias. Seasoned farm workers who knew where they wanted to go were not so likely to stop at the stations as those who were less experienced. Yet the registrations point to a movement similar to that reported by the workers in the present study.

RELATION OF MIGRANCY TO AGE AND FAMILY STATUS

A cross tabulation of the workers according to age and number of counties worked in indicates a slight tendency of older workers to restrict their activities to one county. (Table 22.) On the other hand, young workers were apparently the least likely to move widely from county to county. Several factors enter into this situation. Some of the older men had acquired homes and tried to settle down; others had become habitual migrants and still followed the crops even though they had acquired homes. On the other hand many of the tractor drivers and other year-round workers were young men and worked in only one or two counties.

Similarly, unattached workers and those families with only one breadwinner were more stationary than families with children. The most migratory families had 3 or more children; both the husband and the wife, and possibly the children, worked. It is especially noticeable that migratoriness is associated with work by the wife and other members of the family. The least mobile families were those of the year-round and general farm workers who were likely to be the only breadwinners in the family.

To verify this situation data are given on the migratoriness of the major occupational groups. They indicate that among workers who did farm work only, more than half of those whose main activity was general farm work worked only in one county. Only 11.7 percent worked in more than two counties. By way of contrast only 28.1 percent of those who engaged mainly in fruit worked only in one county and 43.9 percent worked in three or more. Cotton with its longer harvest season tends apparently toward localizing a labor force; 43 percent of those who specialized in cotton worked only in one county, 29 percent moved to three or more counties.

Workers who had engaged in both farm and nonfarm work were more mobile than those who had been in farm employment only, but less so than the fruit workers. Those who shifted between construction and farm work were almost as mobile as the fruit workers. Cannery work was associated with less mobility.

Migratoriness was also observed in relation to length of time in California. A significantly higher proportion of the long-time settlers worked in three or more counties than of the recent entrants. Yet length of stay is apparently less influential than the type of farm work done.

Table 22. -Number of Counties worked in as related to age, period in California, type of family, and type of work, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Group	Workers who worked in a given number of counties:							
	One County		Two Counties		Three or more		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
<u>Age</u>								
Under 35	66	42.3	47	30.1	43	27.6	156	100.0
35 - 54	116	44.3	68	25.9	78	29.8	262	100.0
55 and over	44	46.8	23	24.5	27	28.7	94	100.0
Total	226	44.1	138	27.0	148	28.9	512	100.0
<u>Period came to California</u>								
Prior to 1939	86	49.2	34	19.4	55	31.4	175	100.0
1939-1941	43	44.8	21	21.9	32	33.3	96	100.0
1942-1945	65	48.2	37	27.4	33	24.4	135	100.0
1946-1948	32	30.2	46	43.4	28	26.4	106	100.0
Total	226	44.1	138	27.0	148	28.9	512	100.0
<u>Type of family group</u>								
Unattached	34	50.7	13	19.4	20	29.9	67	100.0
Husband and wife								
Husband only works	14	51.9	7	25.9	6	22.2	27	100.0
Both work	28	43.1	17	26.1	20	30.8	65	100.0
Husband, wife, and 1-2 children								
Husband only works	31	55.4	17	30.3	8	14.3	56	100.0
Husband and wife work	28	45.9	19	31.1	14	23.0	61	100.0
Husband, wife, and children work 1/	14	41.2	8	23.5	12	35.3	34	100.0
Husband, wife, and 3 or more children								
Husband only works	26	55.3	12	25.5	9	19.2	47	100.0
Husband and wife work	20	32.3	17	27.4	25	40.3	62	100.0
Husband, wife, and children work 2/	31	33.3	28	30.1	34	36.6	93	100.0
Total	226	44.1	138	27.0	148	28.9	512	100.0

(Continued)

Table 22.-Number of Counties worked in as related to age, period in California, type of family, and type of work, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948 (continued)

Group	Workers who worked in a given number of counties :							
	One County		Two Counties		Three or more		Total	
	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.	No.	Pct.
<u>Type of employment</u>								
<u>1948</u>								
Farm work only	164	52.1	68	21.6	83	26.3	315	100.0
General farm only	28	84.9	4	12.1	1	3.0	33	100.0
General and other	81	59.5	30	22.1	25	18.4	136	100.0
Harvest work only	20	29.0	19	27.5	30	43.5	69	100.0
Harvest and pre-harvest	35	45.4	15	19.5	27	35.1	77	100.0
Farm and nonfarm work	62	31.5	70	35.5	65	33.0	197	100.0
Food industry	22	40.0	19	34.5	14	25.5	55	100.0
Construction	11	28.9	15	39.5	12	31.6	38	100.0
Total	226	44.1	138	27.0	148	28.9	512	100.0
<u>Selected types</u>								
<u>major farm activity</u>								
<u>1948</u>								
General farm work	85	62.0	36	26.3	16	11.7	137	100.0
Fruit work	23	28.1	23	28.1	36	43.8	82	100.0
Cotton work	67	42.6	45	28.7	45	28.7	157	100.0
Farm operator	2	10.0	12	60.0	6	30.0	20	100.0
Other	49	42.2	22	19.0	45	38.8	116	100.0
Total	226	44.1	138	27.0	148	28.9	512	100.0

1/ Husband and children were the only workers in 10 cases.

2/ Husband and children were the only workers in 41 cases.

The relation between prewar or wartime occupation and present migratoriness does not seem to be strong. A somewhat greater proportion of those who had been farm workers during these periods had settled down to one-county activities than of those who had either been farm operators or had worked principally in nonfarm employment. On the other hand, a higher proportion of them were also in the extremely migratory group that worked in three or more counties. Again it is present occupation that is associated with migratoriness, and not that of previous years.

HABITATIONS AND HOMES OF THE WORKERS

TYPES OF HABITATIONS

Farm workers in the San Joaquin Valley began building their own homes even during the depression years. They seldom built singly. After one had built a house, his friends, relatives, or co-workers bought nearby lots and erected similar, one to four-room cottages. Perhaps some of these people could only build a tent at first, but year after year matters improved until they finally had a fairly presentable house. Hence they now generally live in clusters at the edge of the previously established towns in the Valley. Some towns, however, are made up entirely of their small and usually well-kept cabins. Most of the residents of these areas are Anglo-American families from the Southwest, yet Mexican and Negro workers also live in and among them or in similar sections of town.

These worker residential areas are particularly numerous in Tulare, Kern, and Stanislaus Counties. They constitute a reservoir of farm workers not only for the Valley but for many of the farm operations in the northern part of the State as well. A large proportion live in cabins or tents in commercial farm-labor camps. The simplest of these camps is composed of a lavatory and bathhouse, office, and enough bare land for 10 or 15 tents or trailers. In the off season the camp may be empty; at the peak of the harvest the proprietor may have to turn families away because of lack of facilities. Some camp operators have built "permanent" cabins. These are generally occupied all year. If a worker has to leave for several months he pays his rent for the period in advance and the cabin is kept for him. This is an added expense to the worker but is better than to have no place to return to. Rentals at these camps vary from 50 cents to \$1 a night for trailer space, to \$10 to \$12 a week for the better cabins. The type of camp lived in was a fairly reliable index to the industry, economic status, and character of the inhabitants.

Sanitary conditions at these camps are checked with varying degrees of regularity by representatives of the County Boards of Health. The operator of an untidy camp is constantly fearful that some inspector may condemn his camp. Most inspectors are inclined to be lenient. "These people have to live somewhere and they can't pay \$10 a night for first-class accommodations. It wouldn't do any good to close up the camps but we can see that they have proper sanitary and bathing facilities and that they are kept reasonably clean."

The 12 "Government" camps are considerably larger, together they house approximately 12,000 people. They are now operated by local associations of growers. The housing furnished is of various types. Most sought after but least numerous are the three-room garden homes, each with its lawn and garden space. Almost equally sought after are the two-and-three-bedroom apartments that were constructed as permanent homes for resident workers. Most workers, however, must be satisfied with one-room metal shelters. These were built originally to house workers during short harvest periods but the housing and transportation shortages have meant that many of them have become almost permanent homes.

Operators of large farms have their own housing for their employees. Some have attractive cottages for their key employees, bunkhouses for the single men, and tent or cabin camps for seasonal workers. Both the best and the poorest

housing for farm workers are to be found on these ranches. Farm operators who need workers for only a few weeks can't afford to spend large sums to build and maintain camps. Yet if a grower's housing is too unattractive, workers will go where they can live more comfortably. Some growers allow workers to live in the simpler camps all year, rent free. Then when they need workers they know where to find them.

The more general tendency now is for them to have homes of their own and to go to commercial and grower camps when they have to go elsewhere to piece out their year's employment.

HOMES OF THE WORKERS

The workers were interviewed in their living quarters in the evenings and not at their places of work, so some incidental attention was given to their housing. A total of 56 percent indicated that their present abode was also their permanent home. The rest were either living in a temporary camp or felt that their actual home was elsewhere.

The proportion interviewed in one type of habitation as compared with another is partially a matter of selection rather than one of random sampling. In arriving at the proportion of resident and migratory workers recommended by Farm Labor Office officials, resident workers were sought in the residential areas and in the better grower camps. Migratory workers were expected to be located in commercial cabin, tent, and trailer camps. This selection affects to some extent the total number interviewed in one type of habitation, compared with another.

In all, 161 families were interviewed in cottages or cabins in the residential areas of town. The heads of 143 of these said these cottages were also their homes. (Table 23.) The heads of 18 families felt that their real homes were elsewhere. The workers were not questioned specifically as to whether they owned or rented their houses. Conversation generally revealed, however, that most of them were not only in the process of owning their homes but also had had a major hand in building them. They liked to tell how much they had been able to do themselves.

A total of 351, or 68.6 percent of the workers, were interviewed in camps of various sizes and types. The largest number lived in cabins or other semi-permanent types of structures. Almost 20 percent lived in tents. Tents were particularly common for tomato and cotton harvest workers. Seventy, or 13.7 percent, of the workers lived in trailers. These usually represented almost as large an investment as the single-family dwellings. Twenty workers lived in bunkhouses and 3 in roominghouses on Skid Row in Stockton.

While 88.8 percent of the workers in the single-family dwellings said that their cottages were also their homes, the proportion of those in rented cabins, in tents, and in trailers, who said their present habitation was also their home was surprisingly large: 52.9 percent in the cabins, 29.7 percent in the tents, and 38.6 percent in the trailers.

Some of the 44 percent who were interviewed at quarters other than their homes had some established connections elsewhere in the Valley. Others had no local attachments strong enough to make them feel they had a home anywhere.

Table 23.-Type of habitation at time of survey and proportion of workers who regarded it as their permanent home, sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Type of habitation	Habitation at time of survey		Workers who regarded present habitation as their permanent home	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Single family dwelling 1/	161	31.4	143	88.8
Cabin, apartment, or shelter in a camp	157	30.7	83	52.9
Tent in a camp 2/	101	19.7	30	29.7
Trailer in a camp 2/	70	13.7	27	38.6
Bunkhouse in a camp	20	3.9	4	20.0
Roominghouse in town	3	.6	0	00.0
Total or average	512	100.0	287	56.1

1/ Largely cottages, but includes a few tents, and trailers being lived in until a house could be built.

2/ The trailer is their home and not necessarily the camp at which they were interviewed. This applies to a lesser extent to the tents. Includes grounded trailers.

When a worker said "My home is in Tulare" it usually did not mean that he either owned or rented a house there. If he did, he was quick to say so. He more likely had some friends or relatives there who would be glad to see him again. Or he might simply know his way about in the town, feel familiar in the place rather than a total stranger.

Actually the term "home" proved to be vague in case of the more migratory workers. Some said "My home is in Oklahoma so long as most of my people live there." Others were more casual: "Wherever I set this trailer down, that is home to me" or "My home, you might say, is in California. No particular place. Anywhere that I can find work" or "My home is in Arizona, that's where I spend the winter" or "I guess you might say my home is here in Kern County. I stay here a little longer than anywhere else."

Even the more settled workers sometimes quibbled on the question. "What do you mean by home? I've been living here now ever since '42 but I was raised back there in Oklahoma. I just work out here" or "I've lived right here in this cabin with my wife for 11 years but we go back each year. That's my home as long as my folks are alive." Disagreement between husband and wife as to the location of their home was not infrequent, women were less likely than men to regard a trailer, tent, or cabin as their home.

Approximately two-thirds of the workers named some point in the San Joaquin Valley as their homes, 8 percent more named some other point in California. (Table 24.) Almost 20 percent said they felt stronger home ties to some point outside the State; for two workers this was in Mexico. Almost 10 percent said they could not identify any place as their home; it was wherever they stopped.

Table 24.-Location of permanent home, workers in sample of farm-labor force, San Joaquin Valley, Calif., 1948

Location of home	Number ^{1/}	Percent
California	366	71.5
San Joaquin Valley	324	63.3
Northern California	10	2.0
Southern California	32	6.2
Other States	96	18.7
Oklahoma	32	6.2
Arkansas	19	3.7
Texas	14	2.7
Arizona	9	1.8
Other	22	4.3
Mexico	2	.4
No home	48	9.4
Total	512	100.0

^{1/} Heads of households and unattached workers.

Although most of them were fairly sentimental in regard to home and family ties, yet some had been so mobile they had disassociated themselves from any particular location. One said "You see my five children. They were born first on one side of the road, then on the other. We just get along wherever we are."

SUMMARY

The agricultural economy of the San Joaquin Valley makes highly variable demands on a labor force. The heaviest demand is for harvest labor on perishable crops during 3 or 4 fall months. After the harvest season is over 80 percent of the workers are not needed for a period of several months. Estimated demands are: 110,000 hired workers at the peak in October; 20,000 to 25,000 in March.

Some crops are concentrated in one part of the Valley and some in another. They ripen at different times, so farm workers must move from place to place if they are to have any continuity of work.

The major sources of labor in the Valley now are the "Okies" who started coming to the area during the time of drought, depression, and sharecropper eviction. Mexican workers are also a large element in the labor force, particularly at the southern end of the Valley.

A sample of the hired work force was interviewed during 1948. The sample comprised 512 heads of family units and the members of their households — a total of 2,113 persons, of whom 1,026 did some work for pay during the year.

Farm labor had been the major occupation of approximately half of these workers before the war. At that time one-fifth had been farm operators and another fifth in nonfarm work, according to their reports. Many shifted to farm labor during or after the war.

During the previous year 152 had done harvest work only. They are the "fruit tramps" that move from crop to crop. In addition, 109 did harvest work plus such simple preharvest operations as thinning fruit and chopping cotton. A total of 273 had done some general farm work — cultivating, hauling, irrigating, and pruning. Only 33, however, had done general farm work alone; the rest had also done harvest or preharvest work.

Almost 40 percent did some nonfarm work during that year. For 18 percent, nonfarm work had been their major activity and they supplemented it by seasonal farm jobs. Some made regular shifts between farm and nonfarm work, others were in the farm-labor market because of recent cessation of their urban employment.

The average number of days worked during the previous year was 165. Year-round workers averaged 263 days, general farm workers 159, and harvest workers 124. Migratory workers averaged somewhat less than those who worked only in one county. Those who did nonfarm work averaged 188 days — decidedly higher than those who did farm work only.

A generalized statement as to the time worked by all heads of households is as follows: 10 percent were employed full time, or 11 months, or more; 15 percent were employed from 8 to 11 months; 37 percent from 6 to 8 months; 18 percent from 4 to 6 months; and 20 percent for less than 4 months.

Approximately one-third of the wives worked for pay. They averaged somewhat less than half as many work days as their husbands. Fifteen percent of the children and youth under 18 were reported as having done some work.

Days of employment in 1948 were somewhat below the average for a normal season. There were several reasons: (1) Winter drought caused growers to retrench on labor costs, (2) yields were poor and ripening conditions of early season fruit crops were not favorable, (3) an ample labor supply was available considering the amount of work to be done. Cotton was the best crop in the Valley during the year from the standpoint of employment and earnings.

Forty-four percent of the workers lived and worked in one county. The rest moved to some other county in order to get enough work. Twenty-seven percent moved to one other county only; the others moved more widely.

Movement outside the Valley generally was to Arizona, Imperial County, California, or Oklahoma in the fall or winter months or to northern California, Oregon or Washington in June or July. Heaviest movement was inside the Valley, to the cherry and apricot areas at the north in the spring, to the grape area near Fresno in August, and to the tomato area at the north end or the cotton area at the south in September. The tomato pickers as soon as the best picking was over also went south to the cotton.

Many of the workers were building permanent homes in the Valley. Approximately one-third of the interviewed workers were in this group but two-thirds were contacted in labor camps, operated by growers, by labor contractors, by grower associations, or by private individuals on a commercial basis. A third of the workers in these camps said they regarded their cabins, trailers, or tents as their permanent homes.

APPENDIX

METHODS USED IN STUDY

SAMPLING METHOD

The labor force to be studied included from 90,000 to 100,000 persons living in an area 265 miles long by 60 miles wide, in parts of nine counties. Each county had a resident labor supply but much of the peak harvest labor was done by people who either came from other counties within the area or from outside the area altogether. To take a sample at the quiet season of the year would miss many of the transient workers, so each area was sampled close to the height of the major local harvest. This might have resulted in oversampling the transient group of workers; to avoid this, worker residential areas were sampled somewhat more heavily than transient camps.

The make-up of the labor force varied from one crop to another during the year; for example, the asparagus was harvested mainly by Filipinos, the ladder crops by "Okies," the tomatoes, grapes, and cotton by Anglo-Americans and Mexicans. So it was necessary to draw a sample from each harvest in proportion to the total number of workers employed in it. But the sample was not confined to harvest workers, nor to workers in any specific crops. The objective was to give all workers in an area at the time of the harvest an equal chance to be included — year-round workers, general farm and harvest workers, those in the major crops, and those in all other crops and operations.

Estimates from the California State Employment Service gave the number of people working in each crop in each area, week by week, during the year. These data provided the basis as to the number of workers to be interviewed in connection with each major harvest so as to make a total of approximately 500 interviews for the 1948 harvest season. During the past five years the Bureau of Agricultural Economics has been drawing samples within the farm work force in the Valley in order to obtain wage rate data. These samples supplied the basis for drawing the proper proportion of year-round and seasonal workers.

As each harvest area was entered, officials of the California State Employment Service, labor contractors, and county farm advisers were questioned as to: The composition of the labor force in the area at the time, the types of work done the number of workers who were local and transient, their nationality, and family status. Then they were questioned as to where these people lived. The local sample was drawn up according to the information received from them.

The areas and crops directly covered were as follows:

<u>Area</u>	<u>Major crop and activity</u>	<u>Number in sample</u>
Stockton - Delta	Asparagus cutting and packing	16
Wasco - Shafter	Potato picking, cotton chopping	58
Tulare - Ivanhoe - Cutler - Poplar	Cotton chopping, citrus picking, plum picking	50
Linden - Lodi	Cherry picking	23
Brentwood	Apricot picking	20
Patterson - Modesto	Apricot picking	30
Empire - Riverbank - Hughson	Peach picking	44
Turlock - Delhi - Newman	Haying, dairying, melon picking	25
Sanger - Selma - Kernan	Raisin grape picking	47
Tracy - Lodi - Thornton	Tomato picking, grape picking	32
Arvin - Lamont - Weedpatch	Cotton picking, grape picking	23
Visalia - Lindsay - Earlimont	Cotton picking, citrus picking, grape picking	51
Tranquillity - Helm - Five Points - Huron	Cotton picking	63
McFarland - Delano	Cotton picking	30

Practically all workers were interviewed at their homes or in their housing quarters at camps. A random sample was not easily obtained in all areas. It was simple in the larger camps which maintained a roster of the occupants; there every tenth or twelfth name on the list was marked for an interview. In smaller camps and in residential areas the sample was taken on a row and area basis, say, the first house in Row 1, the middle house in Row 2, and the last in Row 3, with the next adjacent house as alternate if the people in the first selected house were not farm workers or could not be found. In some camps the more permanent workers were located at the front of the camp and the more transient at the rear. Likewise in residential areas, the first settlers frequently lived at the edge nearest town and the newest ones farthest away. Hence a sample spread widely from side to side and end to end was likely to give equal representation to all types of workers.

To save time, no sample was taken in very small camps nor in residential areas in which a high proportion of the residents were nonfarm people. As a result several types of farm workers did not have an equal opportunity to appear in the sample: (1) workers living on small farms which had housing for only a few families, (2) farm workers living in town or city areas where the bulk of the population was nonfarm, (3) farm operators who lived on their own farms and worked out for neighbors, and (4) farm workers living in single-family houses in the country away from any cluster of farm-worker homes. The general opinion was that these omissions would not greatly affect the validity of the sample.

Although the sample presents a good general cross section of the labor force in the Valley no attempt was made to expand the figures and arrive at totals for the Valley. The study is exploratory in nature. It is possible that more detailed studies for specific counties or for specific crops may be formulated later.

I. Location _____ Date _____

Anglo-American _____ Major employment of head during: _____
 Latin American _____ 1938-1940 _____
 Negro _____ 1943-1945 _____
 Oriental _____ 1947-1948 _____
 Year came to Calif. _____ Occupation _____ Industry _____
 From _____ Annual job or mobility pattern? _____
 State _____
 No. years migrated _____

Line No.	Relationship to head	Sex	Age	Present activity	Days worked during last 12 months
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					

III. Employment of members of family in household during past 12 months.

[illegible]

IV. Last nonfarm employment of members of family in household prior to past 12 months.

[illegible]

V. Members of family in household who tried unsuccessfully to shift permanently into nonfarm employment within past 12 months.

[illegible]

VI. Work days idle during past 12 months.

[illegible]

VII. Period members of family in household received public funds during past 12 months (weeks).

[illegible]

Instructions on Schedule (Revised)

I. Name of respondent will not be obtained.

Location: Town, camp, or ranch at which schedule is taken.

Also state type of habitation - cabin, trailer, tent.
If this is not the worker's home give its location.

Year came to California: First time to work or to stay.
Do not include visits.

Year migrated: Not necessarily consecutive.

Annual job or mobility pattern: If he has one; otherwise
explain his present situation.

II. Working members: All who worked for pay during past 12 months.

III. Employment during past 12 months: For each member of family.

IV. Last nonfarm employment: Of head only, irrespective of how long ago.

V. Times at nonfarm employment: By head only, irrespective of how long ago.

VI. Work days idle: By head only. Account for a total of 306 working days.
This item should correspond with entries in items II and III,
days employed.

Sickness or injury: Of head of family only.

Weather condition: That directly prevented work. Days lost
due to frozen crops, etc. come under "no work available."

Travel time: Time in traveling from place to place, not time
spent in driving around locally looking for work.

Vacation, visits: All days taken out for relaxation, visits, etc.

No work available: When worker was able and willing to work.

VII. Public funds: Omit.