

MIGRATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE

*An approach to the problem
of the non-settled person
in the community*

By
Philip E. Ryan

1940

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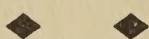
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M I G R A T I O N AND SOCIAL WELFARE

*An approach to the problem of the
non-settled person in the community*

By PHILIP E. RYAN

*Formerly Executive Secretary
Council on Interstate Migration*



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CONTENTS

	PAGE
FOREWORD	vii
I. INTRODUCTORY	I
II. MIGRATION IN THE BUILDING OF AMERICA	3
III. THE DEPRESSION DECADE, 1930-1939	7
Federal Transient Program (1933-1935)	8
IV. TODAY'S MIGRATION	12
Forces Underlying Today's Migration	12
Types of Migration	14
Origins, Lines of Flow, Destinations	16
Volume of Movement	23
Outlook for Continued Migration	26
V. WHEN MIGRANT MEETS COMMUNITY	28
Employment	28
Health	32
Housing	34
Education	37
Family and Child Welfare	40
Prevention of Delinquency	42
Recreation	43
Religious Activities	44
Civil Liberties	45
Social Insurance	47
Relief	48
VI. THE PROVISION OF ASSISTANCE	49
The Settlement Laws	49
Public Assistance	53
Care by Private Agencies	59
VII. PROPOSALS AND EXPERIMENTS	62
Prevention of Wasteful Movement	62
Adjusting Community-Migrant Relationships	70

VIII. TOWARD A NATIONAL POLICY	89
Coordinated Governmental Effort	89
Coordinated Volunteer Effort	94
Joint Planning	98
TOPICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY ON INTERSTATE MIGRATION	99
INDEX	III

FOREWORD

COMMUNITY attempts to deal with non-settlement and transiency lead sooner or later to recognition of the national character of the problem. People move about, under pressure of circumstance and in search of new opportunity, with little regard for the restraining barriers set up against them by the states and their subdivisions. Migration is a national phenomenon, and the problems arising from it increasingly and appropriately challenge national attention.

What are these problems? The author identifies the more pressing of them without presuming to suggest final solutions. His monograph constitutes an "approach" to the subject under discussion, not an exhaustive analysis of it. Yet in untangling threads which lead from "the non-settled person in the community" back to the sources and causes of migration and forward to the social effects of inadequate welfare provision, a distinctive service has been rendered and guides to further analysis established.

Grateful acknowledgment is made to a group of persons identified with the late Council on Interstate Migration—of which Mr. Ryan was executive secretary until its dissolution—for assistance in planning the scope and contents of this publication.

RUSSELL H. KURTZ, *Director*,
Social Work Year Book Department

January, 1940

I

INTRODUCTORY

THE problem of the non-settled person in the community is a perplexing one. To the social welfare administrator it presents difficulties which are peculiarly baffling, for as a result of his dual obligation to relieve need without prejudice and to protect his community against exploitation he finds himself on the horns of a dilemma whenever a person without legal settlement applies for aid. If he grants the required assistance he encounters community objection to spending local money on "outsiders." If he refuses such aid, he knows that heavy penalties will accrue both against the applicant, in suffering and social breakdown, and against the community, in losses to public health and safety. Should he be an administrator of public funds his choice of courses is limited by laws and practices, including settlement and residence provisions, which prescribe what he may and may not do in such cases, usually prohibiting the granting of more than emergency aid to any but local residents.

Thus the needy migrant in American life finds himself a virtual outcast from the social provisions which have been set up over the years as safeguards against human insecurity and want. He discovers that the fact of his migration does not square with the theory apparently underlying social legislation, that all persons live out their lives in the communities of their birth. Whatever the cause of his moving, he finds that he has exposed himself to hazards which can be eliminated only by a prolonged period of self-support in some other community or by returning to the place from which he started if his settlement rights there have not already been lost.

The community's response to the migrant's needs is understandable. It is inconsistent, however, with the attitudes prevailing when manpower is required and community growth and development are under way. Then the newcomer receives a welcome which flows from a recognition of his potential producing and consuming power in the

locality. At such times the migrant is viewed as an asset rather than as a liability and is given every encouragement to enter the community and take up residence.

It should be obvious that not all migration is attended with requests for community assistance, even in times of extensive unemployment. A substantial proportion of those workers who move have sufficient assets to enable them to make their own adjustments without the welfare administrator ever being aware of their presence. If mobility has its "trouble aspect," that aspect is only a part of the total picture which migration presents.

The pages of history are filled with the record of man's movement away from a lesser toward a greater opportunity, of a search for security and happiness in some more favorable environment. The growing pressure of circumstances in the old setting, coupled with the lure of distant "green pastures," has ever served to keep humanity free—and moving. The urge to better oneself has been present in all ages and among all peoples, and assuredly always will be.

Today's migrants are but the latest contingent of that large army of persons who prefer movement with hope of betterment to that poor stability which their previous lot seemed to afford. The "transient," the migratory laborer following the crops, the southern-bred Negro in the northern city, the drought refugee in the Pacific Northwest, the West Virginia mountaineer in Detroit—these and an endless variety of others are the current manifestations, here in American life, of that historical and deep-rooted tendency to "push on" whenever defeat looms or hope beckons.

Is it possible to revise our social and economic machinery so that the conflict between the migrant and the community can be resolved with gains to both, and consequently to the nation as a whole?

II

MIGRATION IN THE BUILDING OF AMERICA

MIGRATION has been an essential part of American life and development ever since the New World appeared on the western horizon, a lure for the adventurous, an opportunity for the ambitious, and a haven for the oppressed of Europe.

During the two centuries following its discovery this country was the goal of numerous explorers, adventurers, missionaries, and colonists from England and the Continent. The Spanish laid the foundations of an empire in the South, the French in the North, and the English on the eastern seaboard.

In 1607 the English succeeded in establishing their first permanent settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. That the earliest colonists were a motley assortment of persons ill-fitted to pioneering is evident from the letter written by Captain John Smith to the London Company after several shiploads of "gentlemen, goldsmiths, and adventurers" had arrived:

When you send again, I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand such as we have.

To Plymouth, on the other hand, in 1620 came farmers, laborers, and artisans, while the Massachusetts Bay colonists who settled to the north ten years later—the Puritans of New England's proud history—contained many propertied members of England's middle class. Other colonial groups came from France, Spain, and the Netherlands, each making its own contribution to early American culture.

New alignments began to form almost immediately around class or religious issues. Roger Williams led a dissenting religious band through the wilderness to the head of Narragansett Bay and founded

what is now Providence, Rhode Island. Other groups broke off for various reasons and established links in that chain of first settlements which fringed the seaboard.

Successive waves of colonial immigration, coupled with a natural increase in the settled population, soon began to exert a pressure which forced the frontier westward. Adams points out that within a few generations "opportunity appeared to a great extent to have been monopolized by the rich and influential, and many of the poorer people felt that even here in the New World they were being shut out not only from a chance to rise, but from opportunity to maintain their living on a small scale. . . . If, when they tramped westward with their families and few belongings, they held courage and hope in their hearts, they also lodged bitterness there against the colonial rich whom they deemed responsible for their plight."¹

The frontier was soon west of the Appalachians and moving rapidly onward through the Ohio and Mississippi valleys toward the Rockies. To quote Adams again:

. . . the population had already begun to spill over the mountains before the Revolution, but after independence was won, the trickling streams became a flood. In 1788 nearly a thousand boats, containing over 18,000 men, women, and children, carried settlers down the Ohio. Emigrants were largely from New England, and indeed the section known as the "Western Reserve" became a sort of second New England, with its town meetings and general type of New England life. Other settlers, however, were also pouring through passes over the mountains from the South, and by 1790 there were at least 170,000 inhabitants in the Western country. . . . If ever men were free, these were.²

The Beards paint a graphic picture of this westward surge of pioneers which went on unabated well into the nineteenth century:

The rolling tide of migration that swept across the mountains and down the valleys, spreading out through the forests and over the prairies, advanced in successive waves. In the vanguard was the man with the rifle—grim, silent, and fearless. . . .

If, amid these rough surroundings, the hunter himself was content, it could not often be said that his wife was equally satisfied

¹ Adams, James Truslow, *The Epic of America*, Little, Brown & Company, pp. 65-66.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

with her share in the contest. Nearly always she was a reluctant fugitive from a civilization of a higher order and could not help pining for the softer things of older societies. . . .

When by the immigration of settlers her forest home began to take on some of the elements of civilization, her hunter husband, finding his game supply diminishing, was sure to grow restless and begin to talk of "going West." After much discussion, sometimes interspersed with lamentation, he would induce or command his family "to pull up stakes and strike for the tall timber." After all, for him, the migration was no great effort. . . .

In the wake of the man with a rifle came the seekers of permanent homes. In the Northwest, and usually in the Southwest, the leader in this next phase of occupation was the man with a plow, or, to speak more correctly, the family with established habits of domestic economy. . . .

Sometimes the family of this class remained rooted for at least two or three generations in its first settlement; but often it was quickly struck with the western fever and moved on like the hunter in search of a new Eldorado. In the far country it was not uncommon to find homesteaders who had camped five or six times on their westward march. Indeed, as the renewal of exhausted soil called for more scientific knowledge than many a farmer could command, migration to virgin country was the easiest way out of poverty for the unskilled.¹

Thus, by the process of migration and the escape which it often offered from economic and social entanglements, there was preserved, for generation after generation, what Adams calls the American dream, "the belief in the value of the common man, and the hope of opening every avenue of opportunity to him. . . ."² By the middle of the century migrants were peopling the Pacific Coast by the thousands, with the gold rush of the Forty-niners furnishing the dramatic high point of the movement.

The development of the country after the Civil War was attended with countless eddies in the still westward stream of population movement. Limitations of space prohibit tracing these cross-currents or discussing their causes and effects in any detail. A few of the more important may, however, be suggested:

¹ From Beard, Charles A. and Mary R., *The Rise of American Civilization*, pp. 516-519. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

² Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

The need for man-power to build the railroads which began to span the plains and mountains of the West

The rapid exploitation of mineral and coal deposits

The feverish activity of the lumbering industry, with men surging in and out of the woods on seasonal call

The development of the huge grain and livestock operations of the plains and plateau states, calling for thousands of footloose harvesters and herdsmen

The rise of industrial centers in the Great Lakes region, drawing increasing man-power to the new factories from the agricultural areas

The development of seasonal transportation on the Great Lakes

The northward migration of Negroes to the industrial centers.

The counter-currents and eddies of movement became more pronounced as the years went by. Certain cities, such as Chicago, Kansas City, and Minneapolis, became centers of in-and-out population flow as seasonal demands in the agricultural and timbering regions exerted their rhythmic pull. Other localities—Akron and Flint, for example—fluctuated widely in population count from year to year, depending on whether business was expanding or contracting. Successive waves of immigration from Europe gave added impetus to internal population movement. Mining camps flourished and were abandoned; oil fields “boomed” and died; cattle country was exploited and exhausted. The country was big, opportunity seemed limitless, and there was little reason to “stay put,” once the squeeze of economic circumstance brought distress to the resident of an overcrowded area.

III

THE DEPRESSION DECADE

1930-1939

IT is unnecessary to re-draw here the familiar picture of the depression years 1930-1939. Certain aspects of that picture may, however, be high-lighted as an aid to understanding the plight of the migrant today. These include:

The downward spiralling of employment after 1929 to a low point in 1933, from which only sporadic and incomplete recovery had been made by 1939

The mounting need for relief and the pyramiding cost of providing it as the depression advanced, with later categorization of some forms of assistance

The flight from relief by many young men and boys who left home in the early years of the depression so that there would be "one less mouth to feed" on the scant rations there available

The frantic search for work, which caused persons and families to shift from one community to another as employment contracted

The return of unemployed industrial workers to the farms, and the departure from other agricultural sections of displaced tenants, farm laborers, and owners driven out by mechanical and economic changes occurring there

The exodus from the Dust Bowl and contiguous areas caused by the great droughts of 1933-1935.

In brief, the decade was marked by a severe multiplication, on the one hand, of the forces making for population movement and by a sharp restriction, on the other, of possibilities for effecting a satisfactory adjustment once migration was begun. The railroads and highways became clogged with free riders, hitch-hikers, and families in "flivvers," all bound for new and personal frontiers in a land which

had lost its physical frontier years before. To the observer who had forgotten his history, this was not migration but "transiency"; and the conviction grew that transiency was socially wasteful and dangerous, and hence should be curbed.

Federal Transient Program (1933-1935)

Faced with the enormous burden of caring for the resident unemployed, the communities had neither time nor money to aid the outsider. Although there was some expansion of mass shelters in a few places, the more typical community response to the growing volume of transiency was further recourse to the traditional "passing-on" policy with all its evils. Each locality felt bound to protect itself from an "invasion" of unwelcome newcomers, and to that end restrictive measures were increasingly applied between 1930 and 1933.

The problem became so acute in 1932 that the United States Children's Bureau called the nation's attention to it in a publication entitled *Memorandum on the Transient Boy* which stimulated a wave of popular articles on the subject. Early in the following year the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless¹ attempted to measure the extent of transiency by conducting two censuses of homeless and transient persons under care in a large number of localities. The second of these counts, made in March, 1933, enumerated a total of 201,596 non-resident persons needing assistance in 765 cities.

During the hearings on relief needs held by Senate committees in 1932 and 1933 the problem of the non-resident received considerable attention. As a result there was included in the Federal Emergency Relief Act of 1933 a section providing that "The [Federal Emergency Relief] Administrator may certify out of the funds made available . . . additional grants to states applying therefor to aid needy persons who have no legal settlement in any one state or community." Under this authority the Administrator, on July 26, 1933, announced the launching of the Federal Transient Program.

¹ The Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless was formed in 1932 as a committee of the National Social Work Council. Its membership was drawn from the staff or membership of national social agencies, from the academic world, from the fields of social research and interpretation, and from the ranks of private citizens. It undertook to develop national interest directed to the solution of the problems of non-settled and homeless persons. The Committee became inactive in 1939.

A "transient" was defined as a person who had been within state borders less than twelve months. The federal government assumed the entire cost of aiding these persons. "State transients"—those who had been in the state more than twelve months but who had no settlement there—were also granted assistance, but from other federal funds. Families as well as unattached individuals were aided.

By October, 1934, transient programs were operating in the District of Columbia and all of the states except Vermont. Transient centers and camps had been established for unattached individuals, and family relief was being given to non-settled groups in their own homes. Transportation to places of legal settlement was also available. Aid was granted to meet the elemental needs of food, shelter, and clothing. Medical care was available, although hospitalization could not be provided from federal funds. Facilities for handling venereal disease and tuberculosis were generally lacking. In the camps, extensive recreational programs were conducted and valuable work projects were carried out. A small cash allowance was granted to workers in addition to their maintenance.

There is no accurate measure of the total number of transients aided under this program. Webb and Brown estimate that some 200,000 migrant families, containing approximately 700,000 persons, were assisted during the slightly more than two years in which the program was operated.¹ No comparable estimate of the number of unattached individuals has been made, but the highest monthly registration of such persons was 341,428 in April, 1935.² On this subject Webb says:

Actually, the transient unemployed were not a definite and fixed group in the total relief population. On the contrary, the transient unemployed were a relief population that changed its membership constantly, and was never the same on any two days in any one place. It was a population that included some who crossed the continent within a month; some whose movements were restricted to a radius of a hundred miles of the place they once called home; and still others who drifted slowly from North to South, or East to West, and back as the seasons, employment opportunities, rumor, or curiosity directed.³

¹ Webb, John N. and Brown, Malcolm, *Migrant Families*, Works Progress Administration, p. xiv.

² Webb, John N., *The Transient Unemployed*, Works Progress Administration, p. 100.

³ Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

For the first time in history it was possible during this period to secure a nation-wide picture of the kinds of people who were called transients. Reliable information secured during the program and reported by Webb and by Reed¹ indicates that these transients were not hoboes but frequently were among the most enterprising and energetic members of their former communities. They came from all walks of life. These studies reveal that there is little reason to consider transients a distinct and separate group in the total relief population. Those studied were somewhat younger, as a class, but this tended to increase their employability. They were predominantly a native white group, with unemployment the major cause for their migration. It has also been observed that transient family heads were more successful than the great majority of local relief family heads in finding work in a crowded labor market.

In September, 1935, following the decision to change the federal program from one of relief to one of work, the Federal Transient Program was abandoned. Intake was closed on September 20, and a deadline of dissolution was set for November, 1935. Care for transients was thrown back upon the localities. They were even less able to handle the problem than they had been in 1933, since many earlier local agencies concerned with care of non-residents had been abandoned.

That the Federal Transient Program was responsible for any considerable increase in transiency and that it gave aimless wanderers a chance to "see the country" at government expense, has been refuted by several studies. Its major faults were the segregation of transients as a people apart from the settled group requiring assistance, and the failure—due to a number of causes—to integrate the program with state and local administrations of public assistance.

One of the latest comments on the Federal Transient Program has come from the American Bar Association in a report which calls for national responsibility in the field of transient relief. The committee making the report states:

It seems an unfortunate commentary on social thinking and social welfare administration that the federal transient program was permitted to be liquidated. Community opposition had in large

¹ Reed, Ellery F., *Federal Transient Program: An Evaluative Survey*, Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless.

measure been overcome, and in many cases emergency services rendered by such transient workers had been of substantial value.¹

Following the dissolution of the Federal Transient Program certain of the transient camps were operated for a time by the Works Progress Administration (WPA), but comparatively few migrants received aid in this way. Assistance through the Civilian Conservation Corps was granted to some of the younger men. But, on the whole, federal assistance to non-residents was almost entirely withdrawn. The transient problem itself, however, was not dissipated.

The termination of the Federal Transient Program brought strong protests from all parts of the country. States and localities, already overburdened with the relief needs of their own residents, objected to this additional load. Finding no hope of federal assistance, they returned to the traditional methods but with even greater restrictions. Blockades at some state borders were attempted. Periods required for gaining settlement were raised and other barriers to the acquisition of settlement were imposed.

The conflict between the migrant's needs and those of the community has grown steadily sharper as new forces have made more necessary the movement of people, and as economic opportunities have continued to prove insufficient for local residents. In some few states and localities, assistance has been made available to non-residents but, on the whole, it is a picture of extreme restriction which faces the student as he examines the problems of migration in America today.

¹ American Bar Association, Transient Population and Itinerant Relief. In *Handbook of Reports of Sections and Committees*, 1939, p. 19.

IV

TODAY'S MIGRATION

MIGRATION in American life needs more study today than it has been given in the past. Until we know more about the forces giving rise to population movement, the types of migration set in motion by these forces, the distribution by source, line of flow, and destination, the volume of movement, and the outlook for continued displacement and attempted readjustment, we cannot cope intelligently with the problems presented by such movement.

Forces Underlying Today's Migration

There are forces of both expulsion and attraction which cause people to move. These forces create successful as well as unsuccessful migration. They have many variants and appear in numerous combinations in particular cases.

It is generally agreed that the major forces underlying migration today are *economic*. As one student has expressed it:

In general, it appears that the chief reason for migration of all kinds, international, interregional, intersectional and even, to a certain extent, local migration, is the desire to better the economic situation of the migrating group or individual. After making such a statement one should hasten to add that many individuals and groups have moved from their native homes to new locations because of other reasons, reasons which are as various as the interests of man in achieving a more satisfactory mode of living. But when all these multitudinous motives are taken into account, it yet appears that the economic motive has been, and continues to be the predominant motive lying at the base of man's migratory movements. It can perhaps be said safely that migration is a process of social osmosis. It is one of the means which man has always used to establish a more satisfactory relation between his wants and his fulfillment of them. It is an attempt to equalize as best he can what he feels to be the unequal pressure of environment on individuals and groups.¹

¹ Thompson, Warren S., *Research Memorandum on Internal Migration in the Depression*, Social Science Research Council, p. 7.

Loss of employment is probably the greatest single force resulting in the movement of persons from one community to another. A job may be lost permanently through the relocation of industry, technological displacement of labor, collapse of the market for the product of a specific industry, or the exhaustion of the natural resources, such as mineral deposits, timber, or other basic materials, upon which an industry has been built. Seasonal reductions in the labor demand of particular industries may set in motion a shuttling migration between two points or occupations, as with the automobile worker who in slack seasons returns to farming occupations. On the other hand, repeated seasonal lay-offs may cause the worker to seek, through moving, a new and more steady employment.

Even among those fortunate in having some employment, the conditions may be such as to convince the worker that better employment may be secured in some other place. Such factors as low wages, long hours, lack of personal satisfaction in the job, unhealthful working conditions, or lack of a chance for advancement may set up an expulsive force causing migration. While it may appear at first that this is not an important factor in mobility during depression periods, it is undoubtedly true that as a depression causes lower wages and less desirable working conditions, the worker may feel that a better opportunity lies "over the hill."

Closely related to the above factors is the attractive force of real or rumored employment opportunities to be found in other communities. These may be in industry or in agriculture, and may prove to be of a seasonal nature or may even be non-existent. The development of new industries or construction projects, or new demands for agricultural labor, tend to set up vacuums drawing to them workers in search of employment. Frequently the migration of laborers to job opportunities is overstimulated by employers who hope, by the surplus thus created, to force down wage rates and make difficult the organization of the workers.¹

Migration also occurs among young people who may have learned skills for which there is no local market, or who may be unskilled and living in regions where there is little or no demand for their labor. Mobility caused by such imbalance is especially apparent among large

¹ For a particular reference to this practice in mechanized agriculture, see McWilliams, Carey, *Factories in the Field*, Little, Brown & Company.

rural families where there are insufficient opportunities for young people as they come to working age.

It will also be recognized that in our economic system there is work which requires almost constant travel. Usually the mobility resulting from such occupations does not come to the attention of the public welfare administrator, but these occupations should be noted as contributing to population movement in American life.

Migration is usually thought of as affecting only the wage-earner. There are forces, however, which act similarly upon the owners of small businesses or farms. Business failure, loss of farm or tenancy, and the rumor of better opportunities elsewhere give rise to mobility among these groups as well as among the wage-earning classes.

There are also identifiable *social and personal* forces causing people to move. These are frequently the result of regional or occupational disadvantages, often complicated by wide variations in the rate of population reproduction. Among these are:

The lack at place of present residence of adequate educational, medical, relief, or recreational facilities

Family discord, or hope for better family adjustment

Unhealthful living conditions which lead to a search for better climatic advantages

Escape from social ostracism or discrimination, real or imagined, or a search for more desirable social contacts

Mental or physical handicaps, making change to new environment seem desirable

Desire to live with relatives or friends for either economic or social reasons

Desire to escape from community in which people are aware of delinquent action

Quest for excitement and adventure.

Types of Migration

Students of migration recognize several types of population movement resulting from the endless variety of expulsive and attractive forces suggested above.

The United States Department of Labor in its study, *Migration of Workers*, divides interstate migrants into two major classifications, "constant" and "removal":

Seasonal and casual workers who move continually from job to

job will be referred to as *constant migrants*. Migration is sometimes mistakenly discussed as though this were the only group of migrants. Even more fundamental and presenting at times extremely serious problems is the group of removal migrants, who move in response to a fairly permanent relocation of their work. Such migration may be internal or across international boundaries. The westward movement of population in the United States is an important example of internal removal, while the arrival of foreign immigrants to this country is a movement of the same type except that it takes place across national lines.

Frequently the removal migrants merge into the class of constant migrants. Thus the drought refugees, who are clearly removal migrants in origin, have often become seasonal workers, moving from job to job, when they have been unable to re-establish themselves permanently in any one community. Much migration during the recent depression also belongs to an intermediate class. Numerous depression migrants took to the road because of lack of work or relief at home and not usually with the intention of moving constantly. Some have returned to their former homes, so that their migration was special and temporary. Some have resettled, and thus become removal migrants. Others have continued to search for work on the road and so become constant migrants recruited from the relocating forces of the depression.¹

The terms "occasional" and "habitual" have also been used to identify these types. The occasional or removal migrants constitute a much larger number than do the constant or habitual, although studies of migration tend to emphasize the problems of the constantly moving group.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), in establishing the Federal Transient Program, defined two types of transients, intrastate and interstate, and distinguished these from the local homeless. These classifications were described in an FERA memorandum issued July 26, 1933:

It should be remembered that in any local community there will be three types of homeless persons or families:

1. Local homeless residents
2. State homeless, more than twelve months in State
3. Transient homeless, less than twelve months in State

In commenting on this description, Webb says "The Federal Emer-

¹ U. S. Department of Labor, *Migration of Workers*, p. 2.

gency Relief Administration's memorandum of July 26, 1933, was the first attempt to segregate the homeless into local (resident), State (intrastate), and transient (interstate) homeless."¹

Basing a third classification on the type of work performed and the work habit or pattern of migrants, Webb has also differentiated between the migratory casual worker, the tramp, and the transient unemployed person. The *migratory casual worker* is described as one who "travels regularly over a relatively large area and is dependent for a living on work that is distinctly seasonal or intermittent, and for the most part, casual in nature . . . the combination of habitual migration and short-time employment. . . ." The *tramp*, known by many definitions, is described as a "mobile non-worker." The *transient unemployed*, the depression transients, are those who, through unemployment, were displaced from a comparatively stable occupation and left home in search of more regular employment.

Other types suggested by various studies are the following:

Agricultural refugees: the individuals and families who have fled the Dust Bowl, the displaced tenants and sharecroppers of the South and Southwest, and others unable to make a living in agriculture, many of whom have become migratory agricultural workers

Health seekers: including persons with tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases, seeking a milder, drier climate in the belief that this would be advantageous for them; the venereally diseased seeking treatment away from home; and persons in need of medical or hospital care not available to them in their home communities

Unattached persons and families: a distinction frequently made, for statistical reasons as well as for determining whether or not care will be granted, between persons in family groups and those who are unaccompanied by relatives

Rural-urban, urban-rural, rural-rural, urban-urban: a distinction drawn by sociologists to distinguish migrants according to source and destination.

Origins, Lines of Flow, Destinations

It must be apparent that population movement may originate in any community and proceed in any direction, and that almost every section

¹ Webb, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

of the country is a potential point of destination for some part of it. The community which is not affected by migration in any of its three stages is undoubtedly without the usual characteristics of life and change.

With respect to *origins*, it should be recognized that although every community contributes in some measure to the stream of migration, certain specific areas have been identified in numerous studies as "trouble spots" which have been, are, or soon will be sending out large numbers of migrants. These are: the Old Cotton Belt, the Southern Appalachian Coal Plateau, the Great Plains, and the Cut-Over Region of the Great Lakes.

The Old Cotton Belt is the region comprising those southeastern states in which cotton has long been grown by methods having accessory economic and social effects familiar to all: eroded soil, sharecropping and farm tenancy, shack housing for field labor, low social service standards, and dietary deficiencies affecting the health of large numbers. It is from this area that many of the present migrants come. Among the forces expelling them are excessive population pressure and economic changes due to advancing mechanization of agriculture. In every southeastern state except Florida the excess of births over deaths is greater than the average rate of increase in the nation. Mechanization has made it profitable to operate in larger units, displacing tenants and sharecroppers and shifting the employment pattern to one of day labor. Taylor¹ has pointed out that the program of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration has resulted in further mechanization and corresponding displacement of workers. Odum in his exhaustive study of the South has said:

These deficiencies in the balance of wealth and trade are matched by the migratory flow of people from the South which shows a net loss of more than 3,400,000 people since the turn of the century.

A part of the region's deficiency in organization and personnel is due to migration as is indicated by the positions of leadership which southern folk have attained in other regions and by constant call of superior appointments; a part is due to the deficiency in institutions for higher education and technical training; a part

¹ U. S. Senate, *Unemployment and Relief: Hearings Before a Special Committee to Investigate Unemployment and Relief*, 75th Congress, Third Session, pp. 1157-1171.

to the deficiency in organizations and technical equipment necessary for apprenticeship and development; a part to lack of cultural experience and to the inhibiting influence of a constricting intellectual environment; a part to the inhibiting influences of a physical environment, standards of housing, of diet, of work. Poverty and isolation, lack of medical attention, and lack of economic opportunity constrict millions in cultural and economic experience. Greatest waste of all is reflected in the vast potential power of millions of youth, undeveloped and untrained, moving through life without sensing their abilities or maturing their capacities, oblivious of the wide reaches of opportunity.¹

The Southern Appalachian Coal Plateau lies in West Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, to the west of the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Appalachian Valley. It is an area characterized by under-employment in mining and poor returns from agriculture. Although preserving high ethical and spiritual standards, the people have material standards that are exceedingly low. A high rate of natural increase has resulted in excessive pressure of population on available resources. The prevailing rate of increase in this region is from one and a half times to more than double the national average. Goodrich reports that during the early years of the depression there was a large return to this region in a "back to the land" movement and that this, coupled with the already excessive population, has made it even more necessary for future migration to occur from the area. During the 1920's, when there were more economic opportunities outside of the region, there was some but not enough out-migration. Goodrich concludes:

The Southern Appalachian plateaus emerge from our analysis as a region of severe pressure of population upon resources, not likely to be fully relieved by any expansion of industrial employment that can now be foreseen—a region, therefore, from which spontaneous migration is to be expected, and from which it should be encouraged.²

The Great Plains region constitutes the area of semi-arid climate lying east of the Rocky Mountains, including the western portions of North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma, and

¹ Odum, Howard W., *Southern Regions of the United States*, University of North Carolina Press, p. 51.

² Goodrich, Carter and others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity*, University of Pennsylvania Press, p. 119.

Texas, and the eastern portions of Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico. This region is characterized by a capricious climate having periods of heavier-than-average rainfall and droughts of unpredictable lengths occurring at irregular intervals. Much has been written about this area as a result of the extended droughts and dust storms of recent years. Misuse of the land has repeatedly been described as a major cause of the difficulties. Growing of wheat on land which should have been retained as pasturage set the stage for the wind erosion and dust tragedies which forced many off the land. It was from this area that many of the white families comprising the migratory laborers of the Pacific Coast states came in the later years of the depression, leaving behind them dust-covered farms and drought-denuded fields. The easing of drought conditions is in itself no solution to the problem of this region, since further out-migration apparently continues to be necessary. The United States Department of Labor report says:

Cessation of this drought migration is more to be feared than its continuation. The most recent technical report on the southern dust bowl by the Soil Conservation Service contains the recommendation that over 4 million acres, or 52 per cent of the area surveyed, should be returned to a permanent cover of native vegetation and converted from cultivation to light grazing. One authority connected with the same service believes that almost the whole of the Great Plains area should be returned to grazing. Such a complete conversion of the economy of the area would result in the displacement of nearly 900,000 people, or 210,000 families.¹

The Cut-Over Region of the Great Lakes includes the northern areas of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The area has been dependent upon forests, farms, and mines. Chronic problems of the area include rural poverty, isolated settlement on poor land, excessive costs of local government, and declining employment in mining and woodworking industries. These conditions find their basic causes in the exploitation of the forest resources, the fact that much of the land is unsuited to agriculture, and the competitive and technological changes in mining. During the early years of the depression these chronic problems were aggravated by increased unemployment in the

¹ U. S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

mines and a "back to the land" movement by depression migrants from industrial areas. Although it has been claimed that this region requires emigration for its proper development and that it is a potential source of considerable out-migration, a recent report recommends that the problems of the region be solved without recourse to mass migration.¹

Although emphasis has been placed upon the four "trouble areas," the reader should not lose sight of the fact that the forces causing migration operate in every community, no matter what its type. Local communities often fail to realize that while their attention is directed to the indigent newcomers, they are often contributing as many or more to the number of migrants needing help in other communities. On this point Coyle says:

For most of the towns and States of our country, the migrant is actually no net addition to the burden of relief. When the starting points and destinations of these travelers are marked on the map, it is found that most places are losing about as many people by migration as they are gaining. The trouble in these places is entirely a matter of visibility. When people who are about to be forced on relief climb into the car and trek for some other hunting ground, no one knows about it. But when an equal number of similar people arrive to take their places in the relief line, they seem like a net addition to the taxpayers' troubles. Unfortunately the only way to find out whether the new arrivals are really an unfair imposition on the locality is by statistical studies, which are bound to be indigestible and hard to accept. Yet facts are facts. People must come from somewhere.²

With respect to *lines of flow*, it has been pointed out that until comparatively recent years the great stream of movement was predominantly westward, although numerous cross-currents developed as the country began to fill out after the middle of the nineteenth century. United States census figures provide some indication of probable lines of movement followed by migrants, by relating place of birth to place of residence. These data show that the westward movement was maintained during the 1920's and also indicate that at the same time the populations of New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and the Great

¹ National Resources Committee, *Regional Planning: Part VIII—Northern Lake States*.

² Coyle, David Cushman, *Depression Pioneers*, Works Progress Administration, p. 14.

Lakes states were increasing as a result of net additions of migrating persons. They do not, however, trace the deviations from straight-line movements from origin to destination. The proposed questions on migration for use in the 1940 census¹ will be of great value in determining volume, sources, and destinations of migration but the courses followed will need to be ascertained from other material. It has been suggested that records of the Post Office Department or the Social Security Board might provide much needed information on this and other aspects of migration. The maintenance of a population register has also been suggested.

Some studies have been made of the routes followed by migratory laborers, especially in the far-western states. These studies have necessarily been limited in scope and have been restricted to a particular type of migrant. They have indicated the great amount of waste motion in such migration and have demonstrated the need for better direction in relating laborers to job opportunities. The diverse routes followed by migratory agricultural workers have been described in one report as follows:

The routes of migrants are curiously varied and irregular. For example, the strawberry pickers of Arkansas. Some are families from within the state who return to their homes when the picking is over. Some have picked earlier berries in Florida and Louisiana, and from Arkansas move to Missouri, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, for the later berry crops. Some will continue on to cherries in Michigan. Other pickers who have come to Arkansas from the central states swing northward to follow the wheat harvest through Kansas, Nebraska, and the Dakotas into Canada. Still others turn southward into Texas for cotton picking.

In the East many sharecroppers from Alabama, Georgia, and even Mississippi and Arkansas, migrate to Florida, forming a migration pattern similar to the recent swelling migration from Oklahoma, Arkansas, and Texas, to the harvest fields of Arizona and California. Some go East; some go West. In the spring, those who do not return home move northward from Florida. Some go "to peaches" in Georgia, but more to the strawberry, potato, and vegetable areas along the Carolina coast and as far as northern

¹ The test schedule for the 1940 Census of Population includes a question, never before used, designed to measure internal migration. It reads, "In what place did this person live on April 1, 1935?" and will specify city, town, or village, county, and state, as well as farm or non-farm.

Virginia. Negroes from the South move up to the oyster canneries of Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey.

Others from Florida move westward to the vegetable harvests of southern Mississippi; then to the tomato harvests of southern Tennessee. From there, some travel north to the apple harvests of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Some move farther west to the lower Rio Grande Valley of Texas, the Arkansas Valley of Colorado, and on to Oregon and Washington.¹

This lack of direction was also confirmed in the studies of the transient population aided under the Federal Transient Program.² There was apparently an over-all transfer of transients from the east to the west, but there was much evidence of aimless wandering from one urban area to another, often headed away from regions in which one might have thought that there would have been greater opportunities for employment. While most of the transients had definite destinations in mind and the choice of these destinations was reasonable, with better direction it might have been possible to eliminate many of the failures resulting in application for relief.

With respect to *destinations*, the data supplied by the federal census and illustrated by the maps of Galpin and Manny³ show the broad and significant changes which have occurred in America due to interstate migration. Since these data are taken at ten-year intervals and relate only to states of birth, they do not give the complete picture of population shifts nor provide current information on the destinations of migrants.

The study by Webb of the people given assistance through the Federal Transient Program provides data on destinations by a comparison of net gains and losses in the transient relief population over four quarterly censuses. Webb has concluded that the "unattached transiency [of 1933-1935] was a movement out of the States in the Northern and Northeastern sections of the country, into the States in the Southern, Southwestern and Western sections" and that in "family

¹ Lowry, Edith E., Compiler, *They Starve That We May Eat: Migrants of the Crops*, Council of Women for Home Missions, and Missionary Education Movement, pp. 14-15.

² Webb, *op. cit.*, and Webb and Brown, *op. cit.*

³ Galpin, C. J. and Manny, T. B., *Interstate Migrations Among the Native White Population as Indicated by Differences Between State of Birth and State of Residence: A Series of Maps Based on the Census, 1870-1930*, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

group migration . . . the more important movement was away from States in the West Central section of the country, and particularly from the States in the Drought Area, to the States on the Pacific Coast." There was also "a fairly clear indication that east of the Mississippi River there were conflicting movements of families North and South, and perhaps, East and West."¹ The study of Webb and Brown also indicates that the migration of transients during the depression bore a striking similarity to the normal displacement of families in the general population between 1920 and 1930.²

The Department of Labor report says: "There are few areas of positive attraction during depression. Relatively attractive is the security of an old home, a warm climate or an area reputed to grant relief freely."³ To this might be added the observation that the rumors of job possibilities are especially powerful attractions in times of depression.

The movement of drought refugees was almost universally directly westward, those of the southern drought states moving to California, while Washington, Oregon, and Idaho received refugees from the northern drought states. The Pacific Coast states have served as destinations for a great number of migrants, due to the attractions of climate, job possibilities in seasonal agriculture, and hope of relocation on newly developed land. Florida, too, has received great numbers of migrants due to its climatic advantages and seasonal employment opportunities. Seekers after climates favorable to health have for years journeyed to Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado. The industrial northern states have been receiving many of the migrants displaced by the breakdown of agriculture in the South while, at the same time, the South has received from other parts of the country many of its former residents now unable to compete in industrial occupations.

Volume of Movement

Available information on the size of the migrant population is scanty, not only because of the lack of a system by which the data could be secured but also because of the many types included in the term

¹ Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-87.

² Webb and Brown, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

³ U. S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

“migrant.” Even if the count is limited to those who cross state lines, thus eliminating many who might legitimately be classified as migrants, the task of determining numbers is still tremendous. Such a count should include all independent as well as dependent persons who, for any of a number of reasons, may not have settlement in the place where they happen to be. Among others, such a group would include tourists, traveling salesmen, and visitors of many kinds; migratory workers; children sent to live with relatives; persons who may have lived for some time in the community but who because of technicalities of the settlement laws are non-settled; and persons just passing through on their way to some other locality. The group would be a cross-section of the American population, distinguished from the rest only because of the lack of settlement.

The census data provide some indication of the volume of interstate movement. The 1930 census revealed that at the time the census was taken more than 23 per cent of the native-born population were living in states in which they had not been born. Twenty-two million native whites and 3,000,000 native Negroes were at that time living outside of their states of birth. Figures on migration to and from farms indicate that approximately 3,000,000 persons move from farms to towns and cities and from towns and cities to farms each year and that over 1,000,000 farm families move from one farm to another each year.¹

More accurate current information on the volume of migration is needed if the mobility of the American people is to be utilized properly. A better measurement of interstate movement may be secured in future censuses by the inclusion of questions designed for this purpose² and, as has been suggested earlier, the Post Office Department and Social Security Board could secure much basic data.

It is important to keep in mind that the great majority of the people who move are able to maintain themselves and do not come to the attention of the public welfare administrator. The number of migrants in need of public assistance is apparently small in relation to the total migrant group. There has been no accurate national measurement of the number of migrants receiving assistance since the abo-

¹ Taylor, Carl C.; Wheeler, Helen W.; and Kirkpatrick, E. L., *Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture*, U. S. Department of Agriculture, p. 5.

² See footnote, p. 21.

lition of the Federal Transient Program. Webb has estimated that 2,000,000 workers cross state lines in the average year in order to work or look for work, adding that if the non-working family members accompanying them were counted the total would be much larger. Three-quarters of these workers he classifies as "occasional migrants" and the remainder as "habitual migrants."¹

Although there has been no machinery for securing nation-wide information on the number of non-residents seeking public assistance, there are available certain data indicative of the size of the problem. In New York State, where aid to non-residents is a state responsibility, the number receiving assistance as "state charges" averaged approximately 9,000 a month in the winter of 1938-1939. This figure excludes many, particularly single men, who do not qualify for such aid. In Michigan, where a program of assistance to non-residents has been in force since the abolition of the federal program, a census taken on March 31, 1939, showed 6,167 "federal non-settled persons" receiving this aid. In Massachusetts, where because of stringent settlement laws many are technically non-settled, a recent report showed that over 20 per cent of the public assistance cases in 1937 lacked local settlement. Limited aid to non-residents in California has been provided since April, 1938, through the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association, financed by the Farm Security Administration and reports on the activities of this Association indicate that in the first five months of operation approximately 5,000 patients had received medical and dental care and approximately 400 had been hospitalized. The Association of American Railroads secures data on the number of illegal train riders or trespassers removed from railroad premises. The total of such ejections averaged about 250,000 each month during 1938 and early 1939 for a group of approximately eighty railroads.

Other figures are available which reveal the size of segments of the non-resident population potentially in need of public aid. The California Department of Agriculture, through border check stations, has collected information on the number of persons "in need of manual employment" entering that state by motor vehicle. From July 1, 1935, through March 31, 1938, the Department counted 284,742 persons entering the state who could be so classified. After excluding the 42,812

¹ Webb, John N., *Internal Migration: Asset or Liability?* In *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1939.

returning Californians, it was found that 205,477, or 85 per cent of the remainder, had migrated from the drought states.¹ Although there are undoubtedly duplications in these figures, it should be remembered that many persons "in need of manual employment" were entering the state by means other than motor vehicle. The Department of Labor has estimated that from 1929 to early 1937 more than 200,000 persons migrated from the Great Plains region.²

Until there is a fairly uniform, nation-wide program of assistance to non-residents, there can be no adequate measurement of the number of migrants requiring aid.

Outlook for Continued Migration

The certainty of continued migration in American life has been well stated by Thompson:

A careful study will show that the flow, whatever its direction and however great its magnitude, was towards what were believed to be greater economic opportunities. That this is just as true today, as at an earlier period, admits of no doubt. Indeed, there is much reason to expect that the greater the penetration of information regarding economic opportunities into the byways of the nation and the greater the ease of moving about within the nation, the more responsive people will become to regional economic differentials. Consequently it seems not improbable that the mobility of our population will increase, rather than decrease, for some time to come, even though the general economic development of the country becomes much more stabilized than it now is.³

Some attempts have been made to estimate the number of people requiring relocation from specific "trouble areas." Goodrich suggests that a minimum of 1,500,000 to 2,500,000 and a maximum of 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 people must leave the Old Cotton Belt.⁴ For the Southern Appalachian Coal Plateau he sets his minimum at 340,000 and his maximum at 640,000.⁵ In the Cut-Over Region of the Great Lakes an

¹ States listed as drought states were: Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Wisconsin, and Wyoming.

² U. S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴ Goodrich and others, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-157.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

estimate has been made of 15,000 requiring relocation.¹ Despite the greater exodus which had already occurred from the Great Plains states, Goodrich set a minimum of out-migration at 390,000 and a maximum of 900,000.² If the basic assumptions forming the foundation of these estimates were altered—for example, to allow for maximum development of subsistence farming—it is possible that these estimates of needed out-migration would be reduced. However, unless economic opportunity can be provided in these regions, migration will occur. History shows that faced with a lack of economic opportunity, people do move. As the National Resources Committee has said:

It is highly probable . . . that there will be an absolute increase in the number of individuals moving to and from different localities. Such a trend toward greater individual mobility is indicated by the analysis of past population changes, and may be expected to follow the rapid improvement of means of communication and transportation.³

Future migration and the individual and community problems involved therein have received thoughtful consideration in the various analyses of existing information and proposals for further research in regard to internal migration prepared under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council.⁴

It should be apparent that migration must and will continue and that restrictive measures cannot prevent but only serve to complicate the difficulties of such movement. Consideration should therefore be directed to the effects of migration on the social structure in the places to which migrants will come and through which they will pass.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 243–244.

³ National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 117.

⁴ See particularly: Thomas, Dorothy Swaine, *Research Memorandum on Migration Differentials*, and Vance, Rupert B., *Research Memorandum on Population Redistribution Within the United States*, Social Science Research Council.

V

WHEN MIGRANT MEETS COMMUNITY

THE flux of population movement which goes on constantly brings new workers, business men, professional people, visitors, retired persons, and others into the cities and towns adding much welcome new blood to the economic and social life in which every community takes a rightful pride. Such migrations are successful because the needs of the migrant and the needs of the community are in harmony. These positive values of migration are often lost sight of when the problems of dependent migrants are considered. As Webb and Brown have pointed out,¹ there is always an element of uncertainty in any migration and the migrant who has found a place to fit profitably into the life of the new community might easily have been regarded as an unwanted transient if circumstances had varied even slightly.

It is not until a conflict arises between the needs of the migrant and the community that the "trouble function of mobility"² appears. It should be noted, however, that the conflict in needs is a matter of time and circumstance and is not necessarily a static relationship. The conflicting needs may at any time give place to mutual needs, resulting in an advantageous adjustment and giving proof of the interdependence existing between residents and migrants.

Employment

The conflicts with respect to employment have many variations. The first grows out of the natural desire of the migrant to solve his problems by finding employment which will be continuous and pro-

¹ Webb and Brown, *op. cit.*, p. xv.

² Wickenden, Elizabeth, Transiency = Mobility in Trouble. In *Midmonthly Survey*, Survey Associates, Inc., October, 1937.

ductive of a living income. His settling down in a community to engage in such work would automatically remove him from the migrant group and render him eligible for the social and economic provisions which society is able to afford its "settled" members. But if all migrants were to find such work, who would fill the demands of industry and industrialized agriculture for seasonal labor? As long as the present conditions prevail in the production of agricultural and industrial goods, workers will be needed during peak seasons but will be unwanted at other times.

The inconsistency in local attitudes toward the labor supply to which the migrant contributes has been revealed in the significant comment of one California grower: "Sure we need a surplus, but enough is enough. They do not get out of town when they're finished now—stay right on—want to settle down, they say; but they clutter up the relief."¹ Similar attitudes are found in urban industrial communities, where the welcome extended to "outsiders" in time of business expansion is retracted as soon as the peak is reached and recession sets in.

Little responsibility is felt by employers for workers who are employed by them for only a short period but without whom the crops would not be harvested, the fruit would not be picked, and seasonal industrial demands would not be met. Yet these demands result in intermittent employment, long travels and long waits between jobs, and consequent conditions of poverty, ill health, and social ostracism for the migrant.

There is a further element of conflict stemming from the demand for labor, whether seasonal or not, in the determination of what is an adequate labor supply. The proper supply of seasonal labor from the point of view of the employer may be one which allows payment of a low wage and enables the employer to get his work performed within a very short time. Yet this surplus from the standpoint of the migrant means a lack of bargaining power, short periods of work, and wages so low that all members of the family must work in order to earn enough to maintain themselves. What constitutes a proper supply of settled labor likewise varies according to the point of view of employer or worker. The keenly competitive conditions existing in many businesses frequently cause employers to take measures aimed

¹ Sidel, James E., *Pick for Your Supper*, National Child Labor Committee, p. 13.

at building up an excessive resident surplus in order that wages may be held down through bidding of workers for jobs. Such measures usually result in migration of workers in answer to what they believe to be economic opportunity. Resident labor, on the other hand, regards as "adequate" a supply of workers which matches or falls short of the number of available job opportunities. From this standpoint the migrant is a threat to the permanence of the resident's job and a source of danger to his labor standards. The citizen, in his role as taxpayer, regards as excessive any supply which results in an abnormal burden of unemployment relief.

As a direct corollary of the American right to seek work—across state lines if necessary—the migrant is entitled to an opportunity to exhaust possible sources of employment in the community to which he comes. Conflicting with this right, however, are the local attitudes referred to. As a result, newcomers are frequently forced to move on without being given a chance to seek employment.

The employment problems of migrants and the regulation of the conditions of their labor are further complicated by the existence in some sections of the *padrone* system of recruiting agricultural laborers. Interposing another step between the employers and the workers, the *padrone* is a labor contractor who is commissioned by the grower to secure, pay, and discipline the necessary workers. Both the National Child Labor Committee and the Council of Women for Home Missions have called attention to evils arising out of this system.

Even where the migrant is seeking an opportunity for self-employment in agriculture and the element of competition with resident wage-earners is eliminated, he finds himself in a difficult situation. Free land is no longer available. Particularly in the Far West, land suitable for agriculture has been monopolized by large operators. The costs to the migrant of establishing himself on a farm with favorable prospects of maintenance and income are much too high for his limited resources.

Additional problems for migrants and their employers arise from the lack of a service to bring together the employment opportunity and the unemployed migrant. This is a more difficult task than is the placement of local residents in local jobs. It involves the collection of adequate information on job opportunities in other areas, the location of prospective employes, and the direction of the proper number of

workers to the area of demand or to the particular employer. The problem of such placement is complicated by the factors already mentioned as well as by the traditional methods of recruitment used by employers and the lack of confidence of workers and employers in organized employment services. Other difficulties occur in the overlapping of peak seasons and the lack of year-round employment opportunities for the large number required during the time of greatest demand.

In regard to the direction of workers to jobs the Department of Labor report on *Migration of Workers* concluded:

Rarely does any type of migrant have the assurance of a definite job until after he has moved. The lack of such assurance is especially disastrous for seasonal migrants who hope at most to share in a few weeks of employment in one place. When the migration of seasonal workers is over-stimulated, untold misery results.¹

The prevalence of child labor in seasonal agricultural work further complicates the problem of employment for migrants and results in danger to the well-being of the nation's future citizens. The National Child Labor Committee says that it is upon the children of migrant families in the produce-raising states that the burden of low wage standards falls most heavily:

The earnings of children are added to those of their parents to help increase the total family income. Where the family works as a unit, low pay to individual workers is more easily justified, and parents, in the next phase of the vicious cycle, are compelled to bring more children to the farms and drive them to work harder in order to make the returns sufficient for their minimum needs.²

There are far-reaching implications in these conflicts between the migrant and the community with respect to employment. Local conditions of labor supply and demand, as well as standards of wages, hours, and the regulation of child labor, should add up to a national ability to produce and distribute goods adequate to guarantee the rights of all American workmen and their families. Serious impairment of the present economic system would result if the flexibility provided by the mobility of workers were removed. But there is an

¹ U. S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. vi.

² National Child Labor Committee, *A Summer in the Country*, p. 35.

equally serious danger involved in the substandard conditions of labor forced upon the worker who does move. The worker, thus contributing by his mobility to the national good, deserves better treatment than he now receives. Likewise the employer, who may now be forced by competition and market conditions to resort to exploitation of migrant workers, should be enabled by reforms in the methods of finance, production, and distribution to provide proper employment for all workers necessary to his operations, including such migrants as he may need seasonally.

Health

Increased recognition has been given recently to the need for a national health program to correct the maldistribution of medical facilities and care among the people of the nation. In most cases the lack of medical assistance may be attributed to the low economic level of the persons requiring such aid. When there is added to this lack of funds the lack of settlement status by which eligibility for assistance is usually established the situation becomes even more critical.

A recent study of medical problems associated with transients, conducted by the United States Public Health Service, is perhaps the most extensive yet made of the various health aspects of migration. Other studies relating to the health problems of transiency have been made in particular localities, notably Kern County, California, and Cincinnati, Ohio.

When the migrant presents himself as a problem to the welfare administrator it is because his migration has temporarily failed. It is frequently possible for the administrator to provide at little cost overnight shelter, one or two meals, or sufficient gasoline to get the applicant on to the next community. Medical care, however, is costly and usually requires the cooperation of other governmental or private agencies. Nevertheless the cost or administrative difficulties do not reduce the need which the migrant may have for medical aid. He or a member of his family may have been ill at the start of the migration, may have been involved in an accident on the road, may have contracted illness due to improper diet or poor living conditions, or may through his frequent contacts in new communities have been infected with a communicable disease. Both the distress of the migrant and the need for community protection impel the administrator to do

something about the situation. What can be done, however, is restricted by community attitudes and resources. Local medical facilities for non-paying patients are usually insufficient to meet the needs of all local residents. While there may be stronger motives impelling the granting of assistance to those non-residents requiring medical aid than to those requiring merely economic assistance, there is the additional factor of excessive cost which tends to set up barriers to the extension of such service.

The community fears the sick probably more than it does the able-bodied, though dependent, migrant. The newcomer may be carrying a communicable disease which he is quite likely to transmit to the healthy individuals in the locality. There is always a danger to the community's own public health resulting from the presence of unmet medical need, particularly when migrants congregate in crowded camps having dangerous water supplies and with little or no sanitary facilities. Consequently community provisions for such non-residents usually include some limited emergency or temporary medical care, despite the fact that the extension of aid may be regarded by some as threatening a continued influx of medically dependent persons. Because of the latter consideration greater efforts are usually made to return to his place of legal settlement the non-resident requiring continued medical care than is the case with well persons.

It has long been the tendency of persons having tuberculosis or other respiratory diseases to migrate in search of what has been considered a more healthful climate. The arid areas of the Southwest have been particularly attractive to such migrants. The problem of providing necessary care for them has been most difficult. The southwestern states have felt little responsibility for granting assistance from their limited resources. No machinery has been established to make it possible for them to be reimbursed by other states for assistance provided to residents of such states. Some federal funds have been made available for the maintenance and improvement of local public health services through Title VI of the Social Security Act, but the funds are inadequate to handle the numbers who flock to these areas. Local tuberculosis associations have provided some limited nursing and clinic care.

According to health authorities, much of the migration to the Southwest because of supposedly favorable climate is useless if not danger-

ous. The person undertaking such a move should be able to pay for medical care for a long time after his arrival. If it is not possible for him to afford such care, it is recommended by health authorities that he remain where he is. His available funds are better spent for medical care there than for transportation to some other place. The National Tuberculosis Association through extensive publicity has been trying to discourage the practice, usually followed by charitably inclined local groups, of paying for the transportation to supposedly favorable climates of indigent persons requiring treatment for respiratory diseases.

In addition, others move to new areas because more adequate medical or hospital services are available to them there. One example may be cited in the movement of transients to the Hot Springs, Arkansas, clinic for treatment of venereal disease. The data compiled by the United States Public Health Service suggest that persons migrating specifically because of illness and a self-recognized need for medical attention will be found to be proportionately more numerous among intrastate migrants than among those who move across state lines.¹

Housing

Every report on the condition of migratory farm labor stresses the serious lack of adequate housing facilities for that part of our population. A recent memorandum prepared for the Works Progress Administration declares:

Bad housing facilities are the rule where migrants congregate. In rural areas the ditch-banks shack, the tent camp, or the worst type of "tourist camp" provide most of the shelter within the means of this low-income group. In urban areas, the "shack-town" at the edge of the city is frequently the only resort of the needy non-resident. Low income and short stays make the migrant an unprofitable and undesirable tenant.²

But there are non-residents and migrants other than those who form the migratory labor group. The removal migrant, making but one move to a new location, frequently has little or no income and may be

¹ Blankenship, Charles F., *The Health Problems of Transients and Their Solution*. A paper read at the National Conference of Social Work, 1939.

² Lawson, William R., Memorandum to WPA Administrator Col. F. C. Harrington, March 2, 1939. In *Congressional Record*, March 30, 1939, pp. 5008-5010.

forced to "double up" with relatives or friends—or, if he secures his own quarters, to take up residence in the lowest rental areas where he contributes to the already overcrowded conditions and adds to the pressure which forces slums to expand. Much concern in this latter connection has recently been expressed regarding the influx to New York City and suburban areas of Negroes from the southeastern states and of migrants from Puerto Rico.

The single migrant, whether male or female, presents housing difficulties both en route and in destination communities. Although frequently making use of the facilities for shelter used by moving families, the single person finds other types of shelter which are not suitable for family purposes. The single woman can usually secure necessary shelter from public or private agencies for limited periods. Single men, when unable to pay for their shelter even in cheap hotels or rooming houses, congregate in jails, public lodging houses, missions, jungles, or shack towns. Rarely are rooming house facilities made available through relief grants.

Housing for migratory agricultural laborers may be considered in two categories: that which they provide for themselves and that which is provided for them. In the first classification are the shelter arrangements the migrant makes for himself and family while en route and those of a more permanent nature which he contrives while working or waiting for employment. Frequently they "sleep by the roadside, in squatter camps, or crowd into one or two room cabins in low-priced tourist camps."¹ When settling for a time, the housing arrangements which they can make for themselves are usually no better:

During the periods of employment the seasonal agricultural workers who were not living in quarters furnished by the employers camped by the roadside or in squatter camps or lived in the low-rent commercial tourist camps. In the squatter camps, which might be described as jungle camps, people were living in tents, in their cars, or under a canvas stretched from the side of the car to make a lean-to. Some of them were living in shacks made from scraps of wood, corrugated paper, tin, or anything that would afford some protection. Sanitary facilities at such jungle camps were usually very poor or nonexistent.²

¹ U. S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. viii.

² *Ibid.*, p. 140.

Housing is sometimes supplied by the employer or by a public agency. Arrangements made by employers vary widely in adequacy but reports indicate that they are usually far from satisfactory. Even where legislation requires such camps to conform to specified standards there is usually great difficulty in enforcing the regulations. Camps spring up overnight, seasons are short, and many camps operate simultaneously. Investigating staffs are frequently too small to attempt to apply the regulations. The precarious position of the grower, with his dependence upon a single crop which must reach at the proper time a market over whose prices he has no control, may cause him to transfer his losses to his laborers or reap his small profit through their exploitation in this and other respects.

Poor housing for migratory agricultural workers is not limited to the western states. The Council of Women for Home Missions and the National Child Labor Committee have made studies of migrants in other areas and found similar deplorable living conditions. Areas mentioned include those devoted to sugar beet cultivation in the middle western states, the fruit and vegetable areas of New York State, and the cranberry areas of New Jersey. In a recent report on the New Jersey situation, the National Child Labor Committee states:

Living quarters provided for migratory workers in New Jersey are miserable. Many of the so-called houses are unfit for human habitation, lacking in any provision for comfort or decency. Large families occupy one or two rooms with leaking roof and no screens on doors or windows. The children are subject to all the moral hazards and physical discomforts of overcrowding. Sanitary toilet facilities are almost unknown and drinking water is often unprotected against pollution.¹

In recent years the Farm Security Administration has been experimenting in providing housing facilities for migratory workers by establishing camps in the western states. Some extension of these camps to the southern states is already under way. It is reported that these demonstrations have influenced some growers to provide more adequate facilities in their own camps. The Farm Security Administration has also made some attempts to provide migrants with homes on small tracts offering basic subsistence, with earnings to be supplied by anticipated seasonal labor in the surrounding country.

¹ National Child Labor Committee, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

It will be apparent that the housing needs of migrants are similar to those of resident persons. Desirable standards include adequate space, privacy, protection from the elements, proper environment, water and sewage facilities, and protection from fire hazards—all at a cost which the migrant can afford to pay. On the other hand, the community requires the migratory workers for a short period only and prefers that they move on when their work is done. Faced with economically dependent persons seeking permanent relocation, the community sees a danger of slum areas, overcrowded and unsafe, being developed and extended. This conflict of needs and fears which has forced the migrant to live in unsanitary, crowded quarters with all the evils consequent upon such existence, and at the same time has endangered the health and well-being of the local community, presents a serious dilemma.

Education

There are two major aspects of the educational problems connected with migration: (1) need for adequate educational opportunities in all parts of the nation so as to fit the child for life in his own or in other sections if he should move; and (2) need for adequate educational facilities for children without residence in the community. In addition to the provision of general education there is involved in both of these problems the need for vocational training of both minors and adults.

The inequality of educational opportunity among the various sections of the country has long been recognized by educators and other interested persons but its threat to the future well-being of the nation because of population movements has received too little attention. In a report published in 1938 the federal Advisory Committee on Education¹ noted these facts:

There are large areas and population groups which are retarded in their educational development through circumstances beyond their control.

¹ The Advisory Committee on Education was appointed by President Roosevelt on September 19, 1936, to study and report on federal aid for vocational education. In April, 1937, the President enlarged the membership of the Committee and requested that it study and report on the whole subject of federal relationship to state and local conduct of education.

Americans have citizenship and franchise regardless of educational status.

The cityward movement of the population has been dominated by youth under 25 years of age and by migration from the farming areas of the South. Rural-urban migration may be expected to continue as the pattern of internal migration for many years to come.

For growth or even maintenance of population at present levels, cities must look to the rural population as a source of recruitment.

Large numbers of youth who will constitute much of the future population are being reared in communities that are now able to provide only the most restricted educational opportunities.

States and regions favored by fortune cannot afford to be indifferent to the educational opportunities provided for youth in the states and regions from which they will draw many of their future citizens.

The report concludes: "If, for a long period of years, each succeeding generation is drawn in disproportionately large numbers from those areas in which economic conditions are poorest, if the population reserves of the Nation continue to be recruited from economically underprivileged groups, and if the inability of the depressed economic areas and groups to provide proper education for their children is not corrected by aid from areas and groups more prosperous, the effect on American civilization and on representative political institutions may be disastrous."¹

The National Resources Committee directed attention in 1938 to the need for recognition of education as a national rather than a local problem:

The educational implications of the mobility of population have too often been ignored. In common practice, education in this country has been regarded as a purely local affair. However sound such a policy may have been in a pioneer society, it takes no great insight to discover its weakness today. With the degree of mobility that has characterized the American people in the past and is likely to continue in the future, the cultural and intellectual level of any region has its influence on the development of every other region. For good or ill, migrants enter into the social, economic, and political life of the communities in which they spend

¹ Advisory Committee on Education, *Report of the Committee*, pp. 33-34.

their mature years. They carry with them their knowledge or ignorance, their occupational adjustability or lack of it, their ability or inability to participate wisely in the determination of social policy.¹

There is evidence that the lack of educational opportunities or the rigidity of the educational structure has frequently caused young people to leave their communities of residence. In his studies of transiency among boys and young men, Outland² has noted that low educational standards have undoubtedly contributed to the lack of interest in school which was given as the cause for leaving home by many of the boys aided under the transient program in California. Other students have also noted that some transiency among youth has developed because of the inability of the existing educational structure to adapt its program to meet specific needs of individual pupils or to give personal guidance to students in difficulties.

One observer of the problems of migrants has said, "You can't educate a procession." The situation among the children of migratory agricultural workers has been summarized by the Department of Labor as follows:

Educational opportunities are lacking or extremely limited for the children of thousands of migrant families, particularly those of migrant agricultural workers. Children old enough to work in the fields are expected to contribute badly needed income, and parents often do not consider it worthwhile to enroll the younger children in school during their short stay in any one community. School authorities, on their part, are frequently lax in enforcing the school attendance laws in cases of the children of migrant families.³

The difficulties facing the migrant in having his children take advantage of existing educational facilities in the communities to which he comes are:

Necessity for the children to work in the crops if the family is to earn enough to provide for their maintenance

¹ National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, p. 211.

² See Outland, George E., *Boy Transiency in America*, Santa Barbara State College Press.

³ U. S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. viii.

Inability to provide proper clothing so as to prevent ridicule by the resident children

Retardation developing from constant mobility making it difficult for the children to adjust in the grades to which they are assigned

Abnormal diet, home life, and living conditions contributing to the difficulties of maintaining their grade levels

Distance from schools and lack of transportation.

The communities themselves which need migrant labor likewise experience difficulties in trying to provide suitable educational opportunities for the children of migrants. The following factors are involved:

Limited resources to support the educational program for local children in spite of state aid which is sometimes available

Short duration of the migrant's stay in the community making it difficult to expand and contract the facilities according to the size of the load

Pressure from growers whose crops must be picked and who are frequently benefited by the labor of whole families

Pressure of local residents who object to the use of tax funds for "outsiders"

Inability to supply sufficient officers to enforce school attendance requirements

Pressure of parents who fear that migrant children may bring disease to the local schoolrooms.

The dangers involved in a system which prevents or curtails the educational opportunities of the children of migrants and bars them from normal community life require no elaboration. The social costs both to the individual and the nation demand that attention be focused on ways of providing for these children the opportunities which should rightfully be theirs.

Family and Child Welfare

In stressing the desirability of migration for economic and other reasons, it is possible to lose sight of the advantages of stability which may be sacrificed when people move. Removal migration can, of

course, be made to result in a desirable adjustment of population to economic opportunity with advantages to both migrant and community, if the difficulties of fitting family life to the new community can be overcome. Frequently, however, the change is just as drastic as that faced by the foreign immigrant. Yet little effort has been directed to planning for adjustment of the migrant family to the new community whereas there are many agencies concerned with such adjustments for immigrant families. In the "constant migrant" family the losses in family life resulting from a pattern of continual movement may greatly outweigh the advantages of mobility.

The low average yearly earnings of migrant families are in themselves a force destructive of normal family life, but when this lack of economic security is combined with the other disintegrating forces it can be seen that continuous mobility under present conditions is truly a threat to the development of good citizens.

The importance of having roots in community life has frequently been stressed by students of the family. Such roots are valuable because—among other reasons—they impose obligations without which the individual may not develop into a responsible citizen. Migrants, constantly on the move either because of the call of the next possible job or because of the pressure of the community in which they happen to be, repeatedly sever whatever social ties they may form during their brief stops.

The effect of migrant life upon children has also received too little attention. Some of the questions that need to be answered are:

Does constant family migration tend to develop children who cannot "stay put"?

Does it make it easier for children to break away from family life?

Does constant migration tend to increase family discord?

What effect on personality results from the lack of religious, recreational, and other community contacts as well as from the abnormal home life of the children?

It should be noted that the community services of family and child welfare agencies, with their experienced workers concerned with family problems, are usually not available to migrants. In urban areas where the Travelers Aid Society is prepared to offer case work as-

sistance, the effectiveness of the available service is increasingly handicapped by the lack of adequate community support for such service. The report of the Department of Labor says:

Community-chest executives in many cities have been faced with difficulties in getting their boards of directors and the public to realize the importance of giving care to nonresidents as well as to residents. In most instances the community-chest authorities have not succeeded in having their funds extended to include this care. Where a community has consented to make an allocation of chest funds for transient relief it has done so very sparingly, and the result has been inadequate material assistance and service and frequently very definite restriction to emergency cases.¹

The advantages of mobility may, therefore, be outweighed by the disadvantages to families, communities, and to the nation, growing out of the discord of mobile family life, the lack of roots in communities, and the lack of service to such families by existing agencies.

Prevention of Delinquency

The charge is frequently made that non-residents and transients are criminally inclined, have little respect for the rights of property, and cause increased local expenses for their apprehension, trial, and incarceration. The charges continue to be made in spite of the authoritative studies which have shown these people to be normal individuals who usually differ from the local residents only in the lack of settlement status. It is important to bear in mind at this point that the single, unattached man is not representative of the whole migrant population but that the group includes numerous families who, in spite of their distress, rarely come to the attention of police officials. The single man, however, because of his usual mode of travel and because of his lack of resources, frequently is apprehended for vagrancy—an almost universal technique followed by local authorities to rid the town of transients. Incarceration on such a charge is no evidence of criminality. The fact that the single man often seeks out the jail on occasion as the only shelter available to him should also be taken into account.

Juvenile delinquency has frequently been attributed among other causes to abnormal home life, lack of recreational outlets, lack of religious education, and lack of economic opportunity. If these causes do

¹ U. S. Department of Labor, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

contribute to waywardness among minors, it is apparent that the conditions under which migrants now live must be modified if adequate provision is to be made for the prevention of delinquency among them. If preventive measures are to be effective, some method of assuring migrants adequate income and normal community contacts must be devised, as well as making available to them the services of agencies whose purpose is the prevention or correction of delinquent tendencies.

The whole problem is bound up with the other aspects of the relationship between the migrant and the community; and the plans for a program designed to overcome the problems involved in that relationship need to be related to the prevention of delinquency.

Recreation

The process of mobility not only severs family and neighborhood ties but also cuts off the individual and family from the larger, more specialized groups such as clubs, lodges, churches, labor unions, and other community organizations. By this action the migrant casts off the obligations imposed by these affiliations and at the same time the opportunities for recreational activities afforded by such contacts.

It is generally agreed that for the proper development of the individual, recreational opportunities need to be available and utilized and that for minors some degree of supervised and directed recreation is essential. If this is true, then the migrant as well as the resident requires these opportunities. Whether the opportunities consist of reading, playgrounds, commercial recreation, group activities, or any of the other accepted methods of leisure-time activity, the migrant presents the same requirements as the resident.

The provision of recreational opportunities has become more and more a public responsibility and as such is subject to the usual restrictions imposed by community attitudes on the use of public funds. But again, the community feels little or no responsibility for aiding the person lacking local residence. Such resources as are available to provide recreational facilities are used first for residents and last, if at all, for migrants.

Lack of recreational opportunities is not always attributable to community antagonism. The constant migrant's way of life usually serves as an effective bar to the use of such opportunities as may exist. Mi-

gratory labor groups, when working, are often settled in remote rural areas where recreational opportunities are limited. In addition, during periods of employment there is little time available for leisure. The lack of proper clothing and of transportation frequently prevents them from trying to participate with local groups in recreational activities, as does the reluctance of local groups to accept them.

In the Farm Security Administration camps some attempts have been made to foster leisure-time activities but the limited number of the camps makes such opportunities available to only a small group. The Council of Women for Home Missions has done much valuable pioneering in this area, especially for the children of agricultural migrants. This organization has sent teachers and nurses among the migrants, established community centers, and fostered numerous group activities.

Religious Activities

In the instance of the removal migrant—the person making one move to take up a permanent residence in a new community—there is usually no great difficulty involved in finding opportunity for affiliation with the religious denomination of choice and in joining in the activities and observances of the group. Even where the move involves a complete change of economic and social status, the process of participation in religious functions with resident persons of the same denomination is not one of difficult adjustment. In considering this aspect of the life of the constant migrant, however, particularly that of the family engaged in migratory agricultural labor, it becomes apparent that the continuous mobility, the living conditions, and the separation from the life of the community to which he happens to come frequently restrict his opportunities for necessary religious expression and affiliation.

There has recently been some effort on the part of certain religious groups to establish missions for migrant workers but these have been extremely limited. The Council of Women for Home Missions has been directing attention to these activities and has also urged local groups to try to bring to their services the people who live in migrant camps. Itinerant preachers sometimes conduct services where migrants congregate.

Objection has been raised to the practice of certain local groups of

establishing separate mission churches for migrants where it would be possible for them to have the non-resident join with them in their regular services. The failure to work toward a joint religious ministration to both migrants and residents has sometimes been attributed to local prejudice, and such groups are accused of using the mission technique to avoid the supposedly unpleasant or dangerous contact with "people of the road."

Civil Liberties

There is a rejection of fundamental American rights involved in the restrictive policies, to be discussed more fully later, which are characteristic of the treatment of non-residents in most communities. The national Constitution provides that "citizens of each State shall be entitled to the Privileges and Immunities of Citizens of the several States," that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States . . . are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside," and that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." It is difficult to reconcile these provisions with the policy of exclusion or return to place of residence followed by many localities. The person is no less a citizen of the United States because of his lack of funds, yet enforced removal from the state or prevention of entry into it is in effect a denial of a right which belongs to a citizen of the United States. Many agree that the border patrols established in the past by certain states were of doubtful constitutionality; but little attention has been paid to the policy of removing needy persons once they have entered the state. Though not as dramatic as the uniformed patrol at the state line, this policy can be equally harsh and exclusive. Whether enforced removal is accomplished by court order or by other types of pressure, it is a practice which needs to be examined in the light of constitutional guarantees.

Disturbing reports of vigilante action against migratory agricultural workers have come from the Pacific Coast states. "Employers accustomed to a cheap and docile peon labor of foreign elements and suddenly faced with unrest became angry and panicky. The result was vigilantism."¹ This fear of organization of workers is intensified be-

¹ Sidel, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

cause of the short time available to the grower to gather his crop and the danger that a strike lasting no more than two or three days may result in the crop's complete loss. The resort to vigilantism is made easy since the fears of local residents are readily aroused by the presence of large numbers of strangers who are represented to be trouble makers led by "reds" and "agitators."¹

Agricultural workers are exempt from the provisions of the National Labor Relations Act. Vigorous opposition has been raised against their inclusion in the provisions of a California State Labor Relations Bill. "The Criminal Syndicalism Act is considered by the Agricultural Council of California to be a bulwark against the unionization of farm laborers and its use for such purposes has been frequently charged by labor leaders. The growers fought all bills designed to repeal the Act or to forbid public authorities from refusing permits to assemble or to distribute circulars."²

There is a further possibility of the denial of civil liberties in the absence of established welfare agencies to provide care for non-residents. Lacking such facilities, local police officials are usually given a free hand in dealing with all classes of migrants. Beecroft and Janow point out that "Under pressure from local groups, many police departments may feel compelled to take advantage of such an opportunity to exclude innocent persons suspected of being 'agitators' with radical intentions in reference to politics or organization of labor."³ They argue that the "necessity for eliminating this easy pretext for arbitrary action by the police" is one of the most urgent reasons for adequate federal aid.

These actual and potential violations of the civil liberties of a comparatively large group of the American population present a challenge to legislators, community organizations, and responsible citizens. Study of the problems here described is indicated with a view to developing recommendations for prevention of the discriminations presently practiced.

¹ With respect to agricultural labor in California, see McWilliams, *op. cit.*

² Jones, Victor, *Transients and Migrants*, University of California, Berkeley, p. 38.

³ Beecroft, Eric and Janow, Seymour, *Toward a National Policy for Migration*. In *Social Forces*, The Williams & Wilkins Company, May, 1938, p. 481.

Social Insurance

Two forms of social insurance have been developed under the Social Security Act, namely, unemployment compensation and old age benefits. Both are based on a condition of previous "covered" employment in certain occupations, not including agriculture. The large proportion of today's migrants who are agricultural laborers engaged in seasonal work or who are in search of a new opportunity on the land are excluded from the benefits of these provisions.

The unemployment compensation laws of the various states provide coverage for industrial workers without regard to the factor of legal settlement. But the lack of uniformity among these laws with respect to duration of employment preceding benefits and to waiting period impose certain handicaps on mobile workers which the "stable" resident worker escapes. Frequently the industrial migrant is able to secure only seasonal work of such brief duration that he cannot accumulate sufficient credits to entitle him to the benefits of the law of any single state. Circumstances connected with his mode of earning a living may cause him to move into another jurisdiction in search of work before his waiting period expires, even when he is eligible for benefits. There is no provision in the Social Security Act which requires the states to make payment of benefits to persons living outside the state when the benefits fall due. This difficulty may cause the migrant to remain in a locality where there is no work when, by moving, he might be able to get employment elsewhere. If he stays, his benefits will have been exhausted when he needs them most to help him in his quest for a new placement. If he has to move back into a state to secure his benefits, the same difficulty is encountered in addition to the fact that he may have to expend savings for transportation. If he chooses to stay away from the state where benefits are awaiting him and take a chance on finding a job, the value of unemployment insurance for him is lost. It will be readily apparent that much desirable mobility may be curtailed through these circumstances.

The accumulation of credits toward the ultimate receipt of federal old age benefits is not complicated by the movement of workers across state lines since this program is nation-wide in its operation. The ex-

clusion of agricultural workers from coverage, however, works a hardship on large numbers of migratory laborers in the farming occupations.

Relief

It is in the provision of needed relief that the migrant-community relationship undergoes the greatest strain. The ensuing section is devoted to an examination of various aspects of this problem.

THE PROVISION OF ASSISTANCE

THE past few years have seen an unprecedented growth of public responsibility for providing assistance to persons in need. The depression years have brought home to the public a realization that those who are out of work must be cared for without stigma and in accordance with standards which will preserve their morale and maintain their skills for eventual return to productive employment. The duty of government to provide such care has become an accepted American principle.

But the traditional American concept of local responsibility for local residents only is in conflict with this increasingly accepted doctrine of aid to all who need it. It results in the substantial exclusion from care of those who lack local settlement in the place where they happen to apply. On the one hand recognition is given to the duty of assisting all who need help; on the other, certain exclusions are made—not on the basis of unproven need but because of inability of the applicant to fulfil residence requirements.

The Settlement Laws

The community at large feels little or no responsibility for aiding the migrant and fears the consequences of extending help. The new-comer doesn't "belong"; he has made no contribution to the community; he may become a permanent charge and a drain upon its resources. If aid is given to him, it may mean that less assistance can be granted to local needy persons; other migrants may be attracted; and not only may the burden of relief become excessive but community standards may be threatened.

This negative local attitude toward the non-resident finds legal expression in the settlement provisions of the welfare laws of the various states. These provisions fix the responsibility of local governmental jurisdictions for granting certain forms of assistance and service to

local citizens and define the terms of residence by which applicants become eligible for these benefits. In their older forms they are a part of that body of legislation commonly known as the poor laws. These old laws, still operative in most states as a basis for determination of eligibility for general relief, were derived from the English code¹ of three centuries ago and were brought over by the colonists as a part of the heritage from the mother country. While these provisions fix the responsibility of local governmental units for giving certain types of care to persons who have legal settlement, they serve—by a reverse application of the principle of responsibility—to exclude from care most of those who do not so qualify.

Despite their common theme of restrictiveness, the settlement provisions in the laws of the various states differ widely according to local custom or historical development. For the most part they provide that a person must have resided for a certain period of time in a local community without receipt of relief in order to gain a settlement—a necessary prerequisite for continued assistance paid for from local funds. They stipulate how such a settlement may be lost and establish regula-

¹ The English Poor Laws, enacted in the reign of Elizabeth, were the culmination of successive efforts made over a period of several centuries to deal with the dependency attendant upon the break-up of the feudal system and the consequent growth of towns and cities. People who for centuries had been bound to the land in serfdom were gradually released in increasing numbers. In their search for employment as wage-earners many became wanderers unwelcomed by any community. As early as 1351 the Statute of Labourers attempted to curtail their movement by requiring them to work at whatever was offered, on penalty of imprisonment. In the sixteenth century, during the reign of Henry VIII, the parishes were charged with responsibility for providing needed assistance to locally born persons and those who had resided in the parish for three years. This and other related provisions were incorporated in the famous Elizabethan code of the early seventeenth century.

As a result of this fixing of local responsibility, cruel measures were adopted in an attempt to force people to "stay put" or to move on once they had left the parish to which they "belonged." "Scores of thousands of poor folk were taken into custody annually and transported from one part of the kingdom to another, unless they could put up sufficient security to insure their not becoming public charges. The custom of 'passing on,' or of removing persons without authorization from one parish to another, was commonly practiced, the sick, insane, and penniless often being dropped in the next town in the middle of the night. Even workers who had secured employment were not immune from forced removal to the place of their settlement; and very often when their settlement was a matter of dispute whole families were removed back and forth several times between parishes. There were thousands of law-suits between the parishes, and millions of pounds were spent for litigation and removals." (Hirsch, Harry M., *Our Settlement Laws*, New York State Department of Social Welfare, p. 6.) Despite these measures, population mobility persisted then as it has since.

tions regarding the effect of marriage, desertion, divorce, death, and other factors on settlement status. In the largest number of states one year's residence is required to establish settlement. Others vary from six months to as much as five years.¹ There is only an apparent uniformity among the one-year group for there are many variations either written into the legislation or given the effect of law by rulings of attorney-generals. Usually the regulations call for independent residence, sometimes even independent of assistance from private sources. There are variations which arise from interpretations of the effect of certain types of institutional care upon the acquisition of settlement. Differences also occur in regard to the settlement of minors, the effect of changes in marital status, and other factors affecting family relationships.

Greater complications appear upon examination of the stipulations in regard to the loss of settlement. Questions of intent must be interpreted; time elements vary; the reason for the absence from the locality or the place to which the person has gone may affect the case. Willful absence from the locality for six months may defeat one settlement while in other places a settlement may not be lost until another is gained. The difficulties are further complicated by variations in the practices of the towns, cities, or counties within a particular state.

It will be apparent that since there is such a wide divergence in the settlement regulations of the several states and their political subdivisions, a person may lose settlement in one place without gaining it in another. The result is a group of needy persons for whose welfare no governmental unit has an accepted responsibility—people without a state, although most of them are American citizens.

A frequent indictment brought against the settlement laws is the cost resulting from attempts to administer them. The expense is not restricted to the use of legal machinery to return persons to places of settlement or to contest claims of settlement but includes as well the costs of personnel engaged in investigation and in lengthy correspondence regarding settlement status. A convincing statement of the costs within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts was recently made by Haber and Somers:

The needless waste involved in this artificial problem—aside from

¹ See Hirsch, Harry M., Compiler, *Compilation of Settlement Laws of All States in the United States*, Revised as of September, 1939, American Public Welfare Association.

the burden placed upon recipients by continuous investigations—is evident from a sample study recently completed of twenty-six Massachusetts towns and cities which analyzed their payments to and receipts from other localities for relief to unsettled cases covering an average period of ten years. The study revealed that \$2,539,000 had been paid out and \$2,824,000 received back. The net difference for a decade was thus only about \$375,000. Many times this sum was spent in the same period for administration and litigation involved in settlement cases.¹

The basic poor law provisions discussed above have been modified through the influence of the Social Security Act in the case of the “categorical assistances”—aid to the blind, old age assistance, and aid to dependent children. The Act provides that the states, to receive federal aid for these programs, must not exclude from benefits anyone who has resided in the state for the following specified periods:

Aid to the blind—five years during the nine years immediately preceding application, the last year continuously

Old age assistance—five years during the nine years immediately preceding application, the last year continuously

Aid to dependent children—one year immediately preceding application. A child born within the state within one year immediately preceding application is eligible if its mother has resided in the state for one year immediately preceding its birth.

Since these provisions in the federal law tend to fix the pattern of eligibility for the categorical benefits of the state security programs, they serve the interests of the intrastate migrant by releasing him from the more stringent residence restrictions of the poor law. Free movement of persons within a state is allowed, within the time limits set by the Act or by more liberal state provision, without loss of eligibility for these categorical aids. Restrictions on interstate movement, however, have been increased rather than reduced by the Act.

Social workers have long recognized the injustices connected with the settlement restrictions on public aid and have proposed remedies ranging from their modification in the direction of uniformity to complete abolition. Meanwhile various states, faced with what they fear

¹ Haber, William and Somers, Herman M., *The Administration of Public Assistance in Massachusetts*. In *Social Service Review*, University of Chicago Press, September, 1938, p. 407.

would grow to be an intolerable burden of relief costs, have resorted to increasing the length of time required to gain settlement or have imposed other restrictive measures on its acquisition. This tendency has been much in evidence since the abolition of the Federal Transient Program; and even during the 1939 state legislative sessions a number of states, including Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, and Minnesota, raised the residence requirements for gaining settlement. In addition, increases were proposed but not enacted in many other states. Additional restrictions have been imposed by stipulating that the receipt of relief from private funds may prevent a person from acquiring settlement.

Most studies of the migrant problem show that persons move regardless of settlement requirements or the availability of relief in the places to which they come. Few migrants know of the existence of settlement laws until they discover, upon application, that they are ineligible because of them. Various economic stimuli act to make migration desirable and restrictive measures prove of little effect in curbing it. Attempting to overlook the problems of needy persons by excluding them from necessary public aid provides no solution to the problems of migration; indeed, it only serves to aggravate them.

Public Assistance

Public assistance in the United States is granted to those eligible for it through a variety of programs. These include:

- Relief work on public projects for the needy, able-bodied unemployed

- Grants of special assistance to the needy aged

- Grants of special assistance to dependent children

- Grants of special assistance to the needy blind

- General relief to those not qualifying for special forms of aid

- Care in institutions, congregate shelters, camps, and foster homes.

In addition there are related programs such as those of the Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration, and Farm Security Administration.

These rather distinct forms of public assistance are financed and administered in various combinations by the several levels of govern-

ment—federal, state, county, city, and township. The relief work program is largely federal, although local communities contribute to its cost in varying amounts. The old age assistance program rests on a basis of state authorization and receives state financial support in all jurisdictions, although federal aid meets about one-half of its total cost and local communities share in both cost and administration in a number of states. Likewise, aid to dependent children and to the needy blind are state-wide programs—not operative in all states, however—in which both the federal and local governments participate. General relief is largely a local responsibility, although in many jurisdictions the state government assists with grants or reimbursements of funds and in some has relieved the locality entirely from its obligation to provide certain forms of unemployment relief. The federal Farm Security Administration likewise has taken over a part of the rural relief burden in a number of agricultural states. The fundamental “poor relief” obligation still rests completely on the smallest governmental units, however, in practically all states. Institutions are maintained by the states and their subdivisions, with the county almshouse still persisting in most parts of the country as the ultimate social resource for dealing with dependency.¹

Out of this welter of provision for different groups of the population one fact emerges clearly: the migrant or non-settled person is almost completely excluded from benefit by his failure to qualify under the settlement or residence restrictions written or interpreted into most of the programs. The program of the federal Work Projects Administration (formerly the Works Progress Administration) offers employment to relief recipients selected by local welfare officers; and it is but natural that these enrollees prove to be almost completely local residents. The special forms of aid to the aged, to dependent children, and to the blind are confined to persons living in the state for periods specified in the various state laws. General relief, when given entirely from local funds, is sharply restricted to the locally settled; and when participated in by the state is only slightly liberalized so far as the outsider is concerned. Institutional care, whether in almshouse, camp, congregate shelter, or hospital for the chronically ill or mentally

¹ For a clearer picture of the way these programs interlock in the various states the reader is referred to Part Two, Public Assistance in the States, *Social Work Year Book*, 1939, Russell Sage Foundation.

handicapped, is likewise restricted by settlement and residence requirements.

The almost complete rejection by the state and its subdivisions of the needy non-resident is, of course, a natural consequence of a political system which places upon the smaller units of government a responsibility which rightfully should be shared by the larger units. The causes and sweep of population movement are beyond the power of the local community to control; and since the entire nation shares in its advantages, it should also share in the costs of assisting those who need help—a small part of the total migrant group.

To the public relief administrator the problems presented by this conflict of interests between migrant and community are almost insolvable. When the non-resident applicant for aid is without dependents, he may be given overnight care and moved along on these beaten paths of transiency which lead out of town to "somewhere else." If, however, he is traveling with wife and children the needs presented are likely to be greater and the humanitarian demands for decent treatment more insistent. When the application for assistance is not made until after a period of self-sustaining residence in the community—short of the legal "settlement" period—the problem becomes still more complex, for by that time settlement may have been lost elsewhere or it may clearly be to the best interests of the family to be allowed to remain where it is. The administrator, however, is restrained from doing what he might like to do in such circumstances by the knowledge that the community would not support him in spending local funds for such a purpose.

It is recognized, of course, that it is often socially desirable to return non-residents to their places of settlement. The best interests of the applicant are frequently served by such returns, and under any program of assistance which may be devised provision should be made for removals when socially advantageous. The danger in the use of removal mechanism, however, is in its indiscriminate and even forceful application. Transportation to the place of settlement is frequently the only assistance which a community will give to the migrant in need, and refusal of such assistance is regarded as a justification for denying further aid. Where removal cannot be accomplished by persuasion or under threat of discontinuance of aid, recourse is occasionally had to the courts for forceful removal.

When the settlement restrictions are applied to single men and result in a denial of relief to them, the presence of this uncared-for, homeless group in the community has led to arrests and jailing for vagrancy or more serious charges. Almost the only objections which have been raised to this incarceration for poverty have been based upon the excessive cost of paying for jail upkeep for homeless persons from other communities. The charge is frequently made that transient men seek convictions for vagrancy so that they may have food and shelter. It is impossible to know how much truth there is in this accusation. It should be recalled that studies have shown that for the most part transients are an ambitious and energetic group and are striving to reach definite destinations which to them seem to offer opportunity. It should also be noted that the average citizen is in no position to distinguish between the transient and the local homeless. Even if the charge is true, it should indicate the extent of the distress which can cause men to seek the doubtful security of local jail life.

In some places fingerprinting of non-residents applying for assistance has been resorted to in an honest attempt to secure identifying information. It has also been used, however, for the purpose of deterring the transient from coming to the community. Its proponents hope that word will be passed around that the locality is fingerprinting all applicants, and that thus fewer men will come to that town or city. Evidence is not conclusive to show that fingerprinting does serve to discourage migration. Objection to the practice has been raised by certain national agencies on the grounds that since fingerprinting still has criminal implications, it should not be required of one class of people solely because of their need for assistance—for, when so required, it becomes discriminatory. It also causes an agency designed for a relief purpose to enter the field of crime detection. A recently published report of fingerprinting in one city gave the impression that transients are largely a criminal class because of the number of identifications of prints made by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. In judging the validity of the material it is necessary to bear in mind that: (1) local homeless persons are frequently included in such a group; (2) identifications on the basis of charges of vagrancy, trespass, or begging show not so much the criminal tendencies of the persons identified as the need for assistance; and (3) that charges of a more serious nature are frequently made against tran-

sients in order to hold them for investigation. In the latter case, dismissals of such charges often do not appear in the record, to the detriment of the accused person's reputation.

Complete denial of any assistance to all non-residents is comparatively rare. The public welfare legislation of 40 states¹ imposes some public responsibility for aid to needy non-residents, either upon the state or its subdivisions. The usual stipulations are that the county, and sometimes the town, is to grant necessary emergency aid and to take the necessary steps to return the applicant to his place of settlement. The mere placement of responsibility, however, does not mean that aid is granted. The administration must accept the responsibility so imposed, and funds must be appropriated. When there are insufficient funds to provide relief for all local residents needing it there is little likelihood that migrants will be granted necessary help.

In states where the ultimate financial and administrative responsibility for poor relief rests upon the town or city, state legislation often imposes upon the county unit the responsibility for aid to persons lacking settlement in the town or city of application. This division of responsibility often leads to controversy between the county and the smaller governmental unit as to the status of particular cases and frequently results in no care at all being given. A further limitation is sometimes present in regulations providing that county aid may only be rendered through institutional or county home facilities.

Despite traditional attitudes and the limitations of funds, there are now in operation certain types of aid to non-residents. Some programs are locally administered and financed; others are operated with partial or complete state financing and administration; and a small amount of federal aid is available through the Farm Security Administration and the United States Public Health Service. There are restrictions both in regard to the length of time assistance may be granted and in the exclusion from aid of certain types of needy non-residents.

Local responsibility is sometimes accepted, at least in theory, with complete local financing or with state participation on the same basis as with resident cases. In some states where there is state sharing in

¹ Lowe, Robert C., *State Public Welfare Legislation*, Works Progress Administration. (The eight states whose laws impose no public responsibility for such aid are: Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Mexico, Tennessee, and Texas.)

the costs of general relief the law specifically restricts the state's participation to resident cases. Thus, where the locality attempts to aid non-resident persons, a most illogical distribution of cost occurs: the locality receives state funds in meeting the burden of relief to persons who are an accepted local responsibility but it must bear the entire cost of aid to persons without such local claims. The system serves to deter the development of local programs of aid to migrants.

Specific provisions are made in a few states for financial participation (in excess of that for resident cases) in the cost of care to non-resident persons.¹ The system of administration or finance under such programs may be any of a number of types, either in accordance with state practice with regard to general relief or under special arrangements for "non-settled care." In New York State all persons, regardless of residence status, are eligible by law to receive necessary care and assistance. The state reimburses the localities for 100 per cent of the cost of non-settled cases if the case is acceptable under the rules and regulations established by the State Department of Social Welfare. Although the State Department does not deny reimbursement for cases which have been properly documented, the inability of local administrations to secure such documentary support for single men usually results in their non-acceptance or in care limited to a brief period.

In Michigan local shelters and state camps are operated and non-resident homeless men are accepted on the same basis as local homeless persons. The cost is provided for by state allocations to county administrations. Recent changes in the administration of public welfare in Michigan have resulted in much less state control of this program than formerly and it is not known whether the counties will continue to maintain it. In certain of the New England states the state accepts financial responsibility for cases lacking local settlement. Limitations are imposed by rules of the state departments. The state of Washington provides aid to non-residents but limits care for single men to a brief period. In Minnesota the state accepts responsibility for providing aid to intrastate transients, and operates a camp program.

¹ Where a person has local settlement somewhere in the state but is non-settled at the place of application (an intrastate transient) state regulations sometimes establish a system of charging back the cost of care to the place of settlement or allow the removal of such persons to the place of settlement. The charge-back system may operate through the state administration or may be handled directly by the localities concerned.

The Farm Security Administration has been deeply concerned with the problems of migratory agricultural workers, particularly in the western states. Grants and loans have been made available to immigrants from the drought states but the Administration has been opposed in attempts to render direct relief to many migrants. It has done much, however, to demonstrate the advantages of better living conditions and better medical care. Camps for migratory laborers have been established in the West Coast states and are now being developed in certain southern states. Direct relief is not available through such camps, but decent housing and sanitary facilities as well as opportunities for community activities have been provided. There have also been a few experiments in establishing migratory workers on subsistence homesteads and in cooperative ventures. The Administration has provided funds to support an organization in California known as the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association. This Association has brought to migrants the services of doctors and nurses and has given some direct relief through food orders in cases where malnutrition was serious.

The United States Public Health Service has made grants to states for public health work and, particularly in the treatment of venereal disease, has stipulated that migrants be accorded the same privileges for treatment as are given to residents.

Care by Private Agencies

During the latter half of the nineteenth century and up to 1929 there was a rapid growth of private charitable societies in America whose voluntary nature made it possible for them to undertake to assist the needy with supplementary or special forms of aid. Missions sprang up in all the large cities, with overnight accommodations for the homeless; privately supported shelters were operated on a free or low-cost basis; and family societies undertook to extend their services to the non-settled as well as to the settled family in need, so far as their resources permitted. Later came the Travelers Aid Societies whose purpose and program have been one of assistance to people away from home. The Salvation Army, Volunteers of America, and the youth service organizations entered the field of shelter care for the applicant whose lack of settlement made him unwelcome at the office of the public poormaster.

These non-governmental agencies have always been responsive to local sentiment, however, in much the same degree as have the public officials, and their programs of care have reflected to some extent the predominant local view that strangers should not be helped with any but the most emergent forms of aid. Before the depression it was considered appropriate to maintain woodyards for "work test" purposes and for the deterrence of applicants. Duration of care was limited sharply, with advice given after a few hours or days to move on to some other locality or to "go back home." Frequently transportation was paid to induce the applicant to leave. Abuses in this latter connection led finally to the drafting of an inter-agency Transportation Agreement which has been observed by many public as well as private agencies.¹

In most communities today, when public agencies fail to accept responsibility for care to non-residents, it is the private agency which is called upon to provide the needed service. The care which these agencies can give, however, is limited by their restricted budgets. Salvation Army shelters or missions of various kinds are frequently the only resources available. The facilities of these agencies are usually taxed to meet the demands of local homeless persons, but a few beds may be set aside for the non-settled. Time limitations are necessary under such conditions, and a passing-on system results. Travelers Aid Societies are looked to for service to travelers and other non-residents, and frequently it is through them that referrals are made for shelter and food to other private organizations. Community leadership in working toward programs of care for non-residents is often given by Travelers Aid executives. The techniques of intercity service and short contact case work which have been developed by this agency are of great value in the necessarily rapid handling of non-resident cases. Red Cross chapters are frequently called upon to assist non-residents, particularly in rural areas where Travelers Aid Societies do not exist.

Care provided by private agencies may be limited not only by lack of funds for private work but also by community chest policies, rooted in public feeling, by which allocations may be denied to agencies for service to non-residents. Justification for such policies is usually made

¹ Brackett, Jeffrey R., *The Transportation Problem in American Social Work*, Russell Sage Foundation, pp. 13-14.

on the grounds that (1) the funds are donated by the public to meet resident needs, (2) extension of aid will encourage others to come, and (3) persons may acquire local settlement and thus become public charges during the time they are supported by private funds.

VII

PROPOSALS AND EXPERIMENTS

IN the preceding pages we have discussed briefly some of the more important problems which develop in connection with migration. Numerous proposals looking to the solution of these problems have been made by students of the subject and some experiments have been tried. These seek both the prevention of wasteful movement and the correction of the maladjustments between migrant and community which appear once movement has begun.

Prevention of Wasteful Movement

The question is often asked, "Cannot something be done to curb migration at its source?" This query grows out of the perplexity which assails localities when they attempt to deal with the "trouble aspect" of mobility and does not necessarily suggest that all movement is socially disadvantageous. The need for many people to move cannot be denied. Certain industries and types of agriculture require a mobile labor supply which a complete restriction on migration would eliminate. Furthermore, new economic patterns and processes are constantly causing changes which precipitate desirable population shifts. Despite these factors, however, it must be granted that a part of today's migration is wasteful and that socially sound measures should be sought to cope with that aspect of the problem.

The provision of improved economic opportunity at the sources of migration would obviously decrease the power of that "expulsive" force which prompts people to move in search of a better living. Unemployment and substandard levels of living are generally recognized as being the major causes of mobility; and if these were to be reduced through a general business recovery or through specific forms of economic reorganization in the disadvantaged areas, much wasteful movement would be eliminated.

A further decentralization of industry has been urged as one way

of equalizing economic opportunity and of eliminating the entire dependence of certain areas upon agriculture. Drought, price fluctuations, loss of markets, and other maladjustments in the agricultural economy make rural living precarious because of the lack of any other resources upon which the population can draw. Improvements in transportation and in the transmission of power over wide areas, particularly through public developments such as the Tennessee Valley Authority and the power projects in western states, may tend to hasten industrial decentralization and thus relieve this condition. Some students warn against attempted industrial decentralization into remote rural regions but suggest that it might be encouraged in peripheral areas of present urban concentration. Where this is presented as a means of curbing migration, however, it should be noted that such a development might actually result in additional mobility, with unemployed urban dwellers and stranded populations of remote rural regions moving to the expanding peripheral areas.

Some modification in lumbering and mining methods is also seen as a means of stabilization in areas now subject to population fluctuations. Bringing the lumbering industry to a position where it could operate on a sustained annual yield would provide year-round occupations for a substantial number of workers. Likewise, following the depletion of many rich mineral deposits, the mining of less productive sources would probably result in the employment of man-power on a more permanent basis. The extension of rural public works would also do much to stabilize income in non-urban areas.

According to agricultural authorities a great deal of our widespread rural distress has resulted from improper use of the land. The plight of the tenant farmer and sharecropper of the South and the drought-ridden agriculturalist of the Great Plains has repeatedly been attributed to such misuse as is evidenced by intensive one-crop farming, the tillage of submarginal areas, over-grazing, or failure to use various means to revitalize the soil. Among the remedies proposed or tried have been:

Rural zoning—the restriction of land use through functional adaptation to the requirements of forestry, erosion control, public recreation, and so forth, as well as farming. (Wisconsin and Michigan have applied zoning as a means of overcoming land-use difficulties presented in the Cut-Over Region.)

Grazing control—by cattlemen's associations which govern the use of a grazing area, centralize leasing, improve the range, and distribute grazing privileges

Soil conservation—through districts voluntarily established under state legislation for the uniform application of erosion-control measures

Modifications of the tenancy system—by encouraging long-term leases and providing means of compensating the tenant for improvements made by him.

The United States Department of Agriculture has noted the following causes of rural failure, among others: lack of adequate knowledge on the part of individual farmers, or the presence of economic limitations on the use of such knowledge as they have; distribution of land, through homesteads and inheritance, in units too small for successful cultivation; a traditional speculative attitude toward the ownership of land; and imperfections in agricultural finance and taxation.¹ These factors, when combined with a basic instability of production, prices, and income and the lack of balance between industry and agriculture, produce pressures which cause many persons to leave the land and seek employment elsewhere. It is apparent that if there is to be stabilization in rural areas some far-reaching modifications in agriculture must be made and that these must result in economic opportunity approximate to that which apparently exists in other places.

One of the most commonly proposed remedies for rural distress is a modification of cash-crop farming toward a more self-contained form of agricultural production. Occasionally called the "live-at-home" type of farming and described as "the most universally applicable remedy for farm population pressure," this method seeks a maximum expansion of home production for purposes of home consumption. It is claimed that such balanced farming can be practiced not only on the best but on the relatively poor lands of the nation. In urging this remedy Taylor and Taeuber claim that:

The promotion of such a system of farming is not, as some argue, an attempt to turn back the pages of progress. It is an attempt to write the greatest degree of security under the lives of

¹ U. S. Department of Agriculture, *Soils and Men: Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1938, pp. 7-11.

millions of farm families who have their destinies in their own hands to a greater extent than any other segment of our national population. It is based upon the theory that complete economic specialization and geographic division of labor in agricultural production increases freight, storage, financing, and middleman costs to such an extent that farmers of one region do not provide good markets for family consumption products grown in other regions. It is based further upon the fact that even on the best lands of the Nation, where commercial crops utilize practically all of the tillable land, it would be a safer program of human welfare to balance production for the market with the maximum extent of production for home use. The direct result of not doing this in the South, where the standard of living is low, and population maladjustment is most obvious, is the absence of milk, eggs, and fruit in the diet of cotton producers. The remedy is the production in the South of these products for home consumption. This means a greater degree of self-sufficient farming. It is a problem in planning and promoting a definite type of rural culture in the same intelligent and vigorous fashion that we now promote programs of soil conservation, rural rehabilitation, agricultural production and price adjustments, and better land use adjustments.¹

“Subsistence homesteading” is another type of rural living which has numerous advocates. It presupposes the availability of part-time wage employment to complement home production. This employment may be in either agriculture or industry. Taylor and Taeuber consider subsistence homesteading the second most applicable remedy for farm population pressure:

This can be “subsistence homesteading” not only near large cities but near smaller cities and towns and in rural villages. Because of modern means of transportation and recent developments in transmissible power, there can be a considerable decentralization of industry; and by a little nurture and guidance there can be a great expansion in handicraft production. Handicrafts are being slowly eliminated from our rural districts because no one is giving adequate attention to markets for them. This means not only the loss of possible income to thousands of farm families, but the elimination from our rural civilization of one of the most creative elements in it.²

Some experience with subsistence homesteads was developed as a

¹ Taylor, Carl C. and Taeuber, Conrad, *Constructive Rural Farm Population Policies*. In *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, July, 1938, pp. 247-248.

² *Ibid.*, p. 249.

part of the federal relief efforts of 1933-1935, and further experimentation is now going on under the direction of the Farm Security Administration. Attempts are also being made currently to extend subsistence homesteading through private promotion and financing.¹

A third proposal frequently advanced urges the development of cooperative activity in disadvantaged regions. The advocates of co-operatives for the Cotton Belt list the following advantages of this form of production:

Large tracts may be operated with careful supervision by agricultural experts who plan the rotation and diversification of crops, the control of erosion, and other technical programs over a period of years.

Modern machinery can be owned by a group of working farmers which no one of them, operating individually, could hope to possess.

Division of labor is possible so that each member of the cooperative group can do the work for which he is best suited.

Village life can replace the present isolation of the individual farm home. Homes brought together in a cooperative village permit the development of a higher education, culture, and esprit de corps.

Group buying and selling lowers costs and improves the quality of goods.

Far from destroying the old pride of possession of home and land, the uniform experience in such projects is that this sentiment assumes a new and higher form, with interest developing in the success of the whole community, and a willingness to work in its service which dignifies and enriches every labor. One illiterate sharecropper, given his first opportunity to work on such a farm, stated that "for the first time in my life I feel like a free man."

In periods of economic stress a cooperative group properly organized and led may hold its land where the individual farmer may lapse into tenancy.

Group ownership means that equal opportunity for work is afforded to every family in the group, but the group income is divided in proportion to the number of hours worked and the quality of work. Thus truck drivers would receive a larger

¹ Particularly the efforts of the Homeland Foundation, 112 East 19th Street, New York City.

share than common laborers. By setting up such differentials, individual initiative is encouraged at the same time that a new sense of group security is given to all. Individual houses and gardens preserve the old interest in individual property. The principal field crops are handled cooperatively without division of acreage.¹

Those who urge cooperatives also see in them the possibility of developing part-time cooperative action with the remaining time devoted to individual wage-earning occupations. This type of co-operative venture might be adaptable to areas where subsistence homesteads are being proposed.

The development of adequate social services at the sources of migration would also do much to eliminate wasteful movement. It is probable that if economic conditions were to be improved the provision of better social facilities would follow. The difficulty, of course, is that the areas least able to provide such services stand in greatest need of them. It is important to realize that since it is from these areas that the largest amount of migration is flowing, the effects of poor social services are being spread throughout the nation. Inadequate diet, medical care, or housing in a given area may result in diseases which will be carried by migration to other areas. Poor educational standards result in persons being unable to take a responsible place in society, causing burdens for the places to which they move. Improper regulation of working conditions, particularly the failure to curb child labor, develops industrial and social misfits who, when they move, present problems for the communities to which they come. Undoubtedly that migration which has as its primary cause the search for better educational, medical, or relief provisions would be curbed by providing such services more adequately at the source of movement.

Low educational standards, which not only fail to prepare children properly for life but also contribute in large measure to the transiency of boys and young men, have been described by Outland in his studies of youthful transients.² Much of the migration to the West of persons having tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases has been attributed to a lack both of facilities for treatment and of

¹ U. S. Senate, *op. cit.*, p. 1061.

² Outland, *op. cit.*

organizations for disseminating information on the care needed in such diseases. Migration resulting from the regional disparity in relief standards has apparently been overemphasized, since numerous studies have indicated that this is not a primary cause of movement.¹

The proposals which have been made to mitigate these conditions have universally included the use of federal leadership and finance to equalize the standards of social services. They involve the use of the grant-in-aid principle by which federal funds and supervision would be available to the states for the development of relief, education, and programs of health. Grants-in-aid for certain categories of public assistance have been made available under the Social Security Act as have certain allocations of federal funds for public health and child welfare activities. The extension of the grant-in-aid principle has been receiving increasing support as the only possible method of providing comparable social services on a nation-wide basis.

Even with adequate attention to the provision of economic and social opportunities at the sources of migration, it is necessary that attempts be made to develop proper *guidance of population movement*. There are two major divisions to this task: (1) long-range distribution of population, and (2) direction to specific job opportunities whether seasonal or permanent.

The National Resources Committee has recently pointed out that while regional variations in the distribution of goods and services show a pressure of population on economic resources in some parts of the country which is causing low levels of living and chronic poverty, the nation as a whole is not faced with a permanent situation of "too many people everywhere and too few opportunities anywhere."

There is obviously a general scarcity of opportunities for employment. But economic revival may be expected to open new opportunities where circumstances are favorable to the development of mechanical industries, to the extension of trade and service occupations, and in some cases to the development of new types of agricultural, forest, and mineral production. It is not possible to locate "areas of opportunity" with the same ex-

¹ Webb and Brown, *op. cit.*, and Ryan, Philip E., *The New York State Program for Non-Settled Persons*, New York State Department of Social Welfare.

actness that is sometimes possible in the case of "problem areas," just because opportunity is more diffuse than the sort of specific limitations which mark off areas of overpopulation. This does not mean, however, that the potential opportunities are less real than these negative conditions.¹

Some measure of guidance and direction is obviously required if the greatest economic opportunity is to be available to the "dispossessed and disinherited" and if the best utilization is to be made of the nation's resources. While unguided migration in the past has, on the whole, improved the economic standing of the majority of migrants and the same condition may continue to prevail, the number who would adjust themselves successfully to a new environment would undoubtedly be increased by better direction of movement.

Efforts at guidance, however, should not be allowed to become attempts at coercion or regimentation. As Coyle has said:

Even if more complete information were available, it would still be highly questionable practice to interfere with individual movements. The circumstances of each family are peculiar, and a particular family may better its condition by moving against the general stream. The ability to move at will is one of the most vital elements of freedom and one that a democratic people should strive to preserve even at some cost.

Even though the total result of migration by unemployed workers may not be an immediate gain in dollars to them or to the community, the conclusion appears to be that free movement is in the public interest. It relieves the strain of economic maladjustment; it keeps alive in Americans the sense of freedom and of being on their own. Migration is a valuable part of our American tradition, and even at the cost of some temporary inconvenience it seems that free movement among the people should be permitted.²

The process of guidance is not only one of directing movement out of stranded areas. It also involves the development of measures to prevent settlement in areas where little or no economic opportunity may be anticipated. The Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Conference in April, 1939, recommended "vigorous and concerted action by Federal, state and local agencies, to guide settlers toward

¹ National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*, pp. 37-38.

² Coyle, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

the better lands and away from those definitely known to be unsuited to agricultural use.”¹ The “back to the land” movement of early depression years has been described as a movement from areas of greater to areas of less opportunity. It is now conceded that such a movement was undesirable and only increased the problems of the destination localities.²

In collecting information for the purpose of guiding population redistribution it will be necessary to examine the possibilities of decentralization of industry, the threats to wage scales, the possibilities of employment in agriculture and industry, and the need for vocational training and retraining for new job opportunities. Plans will have to be developed for education which will fit the students for prospective opportunities in other areas.

One extensive study of migration points out that the carrying out of sound guidance policies can be accomplished much more easily in times of prosperity than in depression and warns that it would be tragic if efforts to guide and direct migration were to be abandoned when the current emergency is thought to be past.³

Adjusting Community-Migrant Relationships

We have seen in sections V and VI how people on the move often suffer from a lack of physical necessities and normal community relationships because of the restrictions imposed by settled localities on “outsiders.” Here, too, as at the sources of migration, proposals have been advanced and experiments tried which look toward a correction of such maladjustments.

The *employment* difficulties which migrants experience arise in large part from the seasonal nature of the work available to this class of labor. The development of new agricultural patterns which would result in “cycles” of successive harvests has been advocated, as has the modification of growers’ activities to provide stabilized year-

¹ Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, *Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Conference*, p. 173.

² In contrast to this regressive type of movement is the proposal made by President Roosevelt in January, 1940, that 500,000 migrants be aided to settle in the Columbia River basin two years hence, after completion of the Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams.

³ Goodrich and others, *op. cit.*, p. 663.

round employment for all necessary workers.¹ While such objectives may be approximated in the long-run evolution of mechanized agriculture, the near-term problems of placement and direction to current job opportunities remain. In this connection John Steinbeck, author of *The Grapes of Wrath*, has recommended that his own state, California, establish a migratory labor board with branches in the agricultural districts. After urging that labor be represented on this board, he says:

Local committees should, before the seasonal demand for labor, canvass the district, discover and publish the amount of labor needed and the wages to be paid.

Such information should then be placed in the hands of the labor unions, so that the harvest does not become a great, disorganized gold rush with twice and three times as much labor applying as is needed.²

Another suggestion frequently made is that subsistence homesteads be established in the regions of mechanized agriculture so that the migrant's family may enjoy settled community life while the worker engages in such seasonal or other employment as is available in the vicinity. The establishment of such "home bases" would not only provide decent housing and family life but would also develop a stable body of labor resident in the regions where seasonal agricultural labor is required.³

The formation of part-time cooperatives at points of destination has also been proposed. Taylor has characterized this type of enterprise as:

. . . a part-time farming operation for a group of laborers, established in an area adjacent to extensive demand for their work, where these families may cooperatively have a dairy, the production of some poultry and fruits and vegetables.⁴

Development of the collective bargaining power of migrant workers has been advocated as a means of raising their earnings so as to allow decent living conditions. McWilliams in his recently pub-

¹ Taylor, Frank J., The Merritt System. In *The Commentator*, Payson Publishing Company, November, 1938.

² Steinbeck, John, *Their Blood Is Strong*, Simon J. Lubin Society of California, p. 29.

³ U. S. Senate, *op. cit.*, pp. 1157-1171.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1166.

lished *Factories in the Field* has emphasized the view that "the solution of the farm-labor problem can only be achieved through the organization of farm workers."¹

Probably the proposal most often made for overcoming employment difficulties is that of direction and guidance of workers to job opportunities. As long ago as 1924 Harrison and associates pointed out that through long distance clearance the various local and state employment offices could cooperate to preserve "an inter-city or inter-sectional balance between sustained shortage and sustained oversupply of labor, with the least number of actual transfers and least number of total transfer miles traveled."² Atkinson, Odencrantz, and Deming in their recent study of public employment service in the United States see the "control" of migratory labor as a problem which "presents a real challenge to the employment service":

Real control of migratory labor calls for a system whereby workers will register at their local employment office and there obtain information about job opportunities in other areas. To effect such control involves a tremendous task of worker education and an exchange of employment information on an interstate scale. It is a long-range objective and can be achieved only gradually. Farm labor clearance and control of migratory workers present problems which need the cooperation of the United States Employment Service and the state services in the regions affected. A study by national specialists would be eminently worth while in developing methods for coping with these problems.³

Early in 1939 attention was directed to this problem in a special survey of migratory labor in California conducted by the Works Progress Administration at the request of the President. In reporting his findings California WPA Administrator Lawson said:

Bringing men and jobs together is primarily the concern of the United States Employment Service. In addition, they are the agency in the best position to disseminate information on employment opportunities as well as information on areas in

¹ McWilliams, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

² Harrison, Shelby M. and Associates, *Public Employment Offices*, Russell Sage Foundation, p. 413.

³ Atkinson, Raymond C.; Odencrantz, Louise C.; and Deming, Ben, *Public Employment Service in the United States*, Public Administration Service, p. 435.

which there is already an oversupply of workers. There was general agreement that immediate benefits would result from a systematic spreading of information among potential migrants in the States of origin as well as among migrants en route for the purpose of checking the continual oversupply of workers to California. Not only should the State employment service exchange information among its local agencies as to over and under supply, but great advantages could be obtained through the exchange of such information among those States now receiving or supplying the greatest bulk of the migrant population.

All regular channels of publicity should be used. Growers' associations have been particularly effective in attracting an oversupply of migrant workers through the use of handbills, signs along the road, radio announcements, and word-of-mouth advertising. The use of these same channels by the Employment Service should go a long way to direct the regular seasonal agricultural migrant to areas in which he is needed, to discourage unneeded workers from continuing their journey to California, and to advise prospective migrants of the general lack of job opportunities in California.

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Since industrial as well as agricultural migrants are found among the needy it would seem desirable for the United States Employment Service to disseminate information on urban as well as rural employment opportunities and gluts.¹

It must be pointed out, however, that such expansion of the activities of the employment services does not provide the final answer to the problems of seasonal employment. The direction of workers to jobs in agriculture, while it might eliminate some of the distress now resulting from oversupply, cannot alone meet the problems of such employment. Further adjustment is necessary because of the fact that the peak demands for short-term labor overlap and there is insufficient opportunity for full-year employment for all who are needed during the harvest seasons.

Recent proposals for meeting the *health* needs of migrants have stressed the importance of integrating the approach to this problem with that taken in providing health services for residents. As Blankenship has expressed it:

One additional provision is necessary if transients are to receive

¹ Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 5008.

adequate medical care. That is the operation of satisfactory systems of medical care for needy residents in all communities. If the medical care extended to transients is to be adequate, it is essential first of all that the quality and quantity of care for residents be improved. Until the entire resident population receives medical care of high quality and of sufficient quantity, the problem of adequate medical care for transients is not likely to be solved.¹

Any program which would establish a higher standard of care for non-residents than for residents would probably tend to increase undesirable mobility and at the same time increase the antagonism of local residents to the "outsider." In its testimony before the Special Senate Committee to Investigate Unemployment and Relief, the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless made the following proposal:

Under the Social Security Act there should be provided adequate appropriations to the United States Public Health Service for grants-in-aid to State departments of health to furnish medical care and diagnostic and treatment service to all needy persons, including the nonresident. This would be especially effective in controlling communicable disease.²

The Voorhis bill (H.R. 2974-76th Congress) would provide for federal grants-in-aid to states to extend medical care to non-residents but, as we have seen, it is questionable how effective this would be unless the medical needs of residents had first been provided for more adequately.

The National Health Program developed by the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities aims at providing necessary medical care through federal and state cooperation. As these proposals are put into effect, safeguards should be provided so that restrictions on the basis of settlement or residence status are not included.

So many persons having pulmonary tuberculosis and other respiratory diseases have migrated to the Southwest that these states are overburdened with health problems. In April, 1936, an interstate conference was called in Santa Fe by the National Tuberculosis As-

¹ Blankenship, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

² U. S. Senate, *op. cit.*, p. 1174.

sociation for the purpose of considering the problem of the tuberculous transient and the resulting complications for the communities to which he comes. This conference resolved that "the federal government . . . should assume immediately the function of controlling the spread of tuberculosis by unsettled people" and urged "the principle of federal participation in meeting the transient problem." It also recommended that Congress should "provide emergency funds for the several states where such [indigent tuberculous] persons [and families] now find themselves . . . pending the development of a permanent transient program of national scope."¹

With respect to the health problems of the migratory agricultural workers in California, Congressman Voorhis has suggested that additional funds be made available to the Farm Security Administration so that it can expand the care provided through the Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association. He also recommends that clinics and emergency hospitals be established in connection with the camps for agricultural workers now operating under the Farm Security Administration. In further reference to the California situation, California WPA Administrator Lawson has said:

[The Public Health Service] has allocated \$52,000 to the California State Health Department to be used in securing the services of a limited number of physicians and public-health nurses to provide medical aid to agricultural migrants during the current fiscal year. In addition, an allocation of \$103,791 has been made for work on the control of venereal disease with the specific requirement that migrants be accorded the same privileges for treatment as are given to residents.

The Public Health Service calls attention to the possibility upon specific request of the California State Health Department of limited use of funds allocated under the Social Security Act and administered by the Children's Bureau, for pre-natal nursing and delivery care among migrants. The Public Health Service officials feel that additional funds for public-health work among migrants could be used to good advantage.²

Further expansion of the housing facilities for migratory agricultural workers being provided by the Farm Security Administration

¹ National Tuberculosis Association, *Minutes and Resolutions of the Southwestern Conference on Tuberculous Transients, April 29 and 30, 1936.*

² Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 5009.

would serve to eliminate the dangers to health resulting from ditch-bank and squatter camps, with their inadequate shelter, improperly protected food, and dangerous water supplies.

Although all students of the health problems involved in migration point to the need for federal leadership and financial participation in developing a program to provide necessary medical care to resident and non-resident alike, states and localities should be able to make better provisions for the health needs of migrants pending such action. A recent report on the health problems of transients in Cincinnati indicates that that city is providing certain types of medical care for non-residents:

It may be said that Cincinnati, through its hospital facilities for emergent and acute cases, its treatment of venereal disease at the Health Center, its Shelter Infirmary providing bed rest and isolation to the sub-acutely ill, and its Shelter Clinic providing overnight medical treatment and advice, is furnishing more protection to the health of the community and the transient, than is to be found in most large cities. In addition, there is every reason to believe that Cincinnati's method of handling the transient is keeping the problem here at a minimum.¹

It is evident from the above report that Cincinnati believes that the costs of the service which it is providing are worth the protection received. It is important to bear in mind in this connection the statement incorporated in the conclusions of the Midwest Conference on Transiency and Settlement Laws:

Because of the health menace and the other social evils consequent upon the lack of care for our moving population, the Conference, therefore, stresses the point that the expense of an adequate transient program would be much less than the social costs of continued neglect.²

Housing as it affects the migrant has been the subject of numerous proposals. The United States Housing Authority believes that it is making a contribution to the solution of the migrant problem since, "By providing decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low

¹ *Report of the Committee on the Health Problem of Transients in Cincinnati to the Coordinating Committee of the Public Health Federation*, March 6, 1939, p. 5.

² *Proceedings of Midwest Conference on Transiency and Settlement Laws*, St. Paul, Minn., March 11-12, 1937, p. 54.

income throughout the United States it will assist in drying up the flow of migrants at its source.”¹

The increasing development of housing authorities and city planning bodies may serve to prevent the extension of slum areas resulting from an influx of needy non-residents whose circumstances force them to seek the lowest possible rentals.

Expansion of the various programs of the Farm Security Administration has been recommended, including the building of both mobile and permanent camps for migratory agricultural workers, promotion of subsistence homesteads, development of cooperative enterprises, and resettlement of migrant farm families on lands feasible of cultivation. In commenting upon the housing aspects of its program the Farm Security Administration has said:

In general, the housing program of the FSA has been pushed as rapidly as funds and planning would permit, but at the present time is drastically limited by lack of authorization to extend funds for the purchase of land.²

The Administration has noted that its experiments in providing decent housing facilities for migratory agricultural workers have already influenced certain of the growers to improve the quarters provided by them for their seasonal help, indicating that it is not only better for the migrant but that it is also “good business” to improve the living conditions of the workers.

Although it is possible for local authorities to develop better housing accommodations for migrant workers, “The [United States] Housing Authority officials question whether dwellings constructed with their aid can be built to rent for the very small amounts which the migratory worker can afford from his low earnings, and whether this more or less continually moving group would provide enough year-around tenants to supply economical operation.”³ In this connection, Jones in his study of transients and migrants, has said:

Counties may establish county housing authorities according to the provisions of the Low Cost Housing Acts passed in the 1938 extra session of the California Legislature. Under the powers

¹ Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 5009.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

granted to local housing authorities (1) to demolish, clear or remove buildings from any slum or blighted area and (2) to provide decent, safe and sanitary urban or rural dwellings for persons of low income, agricultural counties could undertake the construction and maintenance of housing facilities for resident and migratory agricultural laborers. The housing authorities are authorized to issue revenue bonds to be secured by the housing projects. The United States Housing Authority may lend a local housing authority up to 90 per cent of a project's cost. Only 10 per cent of the costs would have to be raised through local financing. The property of housing authorities is exempt from taxes and assessments, but they are empowered to make payments to governmental units in lieu of taxes. No county with a large number of agricultural laborers, except Los Angeles, has created a housing authority. None of the four county housing projects in Los Angeles County are designed for agricultural workers.¹

The housing facilities provided by growers and by owners of tourist camps could also be improved through local and state legislation. The enforcement of such standards as might be adopted through this type of legislation would, of course, require adequate staffs of inspectors. The experience of state and local authorities in the regulation of shelter standards for community protection provides a pattern which might be followed in extending such regulations to the facilities used by migrants.

Provisions for the *education* of children are inadequate, as we have seen, both in many of the localities to which migrants go and in many of the sections from which they come. Regarding regional differentials in educational opportunity Lorimer and Osborn have pointed out that:

. . . each new generation of Americans is tending to be disproportionately recruited from areas with low standards of living and inferior educational resources. The constant stream of migrants to urban areas from marginal mountain and coastal areas in the North, from the Southern Appalachian area, and from marginal cotton lands, enforced by current reproduction trends, is steadily working to counteract the educational efforts now being made in American cities.²

¹ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

² From Lorimer, Frank and Osborn, Frederick, *Dynamics of Population*, p. 345. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

To offset these differentials the Advisory Committee on Education has recommended a program of federal aid to states for educational purposes. The recommendations include not only aid for elementary and secondary education but also supplementary funds for training educational personnel, for construction of school buildings, and for state departments of education. A further recommendation of the Committee, and one which is particularly important in its relation to migration, is that of federal aid for programs of vocational education.¹

The National Child Labor Committee has recommended that "there should be federal subsidies to the states for the education of migrant children." In amplifying this recommendation the Committee states:

Inasmuch as many states have a migrant population from other states far in excess of their need for labor federal assistance is obviously justified. Such aid should not however relieve growers, processors and land promoters responsible for this burden from their share of the costs and tax loads. Federal grants for migrant education should be predicated upon a requirement that educational facilities for migrant children should be equal to those available for residents.²

While it may be desirable as a means of bringing educational advantages to migrants, this recommendation has two possible dangers: (1) it would separate migrant children from local residents, thereby encouraging the unnatural distinction between the groups and at the same time, by establishing a special classification, would make comparatively easy the discontinuance of such aid; and (2) while such wide disparity now exists in regional educational standards for resident children it would probably be better to work for greater uniformity of standards for all. To overcome these difficulties the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Education seem preferable, since they would tend to raise standards through federal aid to the educational programs for all children. Provision must be made, however, to fit the migrant child into the educational program thus improved.

¹ Advisory Committee on Education, *op. cit.*, pp. 85-95.

² Sidel, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

A further recommendation of the National Child Labor Committee which deserves immediate action is as follows:

An immediate survey of migrant education by national specialists in the field of curriculum should be followed by broad experimentation to determine types of schooling best adapted to modern conditions and formulated to meet conditions peculiar to migrancy.¹

To plan for necessary education, both general and vocational, such a group should also have available further information about the numbers, sources, directions, and destinations of migrants. To secure such data and to make possible effective action and modification based upon them, the resources and the coordinating power of the federal government is patently necessary.

The extension of employment service to direct migrants to job opportunities would, through its stabilizing influence and through the prevention of wasteful movement, also tend to keep children in school for longer periods. Likewise the development of the recommended subsistence homesteads for migrant agricultural workers would serve to allow the children of such workers to remain in one community and use its educational facilities without interruption.

Even without federal aid, states and localities should be able to do much to bring educational opportunities to migrants. Provision of special schools such as those operating in California could be established where needed, although it would be better to make it possible for non-resident children to attend classes with residents. Care should be taken, however, to see that such schools maintain at least the standards prevailing in the local programs in regard to hours, courses, equipment, and personnel. Either with or without such special schools for migrants, local authorities can make sure that compulsory school attendance laws include migrants and that these laws are enforced.

Local provision of *family and child welfare* services, and programs designed for the *prevention of delinquency*, should be available to non-residents as well as residents if the community is to protect itself from the costs of neglect in these areas. It has been seen that the migrant is singularly disadvantaged in his relations with the

¹ *Ibid.*

community because of the short duration of his stay, his low economic status, and the suspicion and fear with which he is regarded by local residents. One of the major activities of family agencies is to help in the adjustment of individuals to their environment, both within the family circle and in community relationships. Similarly, group work activities are effective in building a better citizenship. Although some additional support for private agency programs would be necessary to extend these services to the families of migrants, the increased expenditures involved would not be great for any community if all carried their share.

With respect to *recreation*, the needs of agricultural migrants may be partially met through the extension of the Farm Security Administration's camps but a more normal contact with the local residents is necessary if such programs are to be completely effective. The artificial distinctions between migrants and local people which develop from segregation need constantly to be guarded against. An interesting recommendation with regard to the recreational needs of migrant children was recently made by the California Congressional delegation when it suggested that local boys' and girls' work organizations should make a concerted effort to bring the children of migrants into their activities. It is to be hoped that this recommendation will receive the support of such organizations and that other attempts on the part of community groups will be made to include the migrants in their activities.

Religious activities have been extended into migratory laborers' camps primarily through the efforts of the Council of Women for Home Missions. This group has developed a program of religious instruction for children through day nursery centers established within the camps. A possibility for bringing further religious participation to migrants exists in the "trailer churches" inaugurated by the Paulist Fathers, a Roman Catholic order of priests. These mobile units have as yet been used only to serve residents in outlying rural areas but they might easily be adapted to service where migrants congregate. In addition to the work that the above groups can do, local congregations also have opportunities to serve the "stranger within the gates." Learning to know the migrant and his

problems would lead them to extend a heartier welcome to the newcomer and would do much to overcome the feeling which many non-residents have of being outcasts deprived of all normal community ties.

The *civil liberties* of persons without a legal settlement are, as we have seen, easily infringed as a result of misguided attempts on the part of localities to protect themselves from the "outsider." As a corrective to this tendency greater local support is needed for the program of national and state bodies devoted to the safeguarding of these liberties, and increased alertness to civil injustices is called for in all localities.

The *social insurance* provisions of the Social Security Act consist, as we have noted, of a federal program of old age benefits—in which eligibility is not affected by interstate movement—and state programs of unemployment compensation which do put up barriers to such movement. Some attempts have been made to work out interstate agreements which would allow the state of residence to serve as the agent of the state from which unemployment benefits are due to the worker. Proposals made by the Interstate Conference of Unemployment Compensation Agencies are directed to this solution, or at least mitigation, of the problem. A more troublesome situation arises when workers who have not had sufficient employment in any one state to make them eligible for that state's benefits have had considerable cumulative though scattered employment. Uniform interstate standards of eligibility, federal participation in costs, and a pooled interstate fund have all been suggested as ways of meeting this difficulty.

With respect to the *provision of assistance* a wide variety of proposals have been made. For the most part the recommendations for granting relief to non-residents call for federal assumption of total or partial responsibility for such assistance. The experience of the Federal Transient Program seems to indicate that the states and localities should participate both financially and administratively in activities of this kind. Community acceptance of a program, its permanence, and the development of plans for the assimilation of migrants

require local and state participation. In 1938 the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless testified on this subject before a Senate Committee. Its recommendations, concurred in by many national agencies, called for the establishment "under the Social Security Board [of] a category to be known as General Public Assistance."¹ Within this category the Committee recommended that assistance to transients should be included. In further definition of the program the Committee stated certain principles which should be embodied in the plans submitted by the states to obtain grants for general public assistance:

Legal settlement shall be acquired in the State on the basis of 1 year's continuous residence without regard to economic status. No one shall be prevented from acquiring settlement because he is not self-supporting.

Legal settlement shall not be lost in one State until acquired in another.

The State shall reimburse the local public relief agencies for services, medical care, and material relief to the non-resident until such time as legal settlement is acquired.

The State department of public welfare or other acceptable State authority shall have the power to determine legal settlement when municipalities or counties within the State cannot reconcile their differences, and all matters relating to the transfer of dependents between States shall be the responsibility of the State authority.

When disputes in relation to legal settlement cannot be resolved between States, the States concerned shall agree to accept, after a hearing, the decision of the Social Security Board as to the legal settlement of the case involved.

The Social Security Board must be satisfied that any State plan for operation under the General Public Assistance category meets acceptable minimum standards in regard to relief, type of organization for purposes of administration, and quality of personnel, as well as the legal provisions enumerated in the previous paragraphs.

The State plan shall include within the State welfare department a division responsible for the welfare of the non-resident.²

¹ U. S. Senate, *op. cit.*, pp. 1171-1176.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1174.

Recommendations of a similar nature have come from many different sources: from city and state groups as well as national agencies, and from social work and non-social work bodies alike. A committee of the American Bar Association has recently stated:

Public health, public safety, crime prevention and labor standards make necessary a recognition of this problem. Preventive medicine in such matters demands some regulation of the transient population in the interest of national and local well-being. A continuous census of such persons, and some intelligent guidance of them, could be maintained through the prompt and permanent reestablishment of the federal transient program. Such a program should be carefully, in the course of its operation, integrated with state and local welfare administration. The problem, however, is nation-wide in scope and should be so treated. The dividends in national health and safety will repay its cost many times over.¹

Although this statement calls for the re-establishment of the Federal Transient Program, the recommended integration with state and local welfare administration could best be accomplished through the grant-in-aid principle.

In a recent report on conditions in California, the Congressional delegation from that state recommended that grants-in-aid for general relief be made by the federal government. The comments of the Social Security Board on this recommendation have been summarized as follows:

If assistance for nonresidents is granted to California it would have to be granted to all States.

Resentment would be aroused by grants to nonresident aid unless provisions were also made for assistance to needy residents not cared for under existing programs.

Assistance for nonresidents without a general relief program would tend to encourage transiency.

It would seem desirable to establish a Federal program of assistance for nonresidents and other needy individuals and families

¹ American Bar Association, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20. The Committee making this recommendation declared elsewhere in its report its conviction that "The large and increasing numbers of unemployed—in many instances unemployable or without desire to work—supply a great reservoir for malcontents, are a menace to public health and safety, endanger the operation of laws for social security and fair labor standards, and are a recruiting ground for disrespect for law and advocacy of subversive doctrines."

for whom employment on public-works projects financed in whole or in part by the Federal Government is not suitable or available.¹

A number of bills proposing grants-in-aid for general relief were introduced in the 76th Congress. The one most nearly approaching the Social Security Board's recommendation was introduced by Congressman Voorhis of California (H.R. 5736—76th Congress). Mr. Voorhis has also introduced other measures designed to provide assistance to non-residents. One of these, H.R. 2975, would establish under the Social Security Act a special category of assistance to transients by which the federal government would reimburse the states for the total cost of aid granted to non-residents. Another, H.R. 2974, is designed to make available through grants-in-aid necessary medical and hospital service for non-settled persons. Both of these measures are subject to the dangers pointed out by the Social Security Board in the first three parts of the comments quoted above.

The use of the grant-in-aid method has been proposed for both direct and work relief in a bill introduced on June 28, 1939, by Senators Vandenberg, Barbour, and Taft (S. 2721—76th Congress). The bill would require that states grant financial assistance to needy individuals and that no residence requirement for work relief be imposed which would exclude any resident of the state who had resided therein continuously for one year preceding the application. This has been interpreted to mean that non-residents would be eligible for necessary direct relief. Provisions that the state agency may enter into reciprocal agreements between states for the care, treatment, and re-domiciling of transient needy individuals would also be required of the states by this bill.

In a recent report prepared for the New York State Department of Social Welfare on the New York State program for non-settled persons, the following recommendation for federal participation was made:

Federal assistance should be available to the states through grants-in-aid for general assistance. Such grants-in-aid should be contingent upon the acceptance by Federal authority of state plans which conform to Federally established conditions and standards including adequate assistance to non-settled persons.²

¹ Lawson, *op. cit.*, p. 5009.

² Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

Ways of providing assistance to migrants through the Work Projects Administration have also been considered. The work program could be used both for discouraging migration by providing jobs at the places of origin and for relieving the needs of migrants already on the road. To meet the needs of migrants in California, state WPA Administrator Lawson recommended an increase of 10,000 in California's WPA quota. In commenting on this recommendation, federal WPA Administrator Harrington said:

It would be possible for the Works Progress Administration to set up an earmarked quota for the employment of migrants in California and to develop a work program particularly for those migrants. I believe, however, that this is highly undesirable and recommend against it. On the other hand, a general increase in the Works Progress Administration quota for the State of California will not do anything constructive to solve the problem, and the extent to which such an increase can be made upon present limitations as to funds would not in my judgment have any marked effect in alleviating the conditions which prevail.¹

The same objections which have been raised to establishing special relief provisions for migrants, distinct from that available to residents, may be made to the provision of special work projects for non-residents. It would seem that a better solution would be to allow all to be eligible for such employment regardless of residence or settlement status.

In the absence of federal action it should be possible for states and localities to do more than they are now doing to meet the relief needs of non-settled persons. While the program now in operation in New York State is limited, many of its provisions could well be imitated by other states.² The operation of the program has strengthened New York's claim that federal aid is necessary while at the same time assistance has been made available to non-settled persons. A more convincing demand for federal aid can be made when the states have evidenced a willingness to share the burden.

On the local level as well, assistance—even though limited by lack of funds—could be extended to non-residents. The community

¹ Harrington, F. C., Letter to President Roosevelt, March 15, 1939. In *Congressional Record*, March 30, 1939, p. 5007.

² Ryan, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

fails to protect itself when it denies all responsibility and refuses to extend any aid. The cost of a limited local program to provide food and shelter would not be excessive when balanced against the dangers to community health and well-being from the presence of uncared-for groups. The claim that such aid would result in a vast influx of needy persons has not been substantiated.

Numerous recommendations have been made for overcoming some of the relief problems of non-residents by unifying the settlement laws of the several states. Various Interstate Conferences, the Council of State Governments, the National Association of Attorney-Generals, and others have joined with the national social agencies in these recommendations, which usually embody the principles of a uniform period of one year for the acquisition of settlement and retention of one settlement until another has been gained. But attempts to bring about such uniformity have not been marked with much success to date. State governments are reluctant to ease any of the restrictions by which they seem to be protecting their relief funds from anticipated "raids" by non-residents.

The use of interstate compacts by which states may reciprocate in the care of each other's non-resident dependents has also been experimented with. The main difficulty encountered in reaching agreements of this kind is the lack of uniformity in the welfare structures, practices, and regulations of the states. Standard practices need to be in force before reciprocity is possible. The experience with the Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act is interesting in this connection. The Act was drafted in 1932 by the Committee on Interstate Problems of the American Public Welfare Association. It would allow a state to enter into reciprocal agreements with other states in regard to the care and transfer of dependents. The Council of State Governments, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, and the American Bar Association have approved this Act and a few states have adopted it. A study is now being made by the American Public Welfare Association to determine the extent to which agreements have occurred as a result of the Act. Available information seems to indicate that very few such agreements have been made, principally because of the prior need for uniformity of legal and administrative provisions.

In the public assistance categories of the Social Security Act rec-

ommendations have been made and some action has been taken to work out interstate agreements allowing the payment of benefits across state lines where such arrangements are desirable. The American Public Welfare Association, through an extensive program of regional interstate conferences, has been especially active in assisting in the development of such agreements. Its experience to date indicates that, due to the approximate uniformity of state practice as a result of the Social Security Act, agreements are much more easy to negotiate with respect to categorical assistance than in the field of general relief. Development of more comparable standards among the states in the administration of general relief by means of federal participation in the program would undoubtedly lead to similar interstate agreements in this service as well, resulting in more humane treatment of the non-resident.

VIII

TOWARD A NATIONAL POLICY

IT is apparent that the needs of individual migrants, the safety of communities, and the well-being of the nation demand that a broad policy and program be developed to cope with the difficulties presented by population movement in American life. Since the problems are so complex and cut across so many lines of public and private interest, such a policy and program can be properly developed only if all agencies concerned work together toward its formulation. To achieve that end some method must be followed whereby the interested groups can clear with one another the results of their experience in their respective fields and, through continuous and sustained study, work out the basis for practical remedial action.

Coordinated Governmental Effort

Inherent in the problems discussed is the need for concerted public action on and between all levels of government. At the federal level, particularly, is governmental participation and leadership called for. Just as the interstate aspects of commerce are too complex to be left to the control of localities and states, so the problems of interstate migration transcend the states' ability to deal with them. The advantages of mobility are likely to be impaired by unwarranted local restrictions unless a national policy for migration is devised.

The very complexity of the problem stands in the way of immediate acceptance of the indicated federal responsibility. Numerous departments, bureaus, and administrative divisions find that population mobility has some bearing on their work; some have made studies of various aspects of the problem; others are becoming more and more concerned with the difficulties involved. Yet the lack of coordination prevents a unified approach and effectively discourages the development of a comprehensive program.

The following federal agencies, among others, have an interest in the problems growing out of population mobility:¹

Department of Agriculture

Bureau of Agricultural Economics

Farm Credit Administration

Farm Security Administration

Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation

Forest Service

Soil Conservation Service

Department of Commerce

Bureau of the Census

Department of Justice

Bureau of Parole

Bureau of Prisons

Department of Labor

Bureau of Labor Statistics

Children's Bureau

Division of Labor Standards

Wage and Hour Division

Women's Bureau

Executive Office of the President

Central Statistical Board

National Resources Planning Board (formerly National Resources Committee)

Federal Works Agency

United States Housing Authority

Work Projects Administration (formerly Works Progress Administration)

Federal Security Agency

National Youth Administration

Office of Education

Public Health Service

Social Security Board

United States Employment Service

Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities

In its testimony before the Senate Committee the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless recommended "coordination of the

¹ This list classifies the agencies according to the federal Reorganization Plan which went into effect July 1, 1939.

present governmental efforts to survey the needs in this field," urging that "interdepartmental coordination of Federal agencies is necessary for economy of effort and logical study of the many ramifications of the problem."¹ The California Congressional delegation also called for such coordinated planning when it recommended:

We believe a continuing committee of representatives of various governmental agencies should be set up to study the problem of interstate migration and devise administrative measures as well as recommendations to Congress for dealing with it.²

The mere listing of the above federal agencies is sufficient evidence of this need. Although the reorganization which has been effected has eliminated some of the previous difficulties, the necessity for coordination among the various agencies and departments is still apparent.

The need for a coordinated approach was recognized by California WPA Administrator Lawson in his recent report to federal WPA Administrator Harrington:

What the various agencies concerned with the problem of interstate migration can do in California and elsewhere at the present time is limited by the fact that an effective solution requires planned action on a wider basis than one State or region. Agency officials agreed on the need for long-range planning in order to make the best use of their several authorities.

. . . it is the belief of agency officials that a continuing committee on this problem should be set up under the auspices of one of the participating agencies. Such a committee could through frequent consultation, the pooling of information, and coordinated study, formulate the long-range planning that is so badly needed.

Agency officials are all aware that the present situation is not unique; that it is merely the current aspect of last year's and next year's problem. Existing agency activities cover parts of the problem, and in continuing and coordinating these activities lies the most hopeful prospect for an eventual solution.³

¹ U. S. Senate, *op. cit.*, p. 1175.

² Report to California Delegation of Sub-Committee Appointed to Draft a Program of Action on the Migrant Problem, prepared by Congressmen Costello, Anderson, and Voorhis, during 76th Congress, First Session.

³ Lawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 5009-5010.

While this recommendation provides a convincing statement of the reasons for coordination, it is questionable whether the committee to do the work should be set up under the auspices of one of the "participating agencies."¹ Effective coordination for program planning would probably be best accomplished through an agency entirely dissociated from an administrative department.

There are two existing agencies which have been suggested as the proper bodies to be given the task of coordination for long-range planning with respect to migration. They are the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities and the National Resources Planning Board. In 1938, at the suggestion of the Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless, the Interdepartmental Committee appointed a Technical Sub-Committee on Migration Problems. The concentration of the Interdepartmental Committee on the national health program, changes in the positions of the personnel of the Sub-Committee, and lack of sufficient staff to carry on its work have resulted in little action being taken by this group. The Sub-Committee has also felt that its efforts have not been as effective as they might have been if administrative responsibility for aid to migrants had existed in one of the federal agencies. In this connection, however, it should be pointed out that the task of coordinated planning suggested above is one which should precede agency responsibility for a program for migrants. It is one of working together to develop an acceptable and well-rounded program.

The National Resources Planning Board (formerly the National Resources Committee) has published an extensive report² on population problems and has prepared studies of a number of regions. In addition the Board, through its northwestern regional office, is co-operating in a comprehensive study of migration into that region. This study is considering not only the problems of the use of natural resources but is also concerned with the human problems of relief and resettlement of migrants.³

¹ The agencies were the Works Progress Administration, Farm Security Administration, United States Housing Authority, Social Security Board, Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, Public Health Service, Office of Education, and the United States Employment Service.

² National Resources Committee, *The Problems of a Changing Population*.

³ Stanbery, V. B., *Migration Into Oregon 1930-1937*, Vol. II, Oregon State Planning Board.

A further suggestion for a coordinating and program-planning body has included not only the executive branch of the government but the legislative as well. This suggestion calls for a joint committee consisting of Congressional representatives to be selected by Congress and personnel from the executive departments concerned with migration to be appointed by the President. The fact-finding powers of Congress and the prestige of Congressional action would thus be focused on the problems of interstate migration.

Whatever type of coordinating body is employed, it must have adequate staff and must receive the full cooperation of the agencies having an interest in the problems of migration. It would seem desirable that the responsibility for long-range coordinated planning be established by a Presidential executive order or by a less formal executive memorandum. Such a responsibility might be placed either upon the Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, upon the National Resources Planning Board, or upon a joint committee as described above. The National Resources Planning Board's current sponsorship of a study of relief in relation to the nation's resources reveals the Board's concern with the human as well as the physical resources of the country and indicates that it might appropriately be charged with the further responsibility of developing a national policy for migration.

Not only on the federal level of government is there need for coordination of agencies concerned with various phases of migration; there is an equal diversity of agencies operating within the various states—agencies which should work together to improve the condition of migrants within the state borders. Certain types of organization to accomplish these purposes have already been developed. State-wide transient committees are operating under public auspices in Louisiana and Ohio. The state-wide committees in other states are sponsored entirely by private agencies.¹ The commissions on interstate cooperation, now operating in 41 states,² could be of great help in eliminating the difficulties involved in the movement of mi-

¹ For information on the organization and purposes of these committees see *Information Concerning Statewide Transient Committees*, Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless, June 10, 1938.

² In August, 1939, the seven states in which such commissions did not exist were: Arizona, Idaho, Missouri, Nevada, Texas, Utah, and Washington.

grants across state lines. Their cooperation is especially important in the work of state-wide committees.

These state groups can do much to bring coordinated attention to the problems of migration as they affect particular states, and can secure much valuable information concerning the extent of the problem. They can join, as well, in judging the value of proposals for national action on the basis of their possible effect on the individual states. To do this job effectively the membership of such groups should include not only the public and private relief agencies but also organizations and agencies interested in health, education, employment, housing, research, planning, and legislation.

Regional organization of agencies concerned with problems of interstate migration offers many possibilities for coordinated study and action in this field. Regional planning groups might form the nucleus for developments of this kind. The Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission has had marked success in securing the cooperation of other organizations—particularly state departments—in its studies of that region.

Coordinated Volunteer Effort

Voluntary organizations likewise have a responsibility for coordination of effort in this field. In addition to clearing among themselves the results of their own experience with migrants they would presumably be prepared to assist government in its search for a sound national policy.

Since the problems connected with population movement make themselves felt throughout the entire scope of social interest and practice, an exhaustive listing of the voluntary agencies concerned would include practically all national organizations devoted to social welfare, health, housing, labor, and similar subjects. In addition to the National Travelers Aid Association and the local Travelers Aid Societies, whose major concern is with the needs of "moving" people, such a list would include:

- Family and child welfare agencies, such as
 - American National Red Cross, particularly in relation to its welfare services in rural areas
 - Child Welfare League of America
 - Family Welfare Association of America

Health agencies, such as

- American Public Health Association
- American Social Hygiene Association
- National Tuberculosis Association

Agencies concerned with education, such as

- American Vocational Association
- National Congress of Parents and Teachers
- National Education Association of the United States

Agencies providing shelter facilities, such as

- The Salvation Army
- Volunteers of America
- Youth serving agencies (such as the Young Men's Christian Associations and Young Women's Christian Associations) having shelter facilities as part of their larger programs

Agencies concerned with public administration, such as

- American Public Welfare Association
- Council of State Governments
- Public Administration Clearing House
- United States Conference of Mayors

Regional and national planning agencies, such as

- American Planning and Civic Association
- American Society of Planning Officials
- National Economic and Social Planning Association
- Regional Planning Association of America

Agencies concerned with recreation, such as

- National Federation of Settlements
- National Recreation Association
- Group work agencies

Agencies concerned with research, such as

- Population Association of America
- Social Science Research Council
- Foundations devoted to social and economic research

Agencies concerned with labor standards, such as

- American Association for Labor Legislation
- American Federation of Labor
- Congress of Industrial Organizations
- National Child Labor Committee

Social agencies of denominational or racial character, such as

- American Friends Service Committee
- Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds
- Council of Women for Home Missions
- National Catholic Welfare Conference
- National Urban League

Agencies concerned with delinquency and crime, such as

American Prison Association
National Jail Association
National Probation Association

Agencies concerned with civil liberties, such as

American Civil Liberties Union

Agencies concerned with community organization, such as

Community Chests and Councils, Inc.

Agencies concerned with the advancement of social work, such as

American Association of Schools of Social Work
American Association of Social Workers
National Conference of Social Work
National Social Work Council

Agencies concerned with immigrant welfare, such as

Foreign Language Information Service
International Migration Service, American Branch
National Council of Jewish Women

Agencies having an interest in the legal aspects of population mobility, such as

American Bar Association
National Association of Attorney-Generals
National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws

In nearly all the fields represented in the above list there are many local and state organizations which also have an interest in the problems of the migrant. Much has been done by local transient committees, usually appointed by councils of social agencies, to study local conditions with respect to transiency and to develop better service for the non-resident. These committees, of which there are approximately one hundred throughout the country, have also played an important part in calling the attention of their state and Congressional representatives to the need for national action. Their effectiveness has been somewhat curtailed, however, by their lack of coordination with agencies other than those giving case work service or shelter care. Expansion of such committees to include all the types of agencies listed above should broaden the effectiveness of their programs.

Similar organization on the state level is also desirable. Private state-wide committees on transiency, usually sponsored by state con-

ferences of social work, are operating in several states including California, Georgia, and Texas, and public committees are active in Louisiana and Ohio. These committees can become a most potent force in developing nation-wide support for a national policy for migration. As with the local committees they should include representatives of the fields of interest listed above.

Local and state bodies of such organizations as the American Association of University Women and the National League of Women Voters have shown interest in the problems of the migrant. In California the League of Women Voters has conducted an extensive survey of migratory agricultural labor; and the American Association of University Women, through its California division and branches in Colorado, Michigan, and Washington, has directed attention to the subject. Such groups might profitably be represented on local and state transient committees.

On the national level the experience of the former Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless has shown the advantage of a coordinated approach to the problems of transiency. This Committee served from 1932 through 1938 to develop nation-wide interest in the field; to provide other organizations, both public and private, with a body of knowledge in regard to non-settled persons and programs for their care; to aid students and local groups in special studies of transient problems; and to urge the adoption of public responsibility for persons lacking local settlement. The Committee's activities, related primarily to the relief needs of transient persons and families, showed the need for coordination with other fields of interest and led in 1938 to the formation of a successor agency, the Council on Interstate Migration. The Council attempted to provide for national, state, and local representation not only of groups and individuals interested in the relief aspects of population mobility but in all the fields of activity noted above. In this way it sought a means of coordination of effort in the private field with respect to the problems involved in interstate migration. The Council was compelled by lack of adequate financial support, however, to suspend operations in late 1939.¹

¹ Since October 15, the files of the Council have been housed by the National Travelers Aid Association, 425 Fourth Avenue, New York City, and that organization is exploring ways whereby coordination of effort in the private field can be continued. Inquiries may be sent to the above address.

Joint Planning

With the establishment of federal responsibility for coordinated, long-range planning toward a national policy for migration, an imperative first step will have been taken. To assist in these developments, the focusing of private interest through some such organization as the former Council on Interstate Migration is also necessary. Bringing the public and private agency groups together for joint planning would eventually result in benefit to all concerned—the migrant, the community, and the nation as a whole.

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INDEX

- Adams, James Truslow, 4, 5
 Advisory Committee on Education, 37-38, 79
 Agricultural Adjustment Administration, 17
 Agricultural Workers' Health and Medical Association, 25, 59, 75
 Alabama, 21
 American Association of University Women, 97
 American Bar Association, 10-11, 84, 87
 American Public Welfare Association, 87, 88
 Arizona, 21, 23, 26 *note*, 93 *note*
 Arkansas, 21, 26 *note*
 Association of American Railroads, 25
 Atkinson, Raymond C., 72
- Back-to-the-land movement, 18, 20, 70
 Barbour, Senator, 85
 Beard, Charles A. and Mary R., 4-5
 Beecroft, Eric, 46
 Blankenship, Charles F., 34 *note*, 73-74
 Border patrols and stations, 25, 45
 Brackett, Jeffrey R., 60 *note*
 Brown, Malcolm, 9, 22 *note*, 23, 28, 68 *note*
- California, 21, 23, 25, 32, 39, 46, 59, 71, 72, 75, 77, 80, 84, 86, 91, 97
 Camps for migratory workers, 36, 58, 59
 Census data, 21, 24
 Child labor, 31, 39, 67
 Child welfare. *See* Family and child welfare
 Civil liberties: denial of, 45-46; safeguarding, 82
 Civilian Conservation Corps, 11, 53
 Collective bargaining, 71
 Colorado, 19, 22, 23, 26 *note*, 53, 97
 Commissions on interstate cooperation, 93
 Committee on Care of Transient and Homeless, 8, 74, 83, 90-91, 97
 Congressional bills, 74, 85
- Connecticut, 20
 Cooperatives, 66-67, 71
 Cotton Belt, Old, 17-18, 26, 66
 Council of State Governments, 87
 Council of Women for Home Missions, 30, 36, 44, 81
 Council on Interstate Migration, 97, 98
 Coyle, David Cushman, 20, 69
 Cut-Over Region of the Great Lakes, 17, 19-20, 26, 63
- Delaware, 22
 Delinquency, 42-43, 80-81
 Deming, Ben, 72
 District of Columbia, 9
 Drought: conditions, 19; refugees, movement of, 23; states, 26 *note*
 Dust Bowl, 7, 16
- Education: inequality of opportunity for, 37-39, 78-79; difficulties facing migrants in obtaining, 39-40; difficulties facing communities in providing, 40; proposed federal subsidy to states for, 79; recommended survey of, 80
 Employment: as point of conflict between migrant and community, 28-32; proposals for stabilizing seasonal, 70-71; guidance of workers to opportunities for, 72-73
- Family and child welfare: effect of migrant life on, 40-42; services, local provision of, 80-81
 Farm Security Administration, 25, 36, 44, 53, 54, 57, 59, 66, 75, 77, 81, 92 *note*
 Federal agencies. *See* Public social agencies, federal
 Federal aid. *See* Grants-in-aid
 Federal Bureau of Investigation, 56
 Federal Emergency Relief Act, 8
 Federal Emergency Relief Administration,

- Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, 92 *note*
 Federal Transient Program, 8-11, 15, 22, 25, 53, 82, 84
 Fingerprinting, 56-57
 Florida, 17, 21, 22, 23, 57 *note*
- Galpin, C. J., 22
 Georgia, 21, 57 *note*, 97
 Goodrich, Carter, 18, 26, 27, 70 *note*
 Grants-in-aid, 68, 85
 Great Plains area, 17, 18-19, 27
- Haber, William, 51-52
 Harrington, Administrator F. C., 86, 91
 Harrison, Shelby M., 72
 Health: problems connected with migration, 32-34; needs of migrants, proposals for meeting, 73-76
 Hirsch, Harry M., 50 *note*, 51 *note*
 Homeland Foundation, 66 *note*
 Housing: lack of adequate, 34-37; facilities for migrants, proposals for improving, 76-78
- Idaho, 23, 26 *note*, 93 *note*
 Illinois, 21, 53
 Indiana, 21, 53
 Industry, decentralization of, 62-63
 Interdepartmental Committee to Coordinate Health and Welfare Activities, 74, 92, 93
 Interstate compacts, 87
 Interstate Conference of Unemployment Compensation Agencies, 82
 Iowa, 26 *note*
- Janow, Seymour, 46
 Jones, Victor, 46 *note*, 77-78
- Kansas, 18, 21, 26 *note*, 53
 Kentucky, 18, 57 *note*
 Kirkpatrick, E. L., 24 *note*
- Lawson, William R., 34 *note*, 72-73, 75, 77 *note*, 85 *note*, 86, 91
 Legal settlement. *See* Settlement, legal
 Live-at-home farming, 64-65
 Lorimer, Frank, 78
 Louisiana, 21, 57 *note*, 93, 97
 Lowe, Robert C., 57 *note*
 Lowry, Edith E., 22 *note*
- Manny, T. B., 22
 Maryland, 22, 57 *note*
 Massachusetts, 25, 51-52
 McWilliams, Carey, 13 *note*, 46 *note*, 71
 Medical care. *See* Health
 Michigan, 19, 21, 25, 58, 63, 97
 Midwest Conference on Transiency and Settlement, 76
 Migrants, types of, 14-16
 Migration. *See* Population movement
 Minnesota, 19, 26 *note*, 53, 58
 Mississippi, 21, 22
 Missouri, 21, 26 *note*, 93 *note*
 Montana, 19, 26 *note*
- National Association of Attorney-Generals, 87
 National Child Labor Committee, 30, 31, 36, 79, 80
 National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, 87
 National Health Program, 74
 National League of Women Voters, 97
 National Resources Committee, 20 *note*, 27, 38-39, 68-69, 92
 National Resources Planning Board, 92, 93
 National Social Work Council, 8 *note*
 National Tuberculosis Association, 34, 74
 National Youth Administration, 53
 Nebraska, 18, 21, 26 *note*
 Negroes, 6, 24, 35
 Nevada, 26 *note*, 93 *note*
 New Jersey, 20, 22, 36
 New Mexico, 19, 23, 26 *note*, 57 *note*
 New York State, 20, 25, 36, 58, 85, 86
 North Dakota, 18, 21, 26 *note*
- Odencrantz, Louise C., 72
 Odum, Howard W., 17-18
 Ohio, 21, 32, 76, 93, 97
 Oklahoma, 18, 21, 26 *note*
 Old age benefits. *See* Social insurance
 Oregon, 22, 23, 92 *note*
 Osborn, Frederick, 78
 Outland, George E., 39, 67
- Pacific Northwest Regional Conference, 69
 Pacific Northwest Regional Planning Commission, 94
 Padrone system, 30

- Paulist Fathers, 81
- Population movement: forces making for, in post-Civil-War era, 5-6; forces making for, in depression years, 7; economic forces underlying, 12-14; social and personal forces underlying, 14; types of, 14-16; origins, 17-20; lines of flow, 20-22; destinations, 22-23; volume of, 23-26; outlook for, continued, 26-27; prevention at source of, wasteful, 62-68; guidance of, 68-70; need for coordinated governmental effort regarding, 89-94; need for coordinated volunteer effort regarding, 94-97
- Private social agencies: care provided for non-residents by, 59-61; concerned with various phases of migration, list of, 94-96
- Public assistance: in relation to non-residents, 53-59; proposals regarding, 82-88
- Public social agencies, federal: need for coordinated action regarding migrants by, 89-93; concerned with various phases of migration, list of, 90
- Public social agencies, state: need for coordinated action regarding migrants by, 93-94
- Recreation: migrants' lack of opportunities for, 43-44; suggestions for meeting needs of migrants for, 81
- Red Cross, 60
- Reed, Ellery F., 10
- Regional organization of agencies concerned with interstate migration, 94
- Relief, 48
- Religious activities: obstacles to participation in, 44-45; in migratory laborers' camps, 81-82
- Rural distress: causes of, 64; remedies for, 64-67
- Ryan, Philip E., 68 *note*, 85 *note*, 86 *note*
- Salvation Army, 59, 60
- Schools for migrant children. *See* Education
- Settlement laws, 49-53
- Settlement, legal, proposals regarding, 83
- Sidel, James E., 29 *note*, 45 *note*, 79 *note*, 80 *note*
- Social insurance: handicaps imposed on mobile workers, 47-48; attempts to insure benefits to migrants, 82
- Social Science Research Council, 27
- Social Security Act, 33, 47, 52, 68, 74, 82, 85, 87, 88
- Social Security Board, 21, 24, 83, 84-85, 92 *note*
- Soil conservation, 64
- Soil Conservation Service, 19
- Somers, Herman M., 51-52
- South Dakota, 18, 21, 26 *note*
- Southern Appalachian Coal Plateau, 17, 18, 26
- Stanbery, V. B., 92 *note*
- Steinbeck, John, 71
- Subsistence homesteading, 65-66, 71, 80
- Taeuber, Conrad, 64-65
- Taft, Senator, 85
- Taylor, Carl C., 24 *note*, 64-65
- Taylor, Frank J., 71 *note*
- Taylor, Paul S., 17, 71
- Technical Sub-Committee on Migration Problems, 92
- Tenancy system, modification of, 64
- Tennessee, 18, 22, 57 *note*
- Tennessee Valley Authority, 63
- Texas, 19, 21, 22, 26 *note*, 57 *note*, 93 *note*, 97
- Thomas, Dorothy Swaine, 27 *note*
- Thompson, Warren S., 12 *note*, 26
- Trailer churches, 81
- Transient committees, 93, 96
- Transportation Agreement, 60
- Travelers Aid Association, National, 94, 97 *note*
- Travelers Aid Societies, 41, 59, 60, 94
- Tuberculosis, migration to Southwest by persons suffering from, 33-34, 67-68, 74-75
- Unemployment compensation. *See* Social insurance
- Uniform Transfer of Dependents Act, 87
- U. S. Children's Bureau, 8, 75
- U. S. Department of Agriculture, 64
- U. S. Department of Labor, 14-15, 19, 23, 26, 31, 35 *note*, 39, 42
- U. S. Employment Service, 72, 92 *note*
- U. S. Housing Authority, 76, 77, 92 *note*
- U. S. Office of Education, 92 *note*

- U. S. Post Office Department, 21, 24
U. S. Public Health Service, 32, 34, 57,
59, 74, 75, 92 *note*
U. S. Senate, Special Senate Committee
to Investigate Unemployment and Re-
lief, 74
Utah, 26 *note*, 93 *note*

Vagrancy, jailing for, 56
Vance, Rupert B., 27 *note*
Vandenberg, Senator, 85
Venereal diseases, 34, 59, 75, 76
Vigilantism, 45-46
Virginia, 22
Vocational education, 37 *note*, 79, 80
Volunteers of America, 59

Voorhis, Congressman, 74, 75, 85

Washington State, 22, 23, 58, 93 *note*, 97
Webb, John N., 9, 10, 15-16, 22-23, 25,
28, 68 *note*
West Virginia, 18
Wheeler, Helen W., 24 *note*
Wickenden, Elizabeth, 28 *note*
Wisconsin, 19, 26 *note*, 63
Work Projects Administration, 54, 86
Work relief, 53-54, 86
Works Progress Administration, 11, 54,
72, 86, 92 *note*
Wyoming, 19, 26 *note*

Zoning, rural, 63

