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Special Issue

SELF-HELP COÖPERATIVES IN LOS ANGELES

BY

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And they shall build houses, and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build, and another inhabit; they shall not plant, and another eat. . . . ISAIAH 65: 21-22

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The present study has been made possible, first, by the collaboration of the one thousand and twenty-nine families who, notwithstanding the hardship of their lot, subjected themselves to prolonged inquiries and furnished the information which makes up the core of this report.

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CONSTANTINE PANUNZIO

EDITOR'S COMMENTARY
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Dear Colleagues and Readers,

This commentary is prepared at a time of worldwide turbulence in economic and social systems. It is urgent that we respond to the word "social" as well as the more visible newspaper headlines and media emphasis on the term "economic". . . with its discussion of bailouts, foreclosures, and bankruptcies. In an ultimate sense, all economic systems are indeed social systems. Philosophers from the beginning of time based their views of economic circumstance on assumptions regarding human nature. From this standpoint the question inevitably arises: "do people do it . . . whatever it is . . . by themselves, or for themselves?" Or are there other forces at work involving groups, organizations, political environments, and enveloping cultural constellations? From humanistic positions asserting personal intentionality (perhaps rationality) to medical models drawing on expert knowledge in various fields, some measure of dissonance seems inevitable.

The tension between reliance on expert understanding and external resources and the inner strengths of individuals has been a theme in the development of Self Help, from its beginnings. In early terminology the words of dependence on "relief rolls of public and private agencies . . ." loom large. In contrast there are viewpoints and action based on independent "attempt . . . to meet . . . needs without resorting to charity." These preceding quotations come from a volume virtually lost in history. It is entitled *SELF-HELP COÖPERATIVES IN LOS ANGELES* authored by Constantine Panunzio (Wade Church and Louis Wasserman, research assistants) published by University of California Press, Berkeley, California; and Cambridge University Press, London, England, in the series Publications of the University of California at Los Angeles in Social Sciences, 1939.

It is in this scholarly monograph that Panunzio presents a systematic empirical inquiry into the nature, role, and processes of self help cooperatives established by those who did not want to rely on "charity" or other external intervention to cope with the employment crisis of the depression in the early 1930s. Citing statistics of unemployment in that era Panunzio focuses on the nature and quality of self help cooperatives in what now would be described as the Greater Los Angeles Area. Here the Cooperatives provide "food, non-edible goods, services, and a negligible amount of cash" to their members. Some numbers are signs of the times: in terms of prices prevailing in 1934, the average value of such items, supplied to 1,003 members, was $11.50 per member! And indeed the quality and variety of food was judged by the recipients as follows, in percent: excellent–2.3; good–35.9; fair–44.6; and poor–17.2%. But food was not the sole

focus. Services included natural gas, clothing, housing, and some products related to hygiene and medical care.

Beyond data of this kind the study considers the motivation of those who joined the self help cooperatives, their dynamics including religious activities, politics and the nature of their problems and status as the depression moved toward its end, circa 1936.

Eventually Panunzio considers as well the future of self help cooperatives, based on his research, now more than 70 years ago. While "getting ahead of the game" (xx. "The Future of Self Help Cooperatives"; page 387 ff.), it is worth noting in this prefatory comment a few excerpts; we quote Panunzio:

> As the pioneers had often joined hands in wresting a living from nature which, though potentially abundant, yielded only to hard group labor, so the self-helpers united to gain sustenance from an economy which, though capable of producing abundance, was not giving them a living. Like the pioneers, too, the self-helpers started from scratch, their only assets their labor power and determination . . . more or less accidentally they hit upon self-help and created hastily thrown together organizations, known as "units." By the end of 1934 there were 310 units in the various parts of the United States, serving approximately one million persons.
>
> (First) . . . the self help units had undertaken a task fraught with great difficulties . . . they had no land, no raw materials, tools, factories or shops and no financial means . . .
>
> Second, the self help units faced a personnel problem of the first magnitude, . . . the units developed confusion, occupational displacement, discontent, petty bickerings among the members, and more or less serious antagonisms between members and managers.
>
> Third, they had to operate under untrained management.
>
> Fourth, the self help groups had to deal with politics . . . partisan politics forced itself into every possible opening . . . yet the moment they were brought into the political arena, many others saw in the self help organizations the forerunners of "Communism."
>
> And yet, in spite of these and other difficulties the self help cooperatives . . . accomplished significant results.
>
> . . . "Moreover, the self help cooperatives are sound according to standards of advanced practice in social work. It is now generally recognized that the only justifiable type of aid given to the needy is that which affords them opportunity to do it for themselves."

In retrospect, the Panunzio monograph is particularly noteworthy in its appropriate rigor and in the quality of its scope and interpretation of trends that, while rooted in their time, are of generic relevance, particularly in this decade of upheaval.

Not simply as relic but as food for thought, considering the self help process as an ongoing stream of concept and practice, we think that the reader of this *Journal* will find *SELF HELP COOPERATIVES IN LOS ANGELES* worthy

reading for the present—not simply as history but as insight on how the self help and self care field evolves over time as it faces recurrent crises in society.

Fred Massarik
Editor, *International Journal of Self Help & Self Care*

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p.s. It is of some interest to note that one contributor to Panunzio's study was Clark Kerr, at that time identified as "formerly field supervisor of the Division of Self Help Cooperative Service, California State Emergency Relief Administration" who later in his career served as President of the University of California.

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Self-help coöperative men.

SELF-HELP COÖPERATIVES IN LOS ANGELES

INTRODUCTION

The self-help coöperatives in the United States began to form in the early part of 1931 as an attempt on the part of some unemployed men and women to meet their needs without resorting to charity. As the great depression gained momentum, the number of full-time unemployed in the United States increased greatly, from an average of 3,743,000 during the years 1921–1931 to 10,304,000 at the end of 1931, and to 12,100,000 at the end of 1932. There were also some ten to fifteen millions more who were partly unemployed, besides "an army of 200,000 to 300,000 homeless children, among them many girls, who wandered over the nation, destitute and demoralized."[1]

These unemployed millions faced but two alternatives: either to abandon themselves to private and public charity, or to attempt to do something for themselves. Most of them, driven by various circumstances, bowed to charity; and by June, 1934, there were 3,716,755 families and 512,701 single resident persons, or 15,278,000 persons in all, on the relief rolls of public and private agencies in the United States.[2]

A small proportion of the 10,000,000 or more unemployed shrank from relief and banded themselves together to form loosely constructed organizations, known as self-help coöperatives. These organizations arose simply and spontaneously. Small groups of men and women of comparatively advanced age united under the leadership of an enterprising member, and went about in the cities and the countryside offering to work for food, clothing, shelter, utilities, and other goods, or services.

Los Angeles County, for reasons indicated later, developed one of the principal centers of this movement, and by December, 1934, it had nearly 45 per cent of all the self-help units in the United States, and about one-tenth of the membership. Accordingly, the self-help coöperatives of Los Angeles County aroused special interest and led to several investigations.[3]

[1] Karl Pribram, "Unemployment," *Ency. Soc. Sci.,* vol. 15 (New York, 1935). pp. 148 and 151.

[2] Russell H. Kurtz, "Unemployment Relief," *Social Work Yearbook,* vol. 3 (New York, 1935), p. 521.

[3] See "Other Studies," Appendix B, p. 339.

The present study, originally suggested by a quasi-public agency, was undertaken with a view of discovering the extent to which the self-help organizations were adequately meeting the needs of their members. The investigation was limited to Los Angeles County and almost entirely to those members of the coöperatives who were not receiving aid from the County.[4] The field work was carried on between July 1 and December 31, 1934, and the findings were gathered as of June 30, 1934. It covered forty-two of the fifty-seven communities having self-help coöperatives; it reached seventy-six, or 58 per cent, of all the units in the County; and it obtained successful interviews from 1029 coöperators, or slightly more than 13 per cent of all the self-help coöperative members not receiving aid from the County, and about 7 per cent of all the coöperative members in the County.

The primary research was directed to persons rather than organizations, on the theory that thereby a more intimate view could be obtained of the function the self-help units were performing in the lives of their members. This primary research was later supplemented by an investigation of the changes which were occurring in the self-help organization as a whole during 1935 and 1936.

This report consists of four parts. The first part, Sections I and II, provides a background and places the self-help organizations with respect to the entire coöperative movement.

The second part, Sections III to XIII inclusive, embodies the primary findings. It reports what 1029 coöperators and their families said, thought, and did as participants in the self-help units. It describes what kind of people joined the self-help organizations, why they joined, what activities they engaged in, how long they worked, what they received in return for their labor, and to what extent they led an otherwise "normal" life while they were members of the self-help organizations. It also considers whether, in view of their experiences, the coöperators would wish to have the self-help organizations continued or disbanded.

The third part, Sections XIV to XIX inclusive, traces certain aspects of the development of the self-help activity in Los Angeles County through 1936. It discusses the development of the organization, activity, and general principles, the problems the units have encountered, their management and operations, and the numerical and operational changes, to the close of 1936. More especially, it presents a detailed computation of the savings which the self-help organizations have effected to the taxpayers, thus attempting to answer the question of possible economic advantages in self-help.

Section XX includes a summary, the conclusions and recommendations suggested by the survey.

[4] Of the 1029 members investigated, 77 were receiving minor aid from the County in the form of occasional grocery orders.

Because this report is intended to be of practical use, the discussion of all technical matters has been placed in the appendixes. In them will be found a "Note on Method and Difficulties of the Investigation," a statement regarding "Other Studies," a memorandum explaining where the raw materials gathered in the field have been deposited, and the schedule.

The picture herein presented is that of a group of unemployed men and women who, in the face of the grim realities of the great depression, refused to bow to charity and who, with elemental fortitude, courage, and enterprise, undertook to meet and in a measure succeeded in meeting their own needs. It is hoped that it may be of practical use to the unemployed people generally and to the community.

I. THE RISE OF THE SELF-HELP COÖPERATIVES

The self-help coöperatives described in the following pages constitute part of the larger coöperative movement. This movement is the product of the nineteenth century, for although coöperation had been practiced since early times, it was not until 1820 that the first effort was made by Robert Owen to organize coöperation, and not until 1844 that the first successful coöperative, the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers' Society, was organized.[5]

The coöperative movement has spread to many parts of the West, mainly as a result of the efforts of wage earners to mitigate the insecurity which they experience in the present economic order. Four types of coöperatives have developed, namely, consumer, credit. marketing, and producer coöperatives. A brief description of these will serve to place the self-help development in relation to the entire movement.

Consumers' coöperatives maintain wholesale and retail stores, directed by consumer shareholders; they sell food, clothing, furniture, and other household necessities to members at current prices; and distribute surpluses to members, at the end of a given period, usually a year, in proportion to purchases during that period. Of the four types of coöperatives, consumers' coöperatives have the largest membership and do the greatest volume of business. They exist in most countries of the West, but are especially successful in the Scandinavian countries and in England. In Sweden they handle one-third of all the retail trade and more than 10 per cent of the wholesale trade, while in England the Consumer Wholesale Society, Ltd., alone does a business of $200,000,000 a year. In the United States there were 2000 consumers' coöperatives in 1935, operating stores or other businesses including 400 grocery stores and 500 oil and gas stations, and serving approximately 2,500,000 families[6]

Credit coöperatives, called also "people's banks," pool the savings and make loans to their members at low rates or without charge, usually for home building or for emergency use; provide deposit and investment facilities; instruct their members how to budget, keep accounts, and transact business; eliminate competition in credit transactions and "reduce business profits by restoring earnings to the membership . . ."; and by competing with existing banks force the latter "to show more consideration to small customers."[7]

Marketing coöperatives are associations of producers, ordinarily of small agricultural growers, organized to sell collectively their individual outputs through a central bargaining agency. They also conduct coöperative credit associations;

[5] See Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Consumers' Coöperative Movement* (London, 1921), p. 1.

[6] See Charles Gide, "Consumers' Coöperation," *Ency. Soc. Sci.,* vol. 4 (New York, 1931), p. 285; Marquis W. Childs, *Sweden, the Middle Way* (New Haven, 1936), p. xv; and "Coöperation," *Columbia Encyclædia* (New York, 1935), p. 420.

[7] Ernest Grünfeld, "Credit Coöperation," *Ency. Soc. Sci.,* vol. 4 (New York, 1931), p. 557.

they purchase farm equipment and supplies; and process products coöperatively. Marketing coöperatives are successful mainly in marketing grain, livestock, dairy products, fruits and vegetables, poultry and eggs, cotton, and tobacco. The fruit growers' associations of the United States are perhaps the best examples of successful marketing coöperatives.[8]

Producers' coöperatives, owned and managed by the members, direct their efforts to the production of goods or services. They eliminate the ordinary employer-employee relationship and wage labor. They function mainly in those small industries in which large amounts of capital are not necessary. They include shoe and textile manufacturing, bakeries, laundries, and canneries. These organizations frequently supply commodities for consumers' coöperatives and sometimes are created for that very purpose.[9]

Although each of these four types of coöperatives performs a specific function, they have common characteristics. All are economic enterprises, operating for mutual aid rather than for profit. They are cosmopolitan, nonsectarian, and nonpartisan. Nearly all of them are local self-governing societies, democratically conducted, each member having but one vote and seldom being allowed proxy or absentee voting. Their employees are usually drawn from regular members and are paid stipulated "wages." Business is conducted principally with members. All members share the benefits relatively equally.

The self-help coöperatives to which this study is devoted have many of these characteristics. Although they might be classed with the producer coöperatives, they are peculiar in several respects, particularly in that they engage mainly in salvaging goods and bartering labor for goods and services. Their members are usually persons of advanced age who try to secure the necessities of life by barter. They barter labor for goods, as when they exchange work for portions of crops which they harvest; they exchange labor for services among members, as when a person cares for the lawn of a physician's home in return for medical care; they barter with governmental agencies, as when a self-help unit does a certain amount of road work for a municipality in return for tools, staples, or the use of land; and they conduct these activities chiefly among their own members and not for profit in the ordinary sense of that term. Some self-help coöperatives sell goods in the open market, but only to a limited degree and then only to purchase tools or materials which they cannot obtain by barter.[10] Some units aim at self-sufficiency by "producing" as many needed commodities

[8] See Benjamin Horace Hibbard, "Agricultural Coöperation," *Ency. Soc. Sci.,* vol. 1 (New York, 1930), pp. 524-528.

[9] See David J. Saposs, "Producers' Coöperation," *Ency. Soc. Sci.,* vol. 12 (New York, 1934), p. 458.

[10] The Federal government forbids "grant units," that is, units which it subsidizes, to sell goods in competition with private business, but sometimes it uses their products in connection with Federal organizations, such as the C.C.C.

as they can; others specialize and emphasize exchange; still others form farming colonies or group homesteads. Most self-help coöperatives carry on more than one type of activity.

The first self-help coöperative in the United States was probably the Seattle Unemployed Citizens' League. It was organized in April, 1931, by three staff members and some students of the Seattle Labor College, who seemed to have hit upon the self-help procedure by mere chance. They named their organization "The Admiral Way Unemployed Citizens' League."[11]

At first the Seattle coöperators engaged mainly in salvage and barter activities, gathering waste wood in the near-by forests or harvesting crops in exchange for portions of the produce garnered or of such surplus as the farmers could not market. When a second unit, the Olympic Heights Unemployed Citizens' League, was organized in July, 1931, they proceeded more systematically. They made a census of the unemployed in West Seattle, informed the public authorities concerning the extent of unemployment and the needs of the unemployed in the community, and developed plans whereby the public authorities provided public-works projects to meet the unemployed's needs. In October the two units mentioned above, along with others organized in different parts of the city, formed a coördinating organization called "The Seattle Unemployed Citizens' League."[12] In 1932 the Seattle units took the first steps toward primary production of food and other goods: they made gardens in lots, set up manufacturing and servicing plants in idle shops, reconditioned abandoned homes and apartments for the shelter of evicted workers, and later secured grants from the Federal government for the purchase of raw materials and needed equipment. These steps illustrate the four stages of development—salvage and barter, community collaboration, coördination, and production—which other self-help coöperatives have in varying degrees gone through.[13]

The details of the beginnings of other first coöperatives are not so well known as those of the Seattle units. It is known, however, that in the summer of 1931 Benjamin Stringham, an Idaho farmer, apparently unaware of what was occurring in Seattle, started the coöperative activity in Utah. Having a supply of potatoes he could not market, he took a few sacks of them to Salt Lake City and bartered with an unemployed barber, a shoemaker, a cleaner, a painter, and a mechanic.

[11] Arthur Hillman, "Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle," *University of Washington Publ. Soc. Sci.,* Vol. V (Seattle, 1934), pp. 185-186.

[12] The student of culture will find in the spread of this name to other cities an excellent illustration of diffusionism. Table 1 and the items listed in the index of this report under the caption "Unemployed Citizens' League" show how this name spread to other places. However, it needs to be noted that not all organizations were so named, showing the limitations of diffusionism.

[13] These phases of development as they occurred in the Los Angeles County coöperatives are detailed in Sections XIV and XIX.

Table 1. Principal Self-Help Coördinating Organizations in the United States, 1931-1932

Date of founding	Name of organization	City	State
October, 1931	Unemployed Citizen's League of Seattle	Seattle	Wash.
January, 1932	Natural Development Association	Salt Lake City	Utah
March, 1932	Unemployed Coöperative Relief Ass'n.	Los Angeles	Calif.
June, 1932	Unemployed Citizens' League of Alameda	Alameda	Calif.
June, 1932	Unemployed Citizens' League of Denver	Denver	Colo.
June, 1932	Unemployed Citizens' League of St. Louis	St. Louis	Mo.
July, 1932	Dayton Mutual Exchange of Ohio	Dayton	Ohio
July, 1932	Unemployed League of Indianapolis	Indianapolis	Ind.
August, 1932	Midwest Exchange	Yellow Springs	Ohio
August, 1932	Unemployed Exchange Ass'n of Oakland	Oakland	Calif.
August, 1932	Organized Unemployed, Inc., of Minneapolis	Minneapolis	Minn.
Summer, 1932	League of Unemployed	Des Moines	Ia.
Autumn, 1932	Unemployed Citizens' League of Cheyenne	Cheyenne	Wyo.
September, 1932	Unemployed Relief Club of Waterloo	Waterloo	Ia.
September, 1932	Unemployed Coöperative Relief Ass'n.	San Jose	Calif.
October, 1932	Shirt Sleeve Exchange of Oklahoma City	Oklahoma City	Okla.
October, 1932	Emergency Exchange Ass'n., Inc.	New York	N.Y.
October, 1932	People's Exchange of Oklahoma City	Oklahoma City	Okla.
December, 1932	Unemployed Citizens' League of Memphis	Memphis	Tenn.
December, 1932	Citizens' Service Exchange of Richmond	Richmond	Va.
December, 1932	Nyack Trading Post	Nyack	N.Y.

Source: United States Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review,* vol. 36 (Washington, 1933), pp. 461, 470, 473, 486, 718, 741, 762, 770, 989, 1007, 1015, 1022, 1035.

The idea spread; units arose in different parts of Salt Lake City; and on January 27, 1932, they incorporated as "The Natural Development Association."[14]

In March, 1932, again independently of what was occurring elsewhere, a self-help organization was formed in Compton, a small suburb of Los Angeles; and later numerous units were formed.

Soon after these developments, self-help units and coördinating organizations began to spring up in various parts of the United States. During the first half of

[14] See United States Department of Labor, *Monthly Labor Review,* vol. 36 (Washington, 1933), p. 451.

1932, 5 self-help coördinating organizations were formed, and by the end of that year coördinating organizations had been formed in fourteen states and twenty main centers.

The movement became so significant that ministers, educators, and other professional persons, political leaders, and even organizations and foundations came to the assistance of the unemployed themselves in organizing and promoting self-help units.

The movement probably reached the peak of its early development in 1934. By December, 1934, 310 self-help organizations had been formed in twenty-nine states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. It is significant to note that 221, or 71.3 per cent of all the self-help organizations in the United States, were in the states of California, Colorado, Idaho, and Washington, and that 179 units, or 57.7 per cent of the total, were in California (see Table 2). This points to special conditions obtaining in the Far West and especially in California, a topic discussed later.

Table 2. Numbers of Self-Help Coöperative Units in the United States, December, 1934

California	179	Missouri	6
Colorado	12	Nebraska	2
District of Columbia	2	New Jersey	3
Connecticut	2	New York	5
Florida	1	Ohio	10
Idaho	19	Oklahoma	1
Illinois	8	Oregon	2
Indiana	6	Pennsylvania	8
Iowa	6	Puerto Rico	1
Kansas	1	Tennessee	2
Louisiana	1	Texas	3
Maryland	1	Virgin Islands	1
Massachusetts	2	Virginia	1
Michigan	8	Washington	11
Minnesota	2	West Virginia	2
Mississippi	1	Wyoming	1
Total	310		

Source: Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperatives, *Self-help Coöperatives* (Washington, 1935), pp. 45-53.

The total number of persons who directly participated in the self-help coöperatives at the peak of their development in the entire United States cannot be accurately stated. In 1933 one estimate placed the number of coöperators and the members of their families at a million or more.[15] A second estimate, also for 1933, placed the number of coöperative members in twenty-six cities alone at 127,168.[16] Our own estimate for 1934. when the movement reached its height, places the total number of persons served by the coöperatives, including the cooperators and the members of their families, at approximately one million.

II. SELF-HELP COÖPERATIVES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

The first self-help unit in Los Angeles County was organized, as stated above, in March, 1932, in Compton, a small city within the Los Angeles metropolitan area.[17] Presently other units began to form in the various localities in Los Angeles County. By March, 1933, there were 23 coöperative units in Los Angeles City and 45 in the entire County. In March. 1933, the units in Los Angeles County formed a coördinating organization, the Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association. By June, 1934, when the field investigation for this study was started, there were in Los Angeles County 122 self-help units; by the time the field work was completed, in December, 1934, the number had increased to 139, or to 44.8 per cent of the 310 units in the United States. It should be noted, however, that the units in Los Angeles County were smaller than those in other parts of the country, owing to the sprawling geographical extent and low population density of that California county.

The number of members in the self-help units in Los Angeles County for the early years is not known precisely (see Figure 1). Estimates placed the number at 27,300 for February, 1933, at 14,000 for June, 1934, and at 7758 in December, 1934.[18] As the average size of coöperators' families was found to be 3.38 members;[19] the self-help coöperatives were serving in part or wholly 92,274 persons in February, 1933, 47,240 in June, 1934, and 26,222 in December, 1934. Or taking the June, 1934, estimate, the essential one for this study, it is found

[15] See Irving Fisher and Hans R. L. Cohrssen, *Stamp Scrip* (New York, 1933), p. 5.

[16] See United States Department of Labor, *op. cit.,* pp. 449-496, 717-771, 979-1039.

[17] For details regarding the rise of this first unit in Los Angeles County, see George Knox Roth, *Compton Unemployed Coöperative Relief Association: A Sociological Study, 1932-1933* (Los Angeles, 1934); J. Stewart Burgess, "Living on Surplus," *Survey,* vol. 69 (New York, 1933), p. 6; "Busy Jobless Who Fill the Market Basket," *Literary Digest,* vol. 114 (1932), p. 36; and W. C. Tesche, "Self-help + Big Crops = Full Stomach," *Pacific Rural Press,* Vol. CXXIV (San Francisco, 1932), p. 262.

[18] For the first and third estimates see Clark Kerr and Paul S. Taylor, "Self-help Coöperatives in California," in E. T. Grether *et al., Essays in Social Economics* (Berkeley, 1935), p. 213. The June, 1934, estimate is that of Mr. Kerr, made to this author.

[19] See Table 5, p. 313.

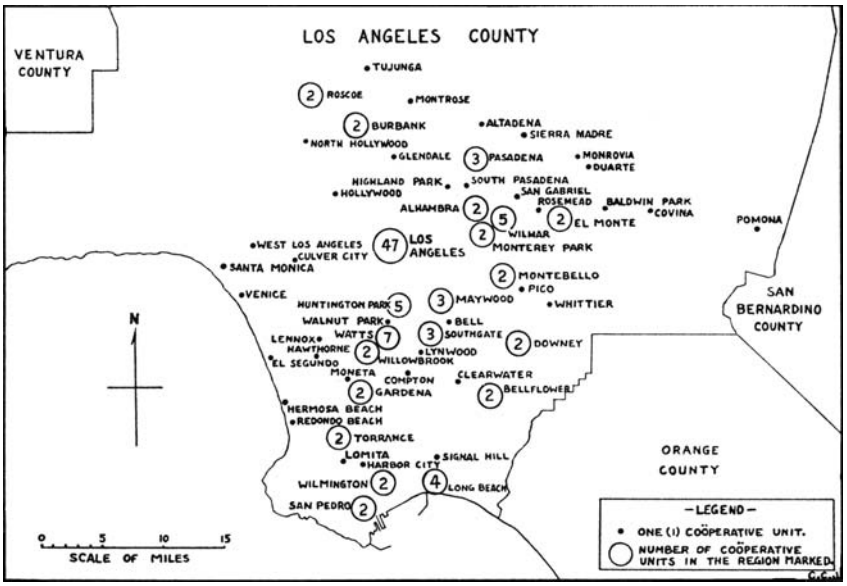

Figure 1. Location of self-help coöperative units, Los Angeles County, California, December, 1934.

that on that date there were 7840 coöperative members (the so-called "white slip" members) who were not receiving aid from the County's relief agencies and 6160 (the "pink slip" members) who were. As there were on June 1, 1934, 386,004 persons on the relief rolls of the various agencies in Los Angeles County, the "white slip" coöperators and their families constituted 6.8 per cent of all those on the rolls of relief agencies and the "pink slip" members 5.4 per cent of the total. This means that altogether those depending in part or wholly on the coöperatives made up a group about 12 per cent as large as those actually on the relief rolls.[20]

Los Angeles County, therefore, had nearly 45 per cent of all the units and about one-tenth of all the self-help membership in the United States, and thus constituted the main self-help center in the entire nation. The question arises, What factor led that county to adopt the self-help procedure to such a degree?

[20] Of the total of 386,004 persons, 369,162 were relying on the Bureau of County Welfare, 9622 on the Community Chest agencies, and 7220 were transients or being cared for by other agencies. See Bureau of County Welfare, *Monthly Reports of Cases Handled by Code, June 1, 1934;* Los Angeles Community Chest, "Community Chest Compilation, Family Welfare Agencies," *Report of June 1, 1934,* and estimate of Mr. Martin Ruderman, Assistant County Supervisor, Social Science Division, Los Angeles County Relief Administration.

First, Los Angeles County has at all times a large surplus of perishable foods, especially fruits and vegetables. This condition was more pronounced than usual when the self-help units were undergoing their greatest growth.

Second, Los Angeles County has a high proportion of persons of relatively advanced age. In 1930 it had 28 per cent of the total population who were forty-five years of age or over, as compared with 23 per cent in the total population of the United States (see Figure 2).[21] It was precisely from these age groups that the self-help organizations drew most of their members, the coöperators averaging 52.4 years.

Third, many of these older persons were small property owners and therefore not eligible for relief. Having been drawn to the community by advertising campaigns and having invested their savings in real estate, they found themselves without available means as the depression overtook them; and yet, because they were property owners, they were not entitled to County aid.[22]

As indicated in Section VII (p. 331), a good proportion of the coöperators under review were small property owners.

Fourth, many of those who went into self-help, being natives of the rural sections of the Middle West, and of an independent and self-reliant nature, seem to have been particularly averse to turning to charity. More than two-thirds of the coöperators under review emanated from the Central States; and again and again they expressed aversion to charity, and preference for self-help as a means of making their living.[23]

Fifth, the City, County, State, and Federal governments, evidently perceiving from the very first that the self-help coöperatives offered a means of cutting down the relief burden, were especially sympathetic toward them. The City and County governments appropriated funds early in 1933, the State in September, 1933, while the Federal government made production grants totaling $650,000 between June, 1934, and September, 1935.

Sixth, the self-help coöperatives in Los Angeles County commanded especially aggressive leadership. The County, being an "open shop" community, probably has at all times many persons capable of labor leadership who are not directly engaged in labor-union activities. Some of these took part in the self-help promotional activities. The leadership of Upton Sinclair and his

[21] United States Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Decennial Census of the United States: 1930, Population,* Vol. II (Washington, D.C., 1933), pp. 576 and 658, and Vol. III (Washington, D.C., 1932), Pt. 1, p. 243. In California as a whole the percentage was 27.3.

[22] The County provided that anyone who owned an interest in real property assessed by the County at a valuation of $2500 or more, and who would refuse a lien on such property for the reimbursement of aid given, could not qualify for relief. See Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, *Ordinance No. |2168|(N.S.|* Effective November 30, 1932 (Los Angeles, 1932), pp. 1-2.

[23] See p. 319.

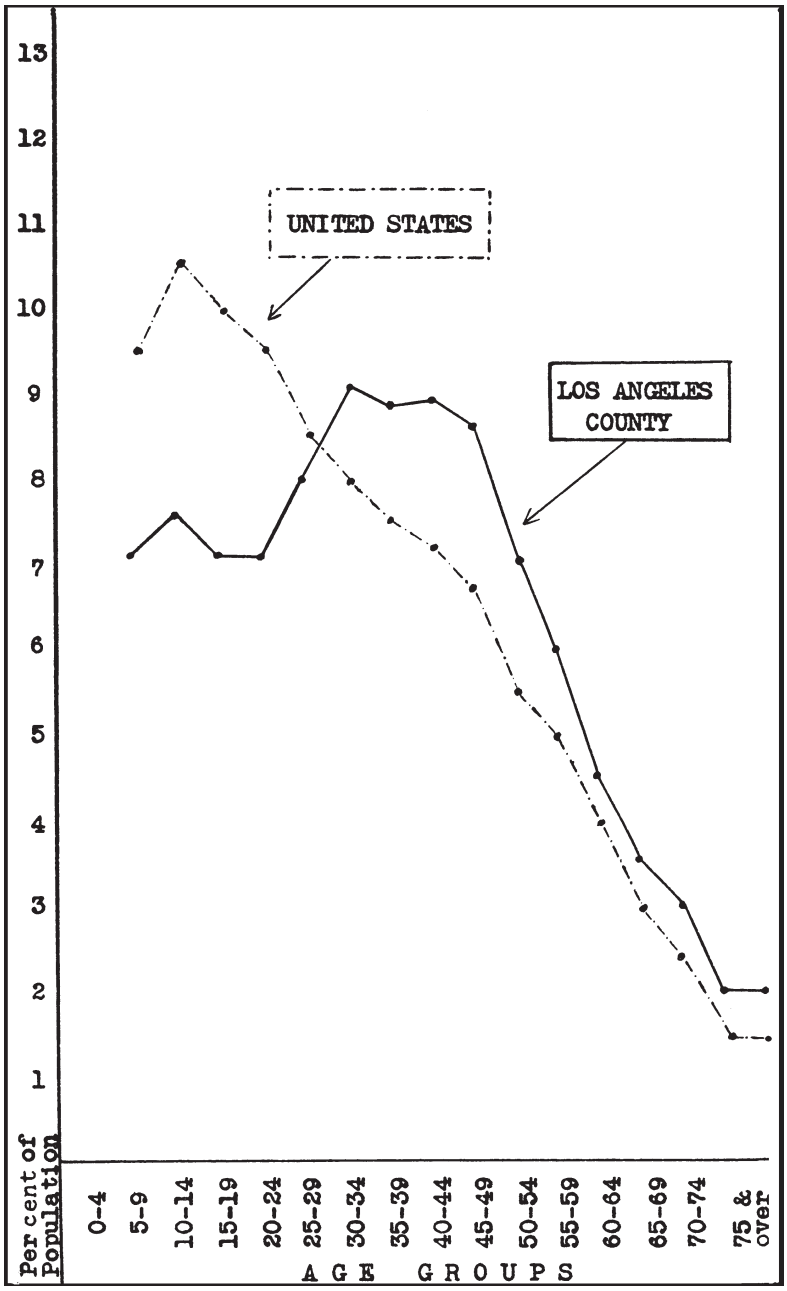

Figure 2. Comparative distribution of population in Los Angeles County and in the United States by age groups, 1930. (**Source:** 1930 census).

followers had also an influence at the time (1934) of the self-help's greatest activity. Mr. Sinclair seized upon the self-help coöperative development, popularized it in his "Epic" plan,[24] propagated the "production for use" idea, and, upon becoming Democratic candidate for governor, carried on an intensive campaign, mainly from his Los Angeles headquarters.

III. THE PEOPLE WHO JOINED THE SELF-HELP COÖPERATIVES

The reasons that led to the self-help development in Los Angeles County have just been given. In what follows, which constitutes the second part of this study, the aim is to discover what kind of people joined the self-help units, what kind and amount of work they did, what they received in return for their labor, and to what extent they led a "normal" life in other respects.

And first, the questions arise: What kind of people joined the coöperatives? Were they Americans or foreigners? Natives of the community, or newcomers from other parts of the country? Were they mostly males, or females? Single, or married? How old were they? Had they dependents? Were they permanent residents of the community? In other words, did they constitute a cross section of the population of the community, or were they outsiders who sought to introduce an extraneous economic procedure into a community to which they did not belong?

Of the 1029 coöperators interviewed, 82.3 per cent were American born and 17.7 per cent foreign born, as compared with 87.2 per cent American born in the population of Los Angeles County in 1930 (see Table 3).[25] The mates—that is, the wives, or, occasionally, the husbands—of the members of the coöperatives, were also predominantly of American birth. There were 633 mates, of whom 82.2 per cent were American born and 17.8 per cent foreign born. Nearly all the children were native Americans.

The majority of the American-born coöperators interviewed originated in the Central States. This was to be expected, since by far the larger proportion of the population of Los Angeles County coming from other states come from the Central States. A little over 27.1 per cent of the coöperators were born in the East North Central States, 25.7 per cent in the West North Central States, and 12.4 per cent in the West South Central division. Almost two-thirds (65.3 per cent), therefore, of all the American-born coöperators come from what is roughly called the Middle West (see Table 4). The origin of the mates

[24] The term "Epic" was made up of the initial letters of the slogan adopted by the movement, "End Poverty in California." See Upton Sinclair, *Epic Plan for California* (New York, 1934); *Co-op* (Pasadena, 1936).

[25] United States Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Decennial Census of the United States: 1930, Population* Vol. III, Pt. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1932), pp. 251, 266.

Table 3. Nativity of Los Angeles Population in 1930, and of Coöperators and Their Mates

Nativity	Population of Los Angeles County		Coöperators		Mates	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
American born	1,925,837	87.2	844	82.0	520	82.2
Foreign born	282,655	12.8	182	17.5	113	17.8
No information	. . . .	. . . .	3	0.5	. . . .	. . . .
Total	2,208,492	100.0	1029	100.0	633	100.0

corresponds almost exactly to that of the coöperators themselves, 66.9 per cent having come from the Middle West.

The comparatively small number of California-born persons in the self-help organization is striking. Of the 1029 coöperators interviewed, 4.7 per cent of the members and 6.7 per cent of the mates were California born, whereas in 1930, 34.1 per cent of the population of California as a whole was California born (see Table 4).[26] This probably means that persons born in California, being well established, have experienced less hardship during the depression than have newcomers who had invested all their savings, only to find themselves stranded.

The 182 foreign-born coöperators under review included 51 Mexicans, 21 Englishmen, 15 Swedes, 14 Canadians, and 14 Germans. These five nationalities contributed 115 or 63.2 per cent of all the foreign-born coöperators. The foreign-born mates included 31 Mexicans, 21 Englishmen, 17 Canadians, 7 Germans, and 3 Swedes. These five nationalities contributed 72 or 63.8 per cent of all the mates of foreign birth (see Figure 3).

The foreign-born self-helpers were, therefore, mostly northern Europeans and Mexicans. The interest in self-help of persons from northern Europe was to be expected, since it is precisely in that region that the coöperative movement as a whole has taken root.

The interest of Mexicans is especially worth noting. They contributed 4.9 per cent to the total under review. This might be expected. Since in 1930 the Mexicans made up 7.5 per cent of the population of Los Angeles County,[27] their participation was not out of proportion. However, the Mexicans' participation in the coöperatives even to the degree to which it existed is significant in that it

[26] United States Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.,* Vol. II (Washington, 1933), p. 146.

[27] United States Bureau of the Census, *op. cit.,* Vol. III, Pt. 1 (Washington, 1932), pp. 243, 246.

Table 4. Origin of American-Born Coöperators and Their Mates, by Geographic Divisions

Geographic division	Members		Mates	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
New England	34	4.0	9	1.8
Middle Atlantic	67	7.9	41	7.9
East North Central	229	27.1	126	24.2
West North Central	217	25.8	165	31.8
South Atlantic	30	3.6	15	2.9
East South Central	55	6.5	24	4.6
West South Central	105	12.4	57	10.9
Mountain	50	5.9	41	7.9
Pacific	57	6.8	41	7.9
No information	....	....	1	0.1
Total	844	100.0	520	100.0

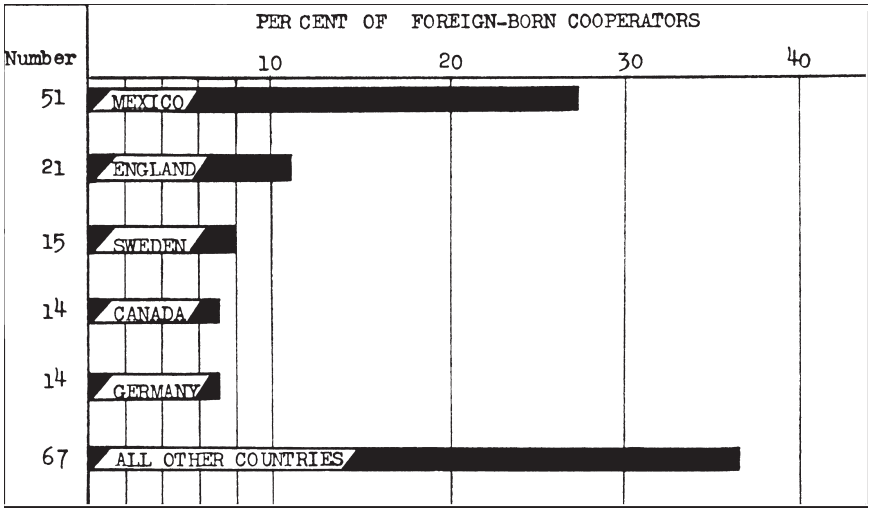

Figure 3. National origin of foreign-born members of coöperatives.

partly refuted the accusation often made against them that they were especially unresourceful, dependent, and a charity-seeking people. Other factors may be involved, as, for example, the fact that the Mexicans in southern California have for several years been in mortal fear of being deported on the charge of dependency; and this may have led some of them into the coöperatives. Whatever the reasons, the fact remains that an appreciable number of them participated in self-help activity.

As to their sex, 764, or 74.2 per cent of the 1029 coöperators under review were males and 265, or 25.7 per cent, females. One-fourth of those engaging in self-help coöperatives, then, were women. Some of them had joined the coöperatives only to supplement the income of the men, who were working elsewhere; others were alone and were seeking only their own living; and 49 females were registered at the coöperative chiefly because their menfolk were ill or otherwise incapacitated.

Nearly 90 per cent of the 1029 cooperators under review had been married at some time: 63.3 per cent of the total were living with their husbands or wives, 15.6 per cent were widowed, 5.4 per cent divorced, and 5.2 per cent were either separated or had been deserted. The balance, 10.5 per cent, had never married.

Nearly all of them, including the unmarried, had dependents. Fifty-six per cent of the households visited had children in them. The number of children in the home ranged between one and ten. The one-child household accounted for 22.1 per cent of all the households; 14.0 per cent had two children, 9.8 per cent three, 5.0 per cent four, 2.0 per cent five, and 3.0 per cent of all the households had from six to ten children. The average number of children per household was 1.31 and the average size of the household, including parents, children, and all others, was 3.38 (see Table 5).

As to the age of the children, 1 per cent were under one year of age, 23.3 per cent one to nine years old, inclusive, 49.4 per cent were ten to nineteen years of age, 18.3 per cent twenty to twenty-nine, 7.8 per cent ranged between thirty and fifty-five. The mean for all children was 15.5 years (median, 15.0). These ages are given in greater detail in Section IX (p. 337).

As to occupational distribution, by far the largest proportion of the coöperators belonged to the manual labor and clerical classes. The major occupations followed by the coöperators prior to their joining the coöperatives are shown in Table 6.

Among the unclassified there were four artists, sculptors, and teachers of art; five authors, editors, and reporters; ten clergymen and one missionary; five foremen and overseers; one lawyer; three managers or officials in manufacturing establishments; one manufacturer; eight musicians or teachers of music; twelve public-school teachers; one “capitalist”; two chiropractors; one civil engineer; two contractors; one man who had been in the diplomatic service; three druggists; one lecturer; six merchants; one mining engineer; three men who had been engaged in the oil business, and one who had been a politician.

Table 5. Size of Coöperators' Families

No. persons in family	No. of families	Per cent
1	152	14.8
2	260	25.3
3	212	20.6
4	157	15.3
5	109	10.6
6	63	6.1
7	32	3.1
8	21	2.0
9	12	1.1
10	7	0.7
11	3	0.3
12	1	0.1
Total	1029	100.0
	Mean, 3.38	

The coöperators' residence habits throw additional light upon the stability or instability of those participating in the coöperatives. It is reasonable to infer that if they had been long resident in the State and County, they were relatively stable people. If, on the other hand, they were habitual migrants and newcomers into the region, they might be considered as part of that restless, unsettled segment of the population that has become migratory during the last few years.

The findings show that almost all the coöperators under review had been residents of the State and the County for some time (see Figure 4). Not a single one of the 1029 coöperators interviewed had been in the State less than one year, 11.3 per cent had lived in California from one to five years, 88.7 per cent reported a residence of five years or more. Twenty-nine and nine-tenths per cent of the total had lived in the State fifty years or more. As to residence in the County, only one coöperator had lived in the County less than a year, 13.8 per cent had resided in the County from one to five years; 86.1 per cent reported residence of five years or more. Twenty-three and three-tenths per cent of the total had been in Los Angeles County twenty years or more, and 1.0 per cent fifty years or more.

The relatively advanced age of the coöperators under review constitutes perhaps their most significant characteristic. Although their ages ranged between

Table 6. Occupations Followed by Coöperators Before Joining Coöperatives

Occupation	No.	Per cent
Common laborers	158	15.3
Carpenters	96	9.3
Housewives, housekeepers, and houseworkers	90	8.7
Farmers, farm laborers, gardeners, vegetable sorters	82	7.9
Real-estate officials and agents, other salesmen	54	5.3
Bookkeepers, cashiers, accountants, stenographers, typists, general office workers	48	4.7
Engineers and machinists	42	4.1
Clerks	36	3.5
Mechanics, factory and automobile	35	3.5
Electricians, plumbers, gas and steam fitters	35	3.5
Painters, glaziers, varnishers	29	2.8
Cooks, Bakers, kitchen helpers, and waiters	26	2.5
Nurses, untrained	25	2.4
Chauffeurs, truck and traction drivers	22	2.2
Dressmakers and helpers	19	1.8
Builders and building contractors	17	1.6
Laundry operators	16	1.5
Teachers	16	1.5
Janitors and sextons	15	1.4
Butchers and meat packers	15	1.4
Restaurant, café, and lunchroom operators	14	1.4
Brick and stone masons	14	1.4
Persons in the paper industry, printers	11	1.1
Unclassified and unknown	114	11.2
Total	1029	100.0

19 and 87 years, more than four-fifths of them were over 40 (see Figure 5). The mean average age of all the coöperators surveyed was 52.7 years. The male and female members were almost the same in age, the males averaging 52.75 years and the females 52.76. The largest single age group of both male and female members falling within any five-year age bracket was that of the men and women of from 60 to 64 years of age; they made up 12.9 per cent of the total. The coöperators, therefore, were of well above the average age of the working

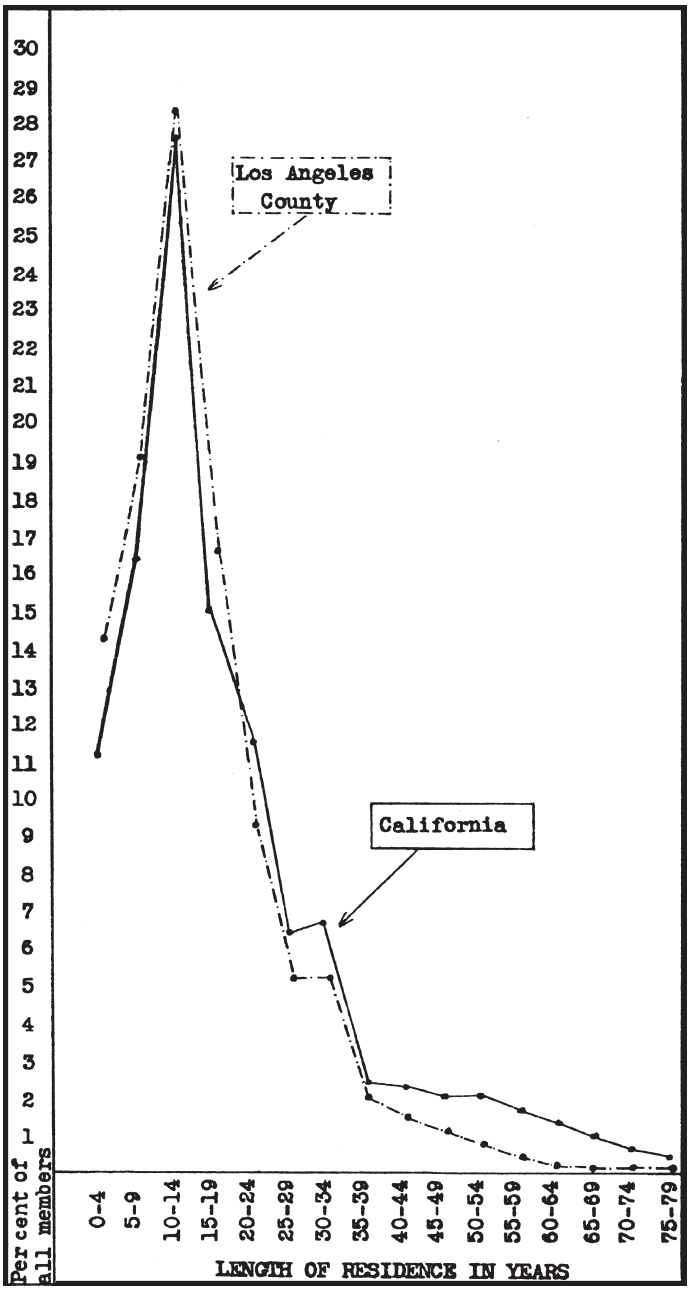

Figure 4. Length of residence of members of coöperatives in California and in Los Angeles County, by five-year periods.

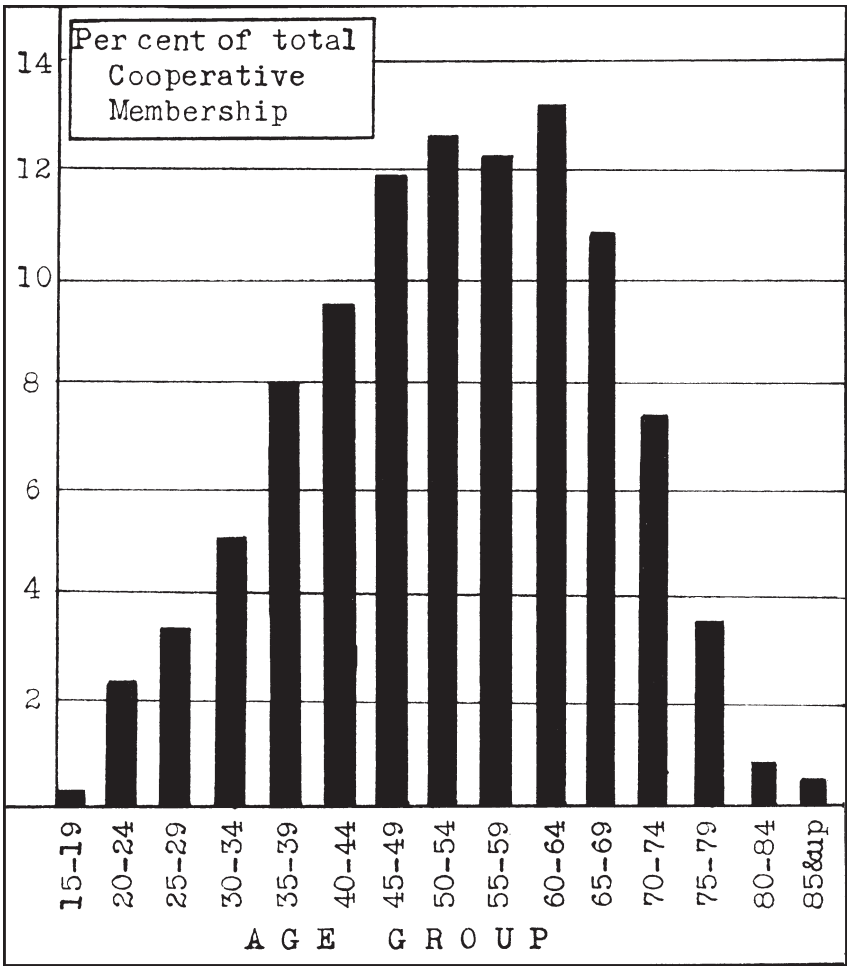

Figure 5. Age-group distribution of total coöperative membership.

population of Los Angeles City, which in 1930 was 36.8 years. The mean average age of coöperators reported by the Division of Self-help Coöperatives for December, 1934, was 47.4 years (median 48.1, mode, 49.5).[28] Since these figures relate to grant units, the age difference may indicate that younger men more readily accepted governmental aid.

[28] California State Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative service, *Annual Report, June 30, 1935* (Sacramento, 1935), p. 34.

The mates, the wives or husbands of members, were on the average 3.6 years younger than the coöperators; they ranged between 20 and 82 years of age; their mean average was 49.1 years (median, 48.6); and the largest single five-year group was made up of persons of 40 to 44 years of age inclusive, as compared with 60 to 64 for the members.

The age of the coöperators throws light upon the nature and function of the self-help coöperatives. These organizations attracted persons of relatively advanced age for at least three interrelated reasons. First, it is precisely the older workers who, being discarded by modern industry, constitute the bulk of the permanently unemployed. Modern industry tends to discard laborers as soon as they enter the fifth decade of life, because of the probable lower productivity of older workers and the higher cost to the employer of compensation and retirement pensions.[29]

Such older workers frequently possess few resources and have little prospect of further employment. Those who are disinclined to accept charity increasingly turn to other alternatives, such as the self-help organizations, which provide them a means of making a living through their own effort.

Second, Americans of advanced years seem more loath to seek charity, possibly because of the individual self-reliance which characterized pioneer life in the United States during the last half of the nineteenth century. These persons, therefore, tend to turn to such devices as the self-help coöperatives.

Third, some of the coöperators under review were small property owners, former farmers, mechanics, or laborers, who, attracted to southern California by publicity intended for tourists, persons of wealth, had put their savings in properties incapable of yielding returns sufficient for support; and because they were classed as property owners, they became ineligible for County aid. Being of an independent turn of mind, finding no opportunity in industry, and being ineligible for County assistance, these persons found the self-help coöperatives their only refuge. In so doing, they showed adjustability and a capacity to meet the difficulties of the time without resorting to charity.

The foregoing data, therefore, indicate that in most respects the coöperators and their mates constituted a cross section of the population of the community. They and their mates represented for the most part a substantial and more or less conservative segment of the United States population, namely. those born or raised in the Middle West; they were persons well along in years and therefore presumably a stable element of the population; they were average in marital status, size of family, and occupation; they had resided in the State, the County,

[29] See Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperatives, *Old Hands Build Anew* (September, 1934), p. 11. For precise data on the relation of age to occupational distribution, productivity, labor turnover, morbidity, worker obsolescence, and related items, see Walter R. Miles, "Age and Human Society," in C. Murchison (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Worcester, 1935), chap. 15.

and the City of Los Angeles about as long as the average citizen; they were a plain, average, matter-of-fact folk, trying to make the best of a bad economic situation without resorting to private or public charity. The specific reasons why they joined the self-help groups are brought out in the following section.

IV. WHY DID UNEMPLOYED JOIN COÖPERATIVES?

The reasons why the persons described above joined the self-help organizations have been in part stated in the foregoing section. When the coöperators themselves were asked why they joined the self-help coöperatives, they gave four inter-related reasons, namely, dire need, aversion to charity, the necessity of having something to do, and the desire to contribute toward the solution of the unemployment problem.

First, as to their need. That need is partly reflected in the fact that a considerable proportion of the people under review had been out of employment during the previous three years. During 1931-1932 (June to June) fifty-six per cent of the 1029 coöperators were completely out of work, in 1932-1933 fifty-four per cent, and in 1933-1934 sixty-one per cent. In addition, about 14 per cent were only employed at odd jobs (see Table 7). Of the balance, that is, of those recorded as being regularly at work, an average of about 21 per cent for the three years, were employed, but their number decreased from 30.1 per cent in 1931-1932 to 24.6 per cent in 1933-1934. Furthermore, the amount of time those "regularly at work" were actually employed ranged from eight months (8.0) during the fiscal year 1931-1932 to about six months (5.8) in 1932-1933, and around seven and a half months (7.6) during the year 1933-1934. The mates, who for the most part were females, showed only about 5 per cent "regularly at work." However, they were working longer than the members themselves. The mates registered 8.6 months for 1931-1932, 7.1 for 1932-1933, and 9.9 months for 1933-1934.

It is safe to say, then, that about 70 per cent of the coöperators under review and a considerable proportion of their mates were unemployed during the fiscal years 1931-1934.

Table 7. Coöperators' Employment Status, Fiscal Years 1931-1934

Employment status	Per cent 1931-1932	Per cent 1932-1933	Per cent 1933-1934
Out of work	56.0	54.0	61.6
Odd jobs	14.0	14.0	13.8
Regular work	30.0	32.0	24.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Thus, left in dire straits by the depression, these people had to find some means of making a livelihood. They could not turn to governmental work-relief agencies because in 1931, when the coöperatives began to form, governmental work relief had not been started. Many of them could not seek County aid because, being small property owners, they were ineligible.[30] They could not rely upon such savings as they had accumulated, because these savings were either "lost" in the depression scramble or were "invested" and therefore unavailable. They could turn to private charity, but many shrank from it. Thus, much like a shipwrecked crew, stranded on some island beyond the reach of immediate help, they were forced to join minds and hands in order to survive. The coöperators themselves repeatedly remarked, "I can't get on the County and can't get work. . . . My only chance is in the coöp," or "I entered the unit as my only way out."

Second, besides economic necessity, many of the coöperators seemed to have felt another need, namely, that of maintaining self-respect. Many of those interviewed, though in economic distress, seemed to have shrunk back from applying for relief. Nor was this urge confined to the people under review; those who organized self-help units in Seattle did so in order "to help sustain the individual self-respect, which they felt traditional charity would crush out of them."[31] The coöperators interviewed often said, "Charity is for abnormal people in normal times; we are normal people in abnormal times"; "This coöperative is not a charity proposition, we are permitted to work for what we receive"; "We don't want charity, we want to work for what we need." A proud Southerner remarked, "I am willing to bear with the coöperatives to the extent of getting along with a little less food rather than to accept charity."

Third, the coöperators appeared to realize that enforced idleness would be disheartening, and injurious to health, and would influence temperament and familial and other relationships. For them, as perhaps for most of the unemployed, it was the fear and experience of demoralization that more than anything else constituted the tragedy of unemployment. The self-help coöperatives, therefore, seem to have been a boon to those who found their way into them. They broke the monotony of idleness, afforded their members a means for social companionship, evoked comradeship and mutual sympathy in adversity. And, parenthetically, if the "coöps" had done nothing else than to offset the ravages of enforced idleness, that alone would have made them eminently justifiable. The coöperators themselves often stressed that fact:

"I went into the unit because I was just about to go crazy sitting around staring at four walls, and when I heard about it I thought I could make new contacts, see new faces. My husband was irritable, I was cross. We had no money to do anything."

[30] See p. 307.

[31] Arthur Hillman, "Unemployed Citizens' League of Seattle," *Univ. of Washington Publ. Soc. Sci.,* Vol. V (Seattle, 1934), p. 261.

"Most of all, the unit has kept us busy mentally and bodily, and prevented us from losing our minds."

"The coöperative is a very good thing, it keeps up the morale of the people."

"I am using the coöperative as a place to meet people and to enjoy companionship, and also as something of a workshop theater to keep me 'in trim,' or from getting too rusty."

Finally, a few joined the self-help organizations in the belief that these organizations would contribute to the mitigation of the unemployment problem. These persons seemed to believe that unemployment is a chronic and general problem and that it cannot be met by palliatives; that the workers, separated from the land and caught in the sweep of a highly complex society, *must* unite and help to solve the problem of poverty, if they are to survive; and that self-help constitutes another evidence that American workers are at last awakening to the need of mutual aid. Some went further, in that they believed that sooner or later coöperation would replace competitive economy and that some form of production for the direct use of those who produce would displace production for profit. One coöperator commented: "The coöperative idea is the only solution to our economic situation today. Men must get together and exchange goods, services, and money, if they are to survive."

V. THE COÖPERATORS AT WORK

We have noted the reasons which led these people to join the coöperatives. We may now inquire, first, concerning the kind of work the members did; second, whether the tasks they were put to were those for which they were prepared or to which they were accustomed; and, third, concerning the amount of work they were required to do and the amount they actually did.

The principal tasks the coöperatives put their members to included, in the order of frequency: farm and garden labor; gathering, transporting, preparing, and dispensing food; gathering, making, and repairing clothes and furniture; making barter contracts and managing the units.

The extent to which these occupations are those for which the coöperators were trained or to which they were accustomed is important, first, because it indicates the efficiency or inefficiency of the units, and, second, because it may possibly reflect the satisfaction or the frustration the coöperators experienced in the coöperatives. Table 8 lists the specific occupations of the self-helpers.

These data show that the coöperatives have been able to place their members at accustomed tasks only to a small degree. An analysis of the figures given shows that 845 persons, or 82 per cent of the total, were obliged to follow occupations other than those they had previously followed. Among the more skilled, about 79 per cent of the carpenters were not following their trade, and 84 per cent of the other skilled or semiskilled workers (electricians, painters,

Table 8. Specific Occupations Followed by Coöperators Before and During Coöperative Membership

Occupation	Before coöperative membership		During coöperative membership	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Farmers, farm laborers, gardeners, vegetable sorters	82	7.9	211	20.5
Common laborers	158	15.3	175	17.0
Dressmakers and helpers	19	1.8	134	13.0
Cooks, bakers, kitchen helpers, and waiters	26	2.5	81	7.8
Unit managers	. . .	. . .	56	5.5
Unit barter or contact workers	. . .	. . .	47	4.6
Commissary managers and helpers	. . .	. . .	44	4.3
Bookkeepers, cashiers, accountants, stenographers, typists, general office workers	48	4.7	36	3.5
Carpenters	96	9.3	32	3.1
Clerks	36	3.5	32	3.1
Chauffeurs, truck and traction drivers	22	2.2	31	3.0
Mechanics, factory and automobile	35	3.5	21	2.0
Janitors and sextons	15	1.4	9	0.9
Housewives, housekeepers, and houseworkers	90	8.7	8	0.8
Electricians, plumbers, gas and steam fitters	35	3.5	8	0.8
Painter, glaziers, varnishers	29	2.8	8	0.8
Laundry operators	16	1.5	6	0.6
Persons in the paper industry, printers	11	1.1	3	0.3
Real-estate officials and agents, other salesmen	54	5.3	3	0.3
Engineers and machinists	42	4.1	2	0.2
Builders and building contractors	17	1.6	1	0.1
Restaurant, café, and lunchroom operators	14	1.4	1	0.1
Brick and stone masons	14	1.4	...	. . .
Nurses, untrained	25	2.4	...	. . .
Teachers	16	1.5	...	. . .
Butchers and meat packers	15	1.4	...	. . .
Unclassified and unknown	114	11.2	80	7.7
Total	1029	100.0	1029	100.0

printers, engineers, builders, masons, teachers) were not engaged in their accustomed occupations.

How far this displacement was downward, on the same level, or upward in the skill required and the earnings, is difficult to say. If the four categories of unskilled or semiskilled (farmers and farm laborers, common laborers, housekeepers, and most of the "unclassified and unknown") are considered, it is found that they constituted 45 per cent of the total before joining the coöperatives and 64 per cent afterward, showing that these four classes alone had drawn from the other occupations 19 per cent of the total.

Most of the displacement was downward, that is, the coöperators were obliged to engage in occupations which are generally lower in skill and earnings. Examples were found all through the group interviewed: a mining engineer, an electrical engineer, a mechanic, and a bookkeeper became gardeners and vegetable sorters in the coöperatives; a farm owner had become a bookkeeper; an artist and a druggist had become barter contact workers; a bookkeeper had turned into a truck driver, a landscaper into a general worker, a glass blower and a carpenter into farm laborers, an insurance agent into a cobbler, a real-estate agent into a gardener. The most striking displacements were those of a former superintendent of a manufacturing establishment who had become a cook, and of a former diplomatic official who had become manager of a unit.

For many, however, the displacement was more or less on the same plane, that is, from one unskilled or semiunskilled task to another. For instance, a laundry operator turned into a janitor, a chocolate dipper into a laundry operator, a watchman into a vegetable sorter, a housekeeper into a seamstress, a meat packer into a commissary worker, a chauffeur into a laborer.

For a few, the displacement was upward. This usually involved persons who had taken up managerial tasks in the coöperatives. A messenger girl became a contact worker in one of the units, a former telephone operator turned into a bookkeeper, an ice-cream man into a treasurer, and a chauffeur, an electric lineman, a housewife, and an iron moulder became managers of units.

Five interrelated factors explain this occupational displacement. First, in the early days the self-help groups faced too urgent a situation to permit them to sift and properly place workers. There were hungry mouths to feed and families to clothe and house. The coöperators, though refusing to be beggars, could not be choosers too. This urgency initiated a displacernent practice that persisted.

Second, some occupational displacement was to be expected from the very nature of the coöperatives. These organizations were primarily engaged in bartering labor for food and other commodities, and therefore did not require particular skills. In fact, it would have been quite impossible for the early coöperatives to have utilized specialized skills, had they been able to sift them out.

Third, some displacement occurred because the units were organized on a territorial basis, that is, they ordinarily attracted persons who chanced to live in their neighborhoods and not because they had a given skill.[32]

Fourth, some displacement probably occurred because the coöperatives paid no attention to the development of a system for utilizing the particular skills of their members, or for exchanging skills among the units, as they exchanged goods.

Fifth, this in turn was due in part to the lack of continuing competent leadership. The coöperatives did command some able leaders, but ordinarily these left the organizations as soon as better opportunities presented themselves.[33]

In any event, occupational misplacement has been marked, with the result that skills have been left largely unused, the units have been inefficiently conducted, and probably many workers have experienced a sense of frustration. However, with the development of production under Federal grants, the demand for and a more favorable placement of semiskilled workers increased, while the better trained commanded more adequate compensation. But even toward the close of our field investigation there was little improvement in the matter.

In the matter of work requirements the units developed a fairly orderly procedure. For one thing, they made it clear that the self-help coöperatives were in no sense charity organizations. Generally, they accepted as members only those who were able and willing to work; for, obviously, the units could not function otherwise. Accordingly, the general rule was, "No work, no eat." They made exceptions-persons incapacitated by old age, infirmity, or other conditions, or who dreaded to "go on the County," or who were ineligible for County aid; but these were relatively few and even these had to do some work.

As a rule, the units required members to work at least sixteen hours a week. Ninety per cent of the 1029 coöperators interviewed were on the sixteen-hour-a-week basis: 8 per cent were under varying requirements; and the remaining 2 per cent, consisting mostly of disabled persons, did a nominal amount of work. The median average requirement for the 1029 was about sixteen hours a week.

The actual number of hours the coöperators worked varied. About 68 per cent worked the minimum of sixteen hours a week, 31 per cent worked more, and 1 per cent worked less. The average for the 1029 coöperators was 21.4 hours a week, or 5 hours more a week than the required minimum.

Some of this additional time was put in because the members would rather keep occupied than be idle; some was given in return for meals, as some units demanded extra work for earning meals; some of the members voluntarily put in extra hours "just for the cause." The nature of the work done by many of the coöperators was such as to demand continuity. For example, the head of a baking establishment

[32] See California State Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, *Annual Report, June 30, 1935* (San Francisco, 1935), p. iv.

[33] The same conclusion is reached by Clark Kerr and Paul S. Taylor, "Self-help Coöperatives in California," p. 215.

worked sixty hours a week; a truck driver in another unit was obliged to make long hauls of forty-eight hours or more; the person in charge of the storeroom and the labor department at one unit worked seventy-two hours a week; a superintendent of garden work at another unit, a secretary, a trustee, and an accountant (each at a different unit), worked forty-eight hours a week. This extra work, required by the nature of the positions held, was given willingly, in fact gladly. Singly these overhours of work did not amount to much, but cumulatively they were significant: they amounted to 3514 hours a week, or 439.3 eight-hour days for the 1029 coöperators. This overtime contributed to such success as the units achieved and gave the members, especially the leaders, a feeling that they were doing something for the welfare of their fellow men.

These excessive hours, however, were exceptional. On an average, as indicated above, the coöperators interviewed worked 21.4 hours a week. This fact is significant. Although the self-help coöperatives were young organizations, hurriedly thrown together in the early emergency of the depression, working virtually without aid, with unprepared leadership, yet they were able to supply a portion of the commodities and services needed by their members on the basis of about twenty-one hours of work a week. However, as the next section shows, what the coöperators received from the coöperatives was far from adequate in quantity or quality.

VI. INCOME IN CASH AND KIND

The principal goods the coöperators received in return for their labor consisted of food, clothing, furniture, household necessities, and various services. The coöperators interviewed received most of the food they and their families used; many of them received some clothing and utilities; nearly all made use of the services offered by the units; a few were housed by the coöperatives.

The exact amount of goods each member received depended not upon the kind or the amount of work he did, but upon his needs. That is, for the same amount of work, a single man, whether he were a carpenter or a vegetable sorter, received the ration for one person, whereas the man with a family drew rations for himself and his wife and children. This seemed to give the family man an advantage, but that was not exactly so. For, while the family person drew out all he earned, the nonfamily man, in some coöperatives, might have accumulated "point" credits and with these might purchase some articles, such as a suit of clothes, a bicycle, or any other article which the unit might have. A manager without family, for example, accumulated about 100,000 points, each point representing one minute of labor; with this he could have "purchased" an old automobile or some other article which the unit might have had. So there was a balancing of advantage between those who had and those who did not have families. Ordinarily, however, accumulated "points" were used to acquire quasi necessities or "luxuries," and they were not transferable.

Moreover, in most coöperatives mutual aid was actually practiced. Occasionally some member complained that some were receiving more than others in return for an equal amount of labor; but these were exceptions. For the most part a spirit of mutual helpfulness prevailed among the members.

The principal item received was food, which made up 88.1 per cent of all the items in terms of prices.[34] The quantity and quality of the food depended upon the supply of the moment. If the crops were good and the contact men did their work well, there was an abundance of vegetables, fruits, and other supplies. If the fishermen had a good day, fish was abundant. If the City, State, or Federal government had made a subsidy recently, there was a supply of staples at hand and meat, sugar, and coffee could be distributed in adequate amounts. The supply, however, was more or less continually uncertain. Then, too, the quantity and quality of the food depended in part upon the location of the units, whether they were in agricultural, industrial, or fishing communities, and upon whether the necessary tools, materials, and able management were available. The "bill of fare" was made out from day to day, or week to week, in keeping with what was on hand.

Food was dispensed either in the form of meals or in bulk to be taken home. Meals made up 28.2 per cent of the total value of the food. Nearly every unit maintained a mess hall and served three meals a day. The meals were much like those served in ordinary inexpensive restaurants.[35]

Food dispensed for home consumption made up 71.8 per cent of the total in terms of prices. The principal items consisted of vegetables, dairy products, bread and sugar, fruits, meats, beverages, and miscellaneous items. The details, in terms of prices prevailing at the time of this investigation (June-December, 1934) are shown in Table 9.

Fresh vegetables frequently included Irish and sweet potatoes, beets, carrots, cabbage, celery, turnips, squash, and onions; less frequently they included cauliflower, spinach, tomatoes, string beans, peas, radishes, sweet corn, mustard, green peppers, rhubarb, parsnips, eggplant. cucumbers, and chili peppers. The canned vegetables consisted of tomatoes, corn, peas, and beans; with hominy, sauerkraut, and soup less frequently. The fresh vegetables were obtained by barter, the canned and dried vegetables were usually supplied by governmental agencies.

Fresh milk was the outstanding dairy product; butter, canned milk, eggs, and oleomargarine were distributed less frequently; buttermilk, cheese, cottage cheese, and lard were supplied in very limited amounts.

[34] All the prices mentioned below are those prevailing in Los Angeles in June, 1934, as given in United States Department of Labor, "Average Retail Prices in Los Angeles. California. June 5, 1934," *Retail Prices and Cost of Living, June, 1934,* Bulletin No. R-126 (Washington, 1934), pp. 24-25. These were checked against the retail prices of the Consumer's Coöperative Store in West Los Angeles and our estimates of retail prices in the Los Angeles County area.

[35] For sample of meals served, see p. 302.

Table 9. Average Monthly Value of Edibles Received, July-December, 1934

Item	Value	Average per member	Per cent
Meals	$2,775.13	$2.77	28.2
Vegetables	1,932.79	1.93	19.7
Dairy products	1,398,25	1.39	14.2
Staples	1,236.91	1.23	12.6
Fruits	775.34	0.77	7.9
Meats	677.85	0.68	6.9
Beverages	668.32	0.67	6.8
Others	363.11	0.36	3.7
Total	$9,827.70	$9.80	100.0

Bread and sugar constituted the staples.

Most of the fresh fruit consisted of oranges; the balance was made up of small quantities of peaches, pears, apples and lemons, and very small quantities of cantaloupes, grapes, raisins, and grapefruit. The canned fruits consisted chiefly of peaches and pears, with a small quantity of apricots, berries, plums, fruit jams and other preserves.

The quantity of meat was negligible, amounting to a monthly average of 68 cents per family. Most of the meat furnished was bacon; the balance was made up of ham, fish, pork, and beef. The canned meats included beef, salmon, sardines and other fish, and corned beef.

The beverages consisted mainly of coffee, cocoa, tea, and chocolate malt. Coffee made up 94 per cent of the value of the beverages. The principal cereal was flour; and breakfast foods, macaroni, oatmeal, and rice, supplied in limited quantities. The other food items were spices, pastries, relishes (on rare occasions) , and small amounts of baking powder, candy, cooking oil, mayonnaise, peanut butter, and salad oil.

The food was dispensed to the families at regular intervals; the perishables usually distributed “on demand,” once a day, or once every two or three days. The staples, on the other hand, were distributed all the way from twice a week to once every three months. (See Table 10.)

Did the coöperators like this food? It would have been miraculous if all had been pleased. As a matter of fact, a considerable proportion of them seem to have been dissatisfied both with the quality and even more with the variety of the food received, as may be seen from Table 11.

Table 10. Frequency of Food Distribution

Food distributed once every	No. of families	Per cent
Day	371	37.0
Two days	216	20.9
Three days	20	1.5
Four days	1	0.0
Five days	2	0.0
Week	102	9.9
Two weeks	194	18.8
Varying periods	106	10.3
No information	17	1.6
Total	1029	100.0

Table 11. Coöperators' Evaluation of Quality and Variety of Food

Evaluation	Quality (per cent)	Variety (per cent)
Excellent	2.3	1.1
Good	35.9	19.5
Fair	44.6	46.1
Poor	17.2	33.3

It is difficult to determine precisely the significance of these opinions. The fact that 61 per cent pronounced the food "fair" or "poor" in quality, and nearly 80 per cent "fair" or "poor" in variety, may indicate that these people had been accustomed to better fare than they got from the units. It may mean that the coöperators, being well along in years, not in very good health, and under the strain of prolonged unemployment, were irritable and complaining. Or, it may mean that the coöperatives were actually unable to supply their members with food, goods, and services of a high quality and variety. It is probable that all these factors were at work.

Besides food, the coöperatives supplied to their members other goods and services, chief among which were natural gas, clothing, housing, and barber services. Minor items included shoe repairing, gasoline and coal oil, medical and dental care, electricity, soap, wood and water, and laundry service. All the nonedible items amounted, in price, to $1279.93 monthly, or $1.28 per member.

Further, besides these "in kind" items the coöperatives paid out to their members a small amount of cash. A total of $70.83 per month was reported as being received in cash by the 1003 members giving information on this point, an average of 7 cents per member per month. This cash was derived from odd jobs which the units did for outsiders. For example, some units permitted their mechanics, cobblers, and sign painters to do outside work, in addition to the hours required by the units, and to keep a portion of this cash income. That the cash income was so small only serves to stress the barter nature of self-help coöperatives.

To recapitulate, the main items which the self-help coöperatives supplied the persons interviewed consisted of food, nonedible goods, services, and a negligible amount of cash. Evaluating these in terms of prices prevailing in 1934—the time of this investigation—it is found that the total value of the items which the coöperatives supplied to the 1003 members giving information averaged $11,178.46 per month, or $11.15 per member.[36] Of this total the edibles amounted to $9827.70, or 88.1 per cent of all items; nonedibles amounted to $1279.93, or 11.3 per cent of the total; and the cash paid out is $70.83 or 0.6 per cent of the total. The details are given in Table 12. As stated above, all items have been evaluated on the basis of the retail prices prevailing in Los Angeles in June, 1934, as published by the United States Department of Labor, checked against the retail prices of the Consumer's Coöperative Store of West Los Angeles and our estimates of the retail prices in the Los Angeles County area.

The average total income per family derived from the coöperatives, therefore, amounted to $11.15 per month. Obviously a family of three (average is 3.38) could not live on such an income. The coöperators must have had other resources.

This was precisely the case. In fact, the coöperatives were only a supplementary, rather than the main, source of income. The coöperators under review reported an average gross income of $46.68 per month, of which $11.15 or 24 per cent came from the coöperatives, and the remaining $35.53 or 76 per cent from other sources.

[36] These findings correspond closely with those of the Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, which estimated the value of the monthly earnings of the coöperators in California to be $12.50. The difference is probably explained by the fact that the Division of Self-help Coöperative Service deals wholly with grant units. See California State Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, *Annual Report, June 30, 1935* (San Francisco, 1935), p. ii.

Table 12. Average Monthly Income in Kind and Cash from the Coöperatives, July-December, 1934

Item	Total value		Average per member	Per cent
Edibles:				
Meals	$ 2,775.13		$2.77	24.9
Vegetables	1,932.79		1.93	17.3
Fresh		$1,774.09		
Canned		158.70		
Dairy products	1,398.25		1.39	12.5
Stables	1,236.91		1.23	11.1
Fruits	775.34		0.77	7.0
Fresh		737.93		
Canned		37.41		
Meat and fish	677.85		0.68	6.0
Fresh		458.91		
Other*		218.94		
Beverages	688.32		0.67	6.0
Cereals	252.81		0.25	2.3
Spices	14.09		0.01	0.1
Pastries	0.64		0.00	0.0
Relishes	0.23		0.00	0.0
Miscellaneous	95.34		0.10	0.9
Nonedibles:				
Gas (natural)†	790.36		0.79	7.0
Clothing	197.54		0.20	1.8
Barber work	95.52		0.09	0.9
House rent	71.00		0.07	0.6
Shoe repair	45.85		0.05	0.4
Gasoline	27.07		0.03	0.2
Transportation	13.75		0.01	0.1
Medical care	11.38		0.01	0.1
Miscellaneous	27.46		0.03	0.2
Cash	70.83		0.07	0.6
Total edibles	$ 9,827.70		$9.80	88.1
Total nonedibles	1,279.93		1.28	11.3
Total cash	70.83		0.07	0.6
Grand total	$11,178.46		$11.15	100.0

*Including canned, smoked, dried, and pickled.
†Natural gas was bartered for with a local company.

What were these "other sources"? The bulk of the income was derived mainly from work-relief wages and private employment either by the coöperators themselves or by their children and relatives. Work relief provided a cash income for 138 coöperators, the Los Angeles County Welfare Department supplied cash and goods to 77, the American Red Cross to 17 members, churches to 10, the Salvation Army to 3, and the Motion Picture Relief Group to 1. The rest came from wages (see Table 13).

Thus it will be seen that the coöperators interviewed were earning $30.06 a month per family in cash from noncoöperative sources. In addition, they averaged $5.47 a month per family in kind, in the form of food, clothing, housing, and similar items. Adding all these items, that is, the income in cash and kind derived either from coöperative or from noncoöperative sources, gives the result shown in Table 14.

The figures on total expenditures did not prove sufficiently satisfactory to warrant detailed computation; hence the net income cannot be given.

The facts presented in the foregoing pages indicate that the self-help coöperatives at best performed only a supplementary function, at least for the persons under review. At most they supplied their members with only 24 per cent of their total income. Moreover, the goods they supplied to their members were barely sufficient for a mere existence and they were of low quality and variety.

Table 13. Cash Income from Noncoöperative Sources of Coöperatives Households, July-December, 1934

Source	Amounts		Per cent	
Wages	$22,534.14		74.8	
Coöperators		$13,646.44		45.2
Children		5,649.80		18.8
Mates		1,921.70		6.4
Others		1,316.20		4.4
Property	2,440.78		8.1	
Pension	1,678.85		5.5	
Relatives	1,579.47		5.2	
Boarders	610.00		2.0	
Insurance	523.16		1.8	
Other	780.01		2.6	
Total	$30,146.41		100.0	
Average cash income per household, $30.06				

Table 14. Average Monthly Income of Coöperators' Households in Cash and Kind, All Sources, July-December, 1934

	Coöperative	Noncoöperative	Total
Cash	$00.07	$30.06	$30.13
Kind	11.08	5.47	16.55
Total	$11.15	$35.53	$46.68

The coöperators were obliged, more often than not, to eat leftover foods, to wear castoff clothing, and otherwise to eke out a bare existence. This, however, was not a situation peculiar to the coöperators; millions of other unemployed were likewise not leading an "abundant life." All that the coöperatives did was to give their members a sense of security in the matter of the bare necessaries and to give them a sense of self-reliance and self-respect. But by freeing their members from overworry, they perhaps aided them in seeking noncoöperative employment, which, together with what they derived from the units, enabled them and their families to meet their expenses and possibly even have a little margin besides.

VII. HOUSES AND HOUSE OWNERSHIP

One of the main problems the coöperators had to face was that of housing and house ownership. Typical of American workers of the grade to which they belonged, they seemed to be concerned over the kind of houses they lived in, their appearance, equipment, and upkeep, and especially over the ownership of the houses. But having practically no monetary income,[37] they were forced to let their houses fall into disrepair, and some even lost ownership.

Nearly all the families interviewed lived in the same houses in which they had lived before joining the coöperatives. Of the 1029 coöperators, 705 or 68.4 per cent reported that they had lived in the same houses for an average of 6.8 years.

The houses in which the coöperators lived at the time of the interviews ranged all the way from separate, single houses, to rooming houses and hotels, apartments, "flats," garages, barns, stores, and sheds. Almost 88 per cent resided in separate, single houses, and 84 per cent occupied one-family dwellings. Of the remainder, 4 per cent lived in apartments or duplexes, 2 per cent in rooming houses, more than 1 per cent in flats, and 5 per cent in submarginal types of

[37] See Table 14.

dwelling, such as garages, stores, barns, cabins, shacks, and the like. Two families were living in the coöperative headquarters or warehouse, two in "trailers," one in a tent, one in an old street car, and one family lived in a chicken house.

By far the greater proportion, 89.2 per cent, of the single dwellings were wooden or "frame" houses; 8.5 per cent were stucco, 1.3 per cent brick, and the rest of miscellaneous materials. These houses were more or less typical of those inhabited by the American workingman in all parts of the country. Ordinarily they were separated by a "yard"; 89 per cent had bathrooms, 95 per cent had toilet facilities, 64 per cent had garages, and 28 per cent garden plots. The precise linear measurement was not ascertained, but these houses, judging from general observation, were probably somewhat smaller than those inhabited by workers and small farmers of the Middle West and the East of the United States. The rooms also were smaller and the "yard" was practically nonexistent.

As to the number of rooms, more than 65 per cent had between four and six rooms; 27 per cent had fewer than four rooms, and 7 per cent between seven and twelve rooms (see Table 15). The average for all the 1029 families was four rooms. We would expect that on account of the depression there would have been a marked change in the number of rooms per family, but such was not the case. The decrease was less than 1 per cent, the average number of rooms per family having been 4.3 rooms for the years 1931-1934. Since the average size of the coöperators' families was 3.38 persons, it means that the coöperators had on an average more than one room per person.

Likewise the average number of bedrooms and sleeping places per house seems to have been ample. On the average the coöperators' houses had 1.9 sleeping rooms, 2.6 beds, and 4.2 sleeping places per family.[38] The coöperators therefore seem to have had ample sleeping accommodations. Nor had the number of sleeping rooms and sleeping accommodations changed materially after these persons joined the coöperatives, since in precoöperative years they had 2 sleeping rooms, 2.6 beds, and 4.3 sleeping places per family.

Besides being relatively commodious, and having adequate bedroom and sleeping-space accommodations, most of the homes had ample and readily available toilet and bathroom facilities. Ninety-five per cent had toilet conveniences; 5 per cent, "privies" or similar facilities. In 85 per cent the facilities were used by one family; in 15 per cent they were shared with one or more families. No material change in this respect had taken place since the persons under review had joined the coöperatives.

Bathing conveniences were available in relatively the same proportions. Nearly 88 per cent of the coöperators had one-family bathrooms, 10 per cent used the

[38] Double beds have been counted as two sleeping spaces, and single beds, three-fourths beds, cots, davenports, couches, and cribs as one.

Table 15. Number of Rooms in Coöperators' Houses

	Before coöperative membership		During coöperative membership	
No. of rooms	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1	37	3.6	45	4.3
2	59	5.7	59	5.8
3	173	16.9	178	17.2
4	272	26.4	270	20.2
5	274	26.6	274	26.7
6	122	11.9	127	12.3
7	46	4.4	44	4.3
8-12	30	3.0	28	2.8
No information	16	1.5	4	.4
Total	1029	100.0	1029	100.0

bathroom with one other family; 0.8 per cent shared the bathroom with two other families; and almost 2 per cent used the communal bathing facilities provided by the coöperatives.

About two-thirds of the houses had garages and more than one-fourth had gardens, an increase of 4 per cent in garages and a decrease of about 2 per cent in gardens.

The coöperators' houses were for the most part in moderately good repair,[39] 4 per cent being in "excellent" condition, 33 per cent in "good" repair, a little over 48 per cent in "fair" condition, and 14 per cent in marked disrepair. According to the coöperators' own estimates their houses had fallen somewhat into disrepair since they had been affiliated with the coöperatives. However, when these estimates are weighed, the deterioration did not seem to be very great, since, again according to the coöperators' own estimates, only approximately 7.4 per cent of all the houses under review had passed from the "excellent" and "good" columns to the "fair" and "poor" columns, most of this percentage (6 per cent) being from "good" to "fair" condition of repair (see Table 16).

[39] The following estimates of the condition of the houses are based on the reports of the coöperators themselves and the reports of the field investigators.

Table 16. Coöperators' Payments Toward House Ownership

Payments	Before coöperative membership Per cent	During coöperative membership Per cent
Principal	1.0	2.1
Interest	19.3	30.2
Principal and interest	68.8	43.0
No payment	10.9	24.7
Total	100.0	100.0

As to the sanitary conditions and the neatness of the houses, a variety of conditions prevailed. For the most part the ordinary, single houses showed, according to the recorded observations of the field investigators, moderately good conditions, the investigators frequently noting that the houses are "nice and clean," "orderly and clean," or "immaculately clean."

On the other hand, the 5 per cent of the coöperators who lived in garages, stores, barns, sheds, and the like, were living in squalor. One house was nothing but a woodshed, cluttered with odds and ends, almost devoid of furniture; another was "hardly fit for a chicken coop," a third was "a shack that should be condemned—it's foul-smelling and filthy." One old man, a watchman for the unit, was living in "a very unsanitary makeshift niche in the wall." One woman was living by herself in a small room, "much depressed over the fact that she had been reduced to such a low scale of living." One family consisting of "man and his wife, a bachelor, and an old lady who is a county ward" lived in a one-room shack.

In the matter of house ownership, a fairly marked decrease had occurred. Whereas 49 per cent of the coöperators under review had owned their own houses previous to their joining the coöperatives, 41 per cent still owned their houses; indicating that more than 16 per cent of those who had owned homes had lost them in the period 1931-1934.

Those who were able to retain the ownership of their homes were unable to meet their payments at the same rate as formerly. While about 1 per cent more were meeting payments on the principal at the time of the interviews and nearly 11 per cent more on the interest, those who were making payments on both principal and interest had decreased by nearly 26 per cent, and those who were making no payments had increased nearly 14 per cent.

The people under review seemed unable also to meet the payment on taxes and assessments. Before 1931 nearly 77 per cent had paid their taxes more or less regularly; since that time, only 63 per cent, a decrease of 14 per cent. Before

1931, 72 per cent had been able to meet their assessments; during 1931-1934, only 65 per cent, a decrease of 7.2 per hundred.

When we recall that the times were hard, that the coöperators were poor people, and that the self-help units made virtually no cash payments, it is remarkable that more than 75 per cent of the coöperators were able to make payments toward the houses they owned and thereby to retain ownership. The self-help units contributed to this end in two ways. First, by supplying some of the basic needs of their members on the basis of approximately a required sixteen-hour and an actual twenty-one hour work week, they freed the cooperators from that worry and gave them opportunity to earn from other sources. Second, the self-help units disseminated information, and encouraged and assisted their members in obtaining loans from the Federal Home Loan Bank. Whereas previous to the establishment of this service in 1934, 20.4 per cent of those having mortgages had applied to various sources for loans and only 1.5 per cent had received them, through the help of the coöperatives 54.4 per cent had applied for loans and, of those who applied, 46.1 per cent had actually received them.

VIII. GOOD HEALTH AND POOR

The health of all the unemployed has probably suffered some deterioration during the depression, but it is difficult to say just how much. One study finds that disabling illness in 1932 was 48 per cent higher among families having no employed wage earners than in families having full-time workers.[40] Another author states that "it has been estimated that in the United States by 1932 the health of one-fifth of the children had been impaired as a direct result of the depression."[41] Similar conditions seem to have obtained in California.[42]

In view of the fact that the coöperators were for the most part well along in age, averaging 52.7 years, and in view of the further fact that southern California in all likelihood has a large proportion of persons who have gone there for their health, it would seem that the coöperators interviewed would have been found generally in poor health.

Our findings seem to indicate that the persons under review were probably in better health than the general unemployed. The various health agencies to which inquiries were addressed by our investigators confirmed our findings. Two facts explain this condition. First, the more active and physically fit among the aged unemployed were more likely to find their way into the coöperatives than the ill,

[40] G. St. J. Perrot and Selwyn D. Collins, "Relation of Sickness to Income and Income Change in Ten Surveyed Communities," in United States Public Health Service, *Public Health Reports,* vol. 50 (Washington, D.C., 1935), p. 595.

[41] Karl Pribram, "Unemployment," *Ency. Soc. Sci.,* vol. 15 (New York, 1935), p. 148.

[42] See Margaret C. Klem, *Medical Care and Costs in California Families in Relation to Economic Status,* California State Relief Administration (San Francisco, 1935), pp. 9-16.

because the coöperatives demanded a definite amount of work per week, while those who were ill were more or less inevitably obliged to resort to County medical aid and therefore to relief. Second, the coöperators were in better health because of the plain, rough, vegetable diet they had to consume.

The reports of the coöperators themselves, plus the observations of the field investigators, reveal that nearly 29 per cent of the coöperators themselves (males and females), 53 per cent of their mates (males and females) , 86 per cent of the children, and nearly 71 per cent of all other members of the households asserted that they were in "excellent" or in "good" health. There was a difference between the males and females, including children and others; 68 per cent of all males and 65 per cent of all females reported themselves in "excellent" and "good" health. Averaging all percentages, it is found that 71 per cent of all members of the 1029 families said they were in "excellent" or "good" health.

Thirty persons, nearly 3 per cent of all those interrogated, said they had noticed a definite improvement in their own health and in that of their families between 1931 and 1934. When asked to account for this improvement, some stated that being forced to eat mostly vegetables since joining the coöperatives was the reason for it. Others attributed their "better" health to climate, some saying they had come to California for sunshine and had improved in health.

The data just given account for those who reported "excellent" or "good" health. On the other hand, there were about 1350 persons, 39 per cent of all the members of the households investigated, who reported "fair" or "poor" health. Table 17 records the diseases reported.

It was impossible to determine even with approximate accuracy what was the average length or the degree of illness of those who said they had been ill at some time in the preceding three years, 1931-1934. Some appeared to have been ill all the way from five to sixteen years; but the average was 28.4 months for the coöperators, 27.4 for the mates, 7.3 for the children, and 13.6 months for all others. These averages, however, are so large that no credence can be given them. Undoubtedly the interviewed either could not recall accurately or exaggerated the length or degree of illness.

When asked what they considered to be the reason for their present illness, they gave the replies shown in Table 18.

"Other causes" include a depressingly wide variety, all the way from lack of dental care, improper food, need of shoes, need of eyeglasses, general neglect, and old age, to a feeling of hopelessness, and inability to "do what we wanted." One old man had been deserted by his family; a woman had become ill over having lost her sewing machine; one old man, with three small children, felt himself so feeble and worried over the future that he could not keep well. Occasionally, one attributed ill health to the food he received from the unit.

But, running through the narration of the various causes of ill health, the coöperators themselves saw that it was mental anxiety and suffering that produced much of the physical sickness. "The main thing that has happened to us," remarked

Table 17. Illnesses in Coöperators' Households, 1931-1934

Kind of illness	No. of persons	Kind of illness	No. of persons
Influenza, colds, sinus, throat trouble	105	Chicken pox	17
Arthritis, neuritis, rheumatism, "back trouble"	98	Gallstones	16
Indigestion, colitis, stomach trouble	84	Tuberculosis	16
Heart trouble	69	Scarlet fever	13
Measles	60	Cancer	10
Bronchitis, tonsilitis	45	Deaf and dumb condition	10
High blood pressure	37	Anemia	9
Paralysis, infantile paralysis	36	Diabetes	9
Bladder and kidney trouble	33	"Female trouble"	8
Senility and general debility	33	Mumps	8
Nervousness, breakdown	33	Tumors	8
Hernia and rupture	32	Crippled condition	7
Appendicitis	31	Eye trouble	7
Pneumonia	29	Whooping cough	7
Asthma	27	Operation	6
		Varicose veins	6
		Tooth trouble	5
		Others	200
Total illnesses in coöperators' households 1114*			

*Including those reporting more than one disease.

one, "is mental. We have a number of worries, and our minds are uneasy, and that does not breed health." And it is in this, perhaps more than in anything else, that the self-help units have been a boon to their members. They have given those belonging to them just enough of an opportunity for self-support and self-employment to have relieved some of their mental distress.

IX. EDUCATION OF COÖPERATORS AND OF THEIR YOUNG

The coöperators' urgent concerns were to make a living, to keep a roof over their heads, to look after their health, and to attend to the duties of home and family. Like most people, however, they could not live by bread alone. Among other

Table 18. Cause of Present Illness as Given by 423 Coöperators

Cause of illness	Per cent
Insufficient food	25.3
Worry over finances	25.1
Inadequate clothing	18.7
Inadequate medical supplies	9.4
Inadequate medical care	8.4
Inadequate housing	8.1
Other causes	5.0
Total	100.0

interests education was quite prominent. They showed a concern over the degree to which they themselves had had schooling; they apologized for or explained their not having had advanced educational training; some boasted of having had "a good education"; others evaded questions about their own schooling and spoke of the education of their wives or children. Above all, most of them evinced a deep concern over the education of their children.

The coöperators and their mates under review seemed to stand somewhat higher educationally than the average of their corresponding school generation, that of 1890-1905.[43] More than 92 per cent of the cooperators and 95 per cent of their mates had had some schooling, whereas the education of the population of the United States as a whole, measured in terms of the literacy rate of 1900, was 89.3 per cent.[44]

The proportions who had or had not attended school are shown in Table 19. Nearly 8 per cent of all the coöperators had had no schooling whatsoever; more than half had attended only grammar school, about a fourth had attended high school, and nearly 10 per cent had had some college and university training.

Nearly all the mates, who for the most part were females and younger than the coöperators, had had more schooling than the coöperators. The mates showed a smaller proportion who had not attended school at all and higher percentages who had been graduated from grammar school and who had gone to high school. On the

[43] Since the coöperators average 52.7 years of age and their mates 49.1 years, they belong to the 1890-1905 school generation.

[44] United States Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Decennial Census of the United States: 1930. Abstract* (Washington, D.C., 1930), p. 275.

Table 19. Formal Education of Coöperators and Their Mates

	Coöperators		Mates	
Grade of school attended	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
No education	80	7.8	32	4.9
Grammar school (incomplete)	197	19.1	91	14.0
Grammar school (graduate)	384	37.3	261	40.3
High school (incomplete)	132	12.9	110	17.0
High school (graduate)	127	12.3	103	16.0
College (incomplete)	37	3.6	24	3.7
College (graduate)	52	5.0	19	3.0
University (graduate work)	13	1.3	5	0.8
No information	7	0.7	2	0.3
Total	1029	100.0	1029	100.0

other hand, the mates who had been graduated from college or had done university work recorded 2.6 per cent less than the coöperators.

The eighty coöperators and thirty-two mates who stated that they had had no schooling whatsoever were for the most part aged persons. Those who were relatively young seemed to have been subjected to especially unfavorable circumstances which had prevented their attending school. These included some foreign born and some Negroes. When asked why they had had no schooling, they gave various answers. Many had been brought up in conditions which did not afford school advantages; others had had to work from childhood; some were so old that in their youth they had had no chance for schooling: "Seventy-five years ago few boys or girls were given an opportunity for much education."

The coöperators who had attended only grammar school were frequently apologetic or evasive about it. Some resented being asked questions about schooling, as for example one who said that education was the only point on which he was touchy. Others who had scarcely attended school at all claimed "a good education." Some had hated school: "I wanted to do my studying by myself of subjects I liked. I studied and went to work for Ziegfeld." Others "had to stop because of poverty." One "was married so young"; another did not go far because her "father didn't believe in girls' going to school"; a fourth "quit school when I was in the second reader because the Indian Territory didn't have many schools." When asked about his wife, one man replied: "I don't remember how far my

wife went in school. She was a well-educated woman, though."And another blurted out: "Damned if I know about my wife. Guess she knows more than I do when it comes to arguing."

About 10 per cent of the cooperators and 7 per cent of the mates had had some college and university education, and a little over 6 per cent of the former and 4 per cent of the latter had been graduated. One coöperator had received an A.B. degree at the age of seventy-six from Penn College (Oskaloosa, Iowa); another reported having been a county superintendent of schools in a small community in Nebraska. One had attended law school; "but," he remarked, "two years in law school made me a misfit for other work."

Besides formal education, both coöperators and mates reported some supplementary training, ranging all the way from art and science to army training, from dressmaking and nursing to teaching, from machine-shop work and salesmanship to divinity courses. Included were courses in business and trade, agriculture, barbering, chiropody, dressmaking, mechanics, nursing, photography, telegraphy, radio, aviation, and similar work which fitted the person for a particular occupation. Ten coöperators mentioned art courses, such as painting, drama, music, or the like. In all, fifty-three different subjects are recorded, indicating that the coöperators were roughly "average" people with normal training and ambition but without opportunity for the exercise of them.

The mates recorded approximately the same proportion as the members, 6 per cent, as having had supplementary training. This consisted mainly of business courses and of cooking, sewing, and nursing. Seven mates had taken courses in art, literature, music, and foreign languages.

The education of the coöperators and their mates may have a bearing upon the interest which they took in the education of the children. It has already been stated that the coöperators displayed a deep concern over their children's future. A very few appeared to be disheartened and to see no prospect for their children. Most of them believed that the cloud would break. They also seemed to believe that schooling was one of the important elements in preparing their offspring for the future; so they were determined to do all they could to give their children educational advantages which they themselves had not enjoyed. Typical statements the coöperators made were: "We would like to have our children get more education"; "I want my boy to go as far in school as he can"; "I would like to send my boy to college"; "We are seeking some aid for our son's schooling; he has a brilliant scholastic record." Occasionally, however, someone remarked, "None of my children are ever going to college."

Fifty-six per cent of the 1029 households visited had children in them. The total number of children in these households was 1346, making an average of 2.3 children in the households in which there were children. The mean average age of all children was 15.6 years (see Table 20).

Table 20. Children in Coöperators' Households, by Age Groups

Age group	No.	Per cent
0-5	146	10.8
6-14	523	38.9
15-18	275	20.5
19-25	247	18.3
26 and over	155	11.5
Total	1346	100.0

As was to be expected, the amount of schooling of these children ranged from no schooling at all to college and university training. The complete picture of the schooling of all the children residing in the 578 households in question, by ages and grades, and the grade of schooling attained may be seen from Table 21.

Besides regular schooling, forty-five children had had or were having supplementary educational or quasi-educational training. Seventeen had taken or were taking courses in business colleges, five in dancing schools, five in gymnasium schools, and five in trade schools. The rest had had or were having training in agriculture, art, music, nursing, plumbing, and radio. The main emphasis in the education of the children, as in that of the parents, was on so-called practical training.

Table 21 indicates clearly that there were a few children who for their age were advanced in their schooling. Forty-nine of gradeschool age were in high school, two of high-school age were in college, and two of those of college age were in graduate school. The parents of these, like all parents, were proud of the achievements of their offspring. One father fairly strutted as he told of the athletic prowess of his family: "Our family is quite athletic. One of our sons received three athletic letters from high school last year. Another was captain of the University . . . water-polo team and was on the basketball team." Another father referred with pride to the fact that his son "studied two years at West Point." A mother mentioned that her daughter had received the Juillard Scholarship. Still another father commented that his boy had attained a grade of 97.3 throughout his university and business courses; then he added: "He was always studying something. He's a good boy and a smart one, if I do say so. I think you understand that, don't you? That boy's just naturally smart."

On the other hand, there were some children who were clearly retarded. Ten children of grade-school age had not started school at all and one was still in kindergarten; thirty-three of high-school age had never advanced beyond

Table 21. Children in Coöperators' Households, by Ages and School Grades Attained

Age group	No. of children	Kinder-garten	Grade school	High school	College or univ.	No. schooling	No record
0-5	146	17	. . .	. . .	. . .	129	. . .
6-14	523	1	461	49	. . .	10	2
15-18	275	. . .	33	237	2	1	2
19-25	247	. . .	28	193	23	2	1
26 and over	155	. . .	61	82	9	2	1
Total	1346	18	583	561	34	144	6
Percent	100.0	1.3	43.3	41.6	2.6	10.7	0.4

grade school, and one had no schooling; two of college age had no schooling at all, twenty-eight had only gone through grade school, and one hundred and ninety-three had not gone beyond high school. The parents of these gave various reasons for the retardation; they mentioned chiefly mental incapacity, physical handicaps, and economic difficulties.

The figures presented in Table 21 and the facts just mentioned regarding advanced and retarded children do not give a complete picture. While it is true that only thirteen children of school age had not attended school, there was a much larger proportion out of school at the time of the investigation and many who were attending irregularly. One hundred and twenty-two families, or 23.7 per cent of all the families in which there were children of school age, reported that their children were attending school irregularly. No attempt was made to determine the degree of irregularity. The reasons for it, as given by the parents, were as is shown in Table 22.

A number of other difficulties were reported in connection with school attendance. Thirty-one coöperators reported that their children had been subjected to the insults of their classmates on account of their parents' unemployment; 19 families averred that lack of necessaries had led to marked disobedience; 33 reported that their children's school work itself, apart from attendance, had suffered because of lack of basic necessaries; 104 stated that poverty made their children feel inferior to their more fortunate classmates; 331 especially stressed that their children had been insulted because their families belonged to the coöperatives, and that this in turn had given the children an inferiority feeling.

Taking a general view of the situation, it would seem that since the coöperators were barely eking out an existence, it is quite remarkable that they showed the

Table 22. Reasons for Irregular School Attendance

Reason	No. of families
Insufficient clothing	52
No money for carfare	23
No money for incidentals	20
Insufficient food	19
No money for tuition	19
No money for towel tickets	18
No money for school games	15
No money for school dances	10
Others	10
Total	186*

*Including those giving more than one reason for irregular attendance.

interest they did in their children's education.[45] Though their earnings were negligible and their lot was otherwise precarious, they still managed to make it possible for their children to get to school and obtain an education.

A word needs to be added with reference to the educational activities of the units and the extent to which these rendered a service to the coöperators and their families.

Generally speaking, the self-help coöperatives did not carry on systematic educational activities. This was as it should be, since there was no need for the units to undertake what was adequately provided by the community.

However, several units undertook some educational or semieducational activities, and a number of them collaborated with other agencies. Some units

[45] Though not immediately significant to our study, it may be noted that the total educational status of the children was considerably higher than that of the cooperators themselves. Of the 1194 children of school age or older concerning whom we have complete data, only 15 (1.26 per cent) had had no formal schooling, and 10 of these were in the 6-14 year age group. Of the 673 children fifteen years of age or older concerning whom we have complete data, only 5 (0.7 per cent) had had no formal schooling. On the other hand, 7.83 per cent of the parents had had no formal schooling whatsoever. This probably reflects the increasing insistence of the community on education in the present generation as contrasted with the generation of the coöperators themselves.

conducted lectures, provided libraries, formed literary clubs, and held classes on various subjects. These activities comprised but a small portion of the total of coöperative operations. The lectures covered subjects of a political, religious, or social nature, usually centering around some problem which affected the cooperators. Government representatives, politicians, professors, and others spoke at the meetings. Furthermore, the California State Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, distributed educational pamphlets to units; and "liberal" organizations, such as the End Poverty League, the Townsendites, and the Utopians used the coöperatives as one outlet for their printed matter. The Emergency Educational Project for a time provided classes in vocational and coöperative training. No data are available to us concerning the extent to which the coöperators took or did not take advantage of these opportunities.

X. COÖPERATORS AT PLAY

Although the coöperators' chief concern was to satisfy their basic economic wants, to care for their health, and look after the schooling of their children, they were also interested in recreation. This is to be expected, for "only when men are starving or in terror of their lives is there no gladness for anyone. . . . Men have striven no less to get pleasure than to win necessities."[46]

In recreational interest and activity, the cooperators fell into two main groups, namely, those who expressed no interest in recreation or who found an outlet in solitary or semisolitary activity, and those who enjoyed ordinary recreational activities.

The first group made up about 30 per cent of the total. Their remarks revealed that some were very old; some seemed to have led such an arduous life as not to know what play was like; it had been so long since some had played that they had forgotten; others had found the economic struggle so severe that they felt frustrated and indifferent to life. Perhaps nothing in our entire study is more revealing of the state of mind of many of the coöperators than their comments about recreation. We shall quote a few just as they were given. "Plenty to eat would be recreation to me"; "A chance to work would be recreation for me"; "It is so long since I have had any recreation, I wouldn't know what it was. All I know is dig and work"; "My pleasures are all gone"; "I am too old [73 years of age] to be interested"; "We are too tired."

Those who turned to solitary or semisolitary recreation also made revealing comments. "I take a walk," one stated. "If I had a thin dime I would go to a picture show." Another remarked, "I just play with my dog, he's my pal"; a third said, "I just run around and see the sights"; a fourth, "My garden is my recreation." A woman replied, "My baby is my recreation."

[46] A. G. Keller, *Man's Rough Road* (New York, 1932), pp. 419-420.

On the other hand, seven hundred and forty-four or 72 per cent of all the coöperators seemed to enjoy ordinary recreational activity. Their preferences are shown in Table 23.

Specifically, "social activities included dancing, card games, picnics and beach parties, athletic games, beer parties, camping, club work, gossiping, and sewing clubs." By the "theater" most of our informants meant the "movies"; a few specified the drama, concerts, and vaudevilles. Educational recreation included music, lectures, reading, study classes, literary clubs, debates, drama clubs, educational "movies," and sightseeing.

Under "sports," fishing headed the list and baseball came next. Other "sports" included hunting, swimming, tennis, hiking, football, auto races, aviation races, basketball, billiards, bowling, boxing, golf, gymnastics, horseback riding, horse racing, horseshoe pitching, physical culture, and soccer.

Thirteen regarded their religious activities as recreation, eleven specified church work, one Bible study, and one missionary work.

Sixty-one mentioned taking trips, motoring, travel, mountain climbing, and visiting parks as their recreation. Four indicated "work"; some mentioned "raising children," caring for a day nursery or helping other people, raising chickens, doing garden work, and "playing with the dog." All these recreations we have classed as "miscellaneous."

The extent to which the self-help units met the play needs of their members is to be appreciated from the fact that 57 per cent of the self-helpers interviewed reported that their units conducted some kind of recreational activity. The particulars are shown in Table 24.

Dances and picnics were the main recreational activities the coöperatives provided their members. These were conducted partly for money-making and partly for sheer recreation; some admitted only members, others the public;

Table 23. Types of Recreation Preferred by Coöperators

Type	No.	Per cent
"Social"	249	33.5
Theater	151	20.6
Education	148	19.8
Sports	122	16.3
Religious	13	1.7
Miscellaneous	61	8.1
Total	744	100.0

Table 24. Recreational Activities Conducted by Coöperatives

Activity	Per cent
Dances	43.9
Picnics, outings	19.1
Card parties	7.5
Dramas, plays, "shows"	6.0
Social clubs, "get togethers"	4.9
Lectures	2.3
Tickets to motion pictures	1.7
Other	7.6
No recreation conducted	7.0
Total	100.0

some were free, others required a fee; at some refreshments were served, at others nothing.

The coöperatives. therefore, afforded their members some recreational opportunities. These coincided closely with preferences expressed by the coöperators. For example, dances, the "movies," card parties, picnics, social clubs, and lectures were the chief means of diversion supplied by the coöperatives, and these were the very ones preferred by the members.

On the other hand, 42.5 per cent of the self-helpers under review stated that their units did not furnish any recreation whatsoever. These coöperators found their outlet in activities outside of the units, or went without.

One member, a college man, representing that small minority of the coöperators who were interested in social reform, would make the government responsible for all recreational activities. He advocated that a beginning should be made by establishing a wage scale so that: "even the lowest wage should allow a man to provide for his family in a normal way . . . allow enough so that every family could have an automobile and enough for its upkeep. This automobile would permit the family to have occasional outings and trips, and would keep up the morale and unity of the family in a way that seems to be almost forgotten. There should be centers established where games of all kinds, baseball, tennis, etc., would be open to all of the young people in a neighborhood; dance groups properly supervised should be established as weekly or semiweekly affairs."

Our data, then, indicate that the self-helpers were about average people so far as their recreation was concerned. As in the population as a whole, some,

particularly the aged, showed no interest in recreational activity, and those who did, resorted to solitary or semisolitary recreations. The larger proportion of those interviewed, however, evinced interest in ordinary recreations. And to satisfy these the self-help units conducted a variety of activities closely coinciding with the desires of their members.

XI. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

The coöperators studied fall into three major groups in respect to religious beliefs. First, there were those, 77 per cent of the total, who expressed confidence in religion and took part in religious activities. Second, those who seemed bewildered and skeptical and who expressed doubts regarding the existence of God and the uses of religion. "Would a charitable God," one member exclaimed, "contrive such a barbarous method of torture as to permit us and our children to starve while within the reach of plenty?" Third, there were those, a small minority, who definitely disclaimed religious belief.

As to church membership, more than 63 per cent were Protestants, nearly 13 per cent Roman Catholics, less than 1 per cent belonged to the Jewish, Occultist, and Theosophist faiths, and the remainder, nearly 23 per cent, had no church affiliation. The extent to which this church affiliation was or was not representative of the population of Los Angeles County may be seen from Table 25.

Table 25 reveals two interesting facts: first, the coöperators had a much larger proportion of church membership (77 per cent) than the population as a whole (30 per cent); and second, the coöperators registered a higher proportion of Protestants than did the general population. How may these be explained?

The larger ratio of church affiliation on the part of the coöperators is probably due to three facts. First, Los Angeles County contained a large number of transients and newcomers, who, though holding church membership elsewhere, were probably not registered as members in the local official list; the members of the coöperatives, on the other hand, had resided in Los Angeles County an average of twelve years, and probably belonged to churches in greater proportion. Second, while the Census figures include both young and old, the cooperators averaged 52.7 years of age and therefore probably belonged to churches in greater proportion. Third, the Census figures rest upon the actual records of the denominations, while those for the cooperators rest upon their own statement and it is not improbable that some cooperators reported themselves as members when in reality they were not on membership lists.

The second interesting fact shown by Table 25 is the relatively higher proportion of Protestants among the coöperators than in the population as a whole. This is explained, first, by the fact that the majority of the persons under review originated in the Middle West, which is predominantly Protestant; and, second, by the well-known fact that Roman Catholics and Jews care for their needy through

Table 25. Distribution of Church Membership, for Los Angeles County in 1926 and for Coöperators in 1934

	Los Angeles County		Coöperators	
Denomination	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Protestant	232,769	12.9	651	63.6
Roman Catholic	182,838	10.1	133	13.0
Jewish	73,710	4.0	4	0.4
All others	58,264	3.3	3	0.3
No affiliation	1,257,919	69.7	236	23.0
No information	. . . .	. . . .	2	0.0
Total	1,805,500	100.0	1029	100.0

Sources and remarks: See United States Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies, 1926,* Vol. I (Washington, D.C., 1930), table 32, pp. 583-584. As the Bureau of the Census takes a count of religious bodies but once every ten years, in the sixth year of the decade, no data for church membership in Los Angeles County are available after 1926. The item "All others" includes all minor sects. The "No affiliation" figure for Los Angeles County has been obtained by subtracting the total church membership for the County in 1926, as reported by *Religious Bodies,* from 1,805,500, the most conservative estimate of the total population for 1930. See Lewis A. Maverick, "Real Estate Activity in Los Angeles County, California" (mimeographed report, Los Angeles, 1933), p. 2.

their church bodies and therefore would naturally find their way into such organizations as the self-help coöperatives in smaller numbers, whereas the Protestants in the main let their members seek individual solutions, and this is precisely what the coöperators did.

The extent to which there was any decline in total church membership is brought out in Table 26.

The decline in reported church membership was slight. The Protestants and Catholics each registered a decline of 9.5 per cent in their respective memberships; the Jews, Occultists, and Theosophists showed no decline; while, on the other hand, there was an increase of 8.4 per cent among those not affiliated with any church or who professed no need of religion.

Table 27 presents the data on church attendance. From that table it may be seen: First, that approximately two-thirds of the coöperators and their families attended church either regularly or occasionally, and one-third did not. Second, the mates, who for the most part are females, show a higher attendance ratio than the coöperators themselves, who are mainly males. Third, the most significant fact the table brings out is that the children show the highest attendance rate,

Table 26. Church Membership of Coöperators Before and During Coöperative Membership

	Before coöperative membership		During coöperative membership	
Church	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Protestant	680	66.0	651	63.2
Catholic	140	13.6	133	13.0
Jewish	4	0.4	4	0.4
Occultists, Theosophists	3	0.3	3	0.3
No church affiliation	199	19.3	236	23.0
No information	3	0.4	2	0.1
Total	1029	100.0	1029	100.0

Note: No data are available for changes in church membership for Los Angeles County as a whole.

Table 27. Church Attendance of Coöperators and Members of Families

Members of households	Once a month or more (per cent)	Occasionally (per cent)	No attendance (per cent)
Coöperators	55.8	4.3	39.6*
Mates	61.1	3.6	35.3
Children	72.1	3.5	24.4
Others	61.2	3.0	35.8
Average per cent	62.5	3.6	34.0*

*Allowing 0.3 per cent for whom there is no information.

indicating perhaps that the coöperators were as much concerned over the religious training of their children as they were in other respects. The information the coöperators supplied about their church attendance before they had joined the coöperatives proved unreliable, so no comparison can be made. Likewise, their church attendance cannot be compared with that for the entire population, since no data for the latter are available.

Those not attending included persons who were not affiliated with churches, and those who though belonging to churches did not attend. When the latter were asked why they did not attend, they gave six reasons, namely, illness, lack of proper clothes, lack of money to put in the plate, lack of funds for transportation, reliance on radio church services, and displeasure with the church.

Some were ill themselves, as for example an aged man who had "trouble to get around and no means of transportation"; others were looking after someone else's sickness, as was the woman who was "too busy taking care of my paralytic husband to go to church." Some lamented their lack of "shoes or decent clothes to wear to church." Some kept away because "they haven't time for you in church unless you have money"; "the churches are always asking for money and I can't afford it." Inability to pay carfare was given by many as the reason for not attending: one man had lost his automobile in the depression and could not attend; another could not pay carfare, and, he emphatically added, "I'm in a Negro community and I'm not going to go to a Negro church." There were those who preferred to "worship at home" or to "listen to the church broadcast." Finally, there were a few who were disgruntled with the churches, as was a man who refused to attend church because "a crooked Sunday School superintendent stole a lot of money from my business and helped me to go broke."

Thus far we have accounted for church members. Those who were not members had increased by 3.5 per cent, or from 19.4 per cent before they joined the coöperatives to 22.9 per cent during coöperative membership. Some of these professed to belong to "all the churches," which clearly meant none; others said they were freethinkers, agnostics, or nonbelievers, although their comments usually reflected religious belief; some had "backslided"; still others professed to believe in the religion of "doing good," "doing the right thing," or "practicing the Golden Rule," and not in "church religion."

One man was a "firm believer in religion" but was "broad-minded"; a number had "given up the church long ago"; one no longer believed in "this hell-fire damnation stuff" which he had been taught in youth.

A dapper young man exclaimed: "I go to church with my lady friends. Shucks! I go to them all!" And another, "I go to church whenever there is a drinking party afterward."

In summary, the data reveal the coöperators as approximately average people in professed religious beliefs, church affiliation, and attendance. Their drifting away from the church was light. On the other hand, it would seem as if a distressed people such as the coöperators might have turned increasingly to the church for solace and comfort; but this is not borne out by our findings. The coöperators' first consideration was to satisfy their material wants, and most churches were not of assistance in this regard. The skepticism and bewilderment of all people in our times no doubt had some influence on the religious outlook of the coöperators. There were self-helpers who did belong to churches but could not attend, for the very practical reason that they could not afford it.

One qualitative fact not indicated in the foregoing analysis but definitely brought out by the investigation is that among the members of the self-help units there were a number who were "pillars" of the church. One man and two women were ordained ministers, several taught in Sunday schools, sang in the choir, or were otherwise active as church workers.

XII. COÖPERATORS AND THEIR POLITICS

Although the coöperatives as organizations do not engage in political activities, the factor of politics was significant for them from the very first. Since the number of persons directly or indirectly affiliated with the self-help organizations was appreciable, and since these organizations were neighborhood groups, ward politicians cast longing eyes toward them and dangled the question of public support before the leaders.

In political affiliation the coöperators differed but little from the rest of the population of Los Angeles County. Before entering the self-help organizations, 83.0 per cent of the coöperators belonged to the two main parties and, since joining, 82.9 per cent adhere to the two parties.

The data in Table 28 show, first, that the cooperators had shifted markedly from the Republican to the Democratic party. The shift toward Democratic ranks, however, was not peculiar to the coöperators. In the population of Los Angeles County as a whole, the Republican registration declined by 102,667, or from 636,089 on November 8, 1932, to 533,422 on November 6, 1934, a decrease of 16.1 per cent; while the Democratic registration increased by 174,412, or from 505,620 on November 8, 1932, to 680,032 on November 6, 1934, an increase of 34.5 per cent.

Second, Table 28 shows that the number of coöperators listed as Socialists decreased. This decrease, though based upon such small numbers, amounts to 33.3 per cent, and is significant when compared with the Socialist registration for Los Angeles County as a whole, which declined from 7589 on November 8, 1932, to 4627 on November 6, 1934, a decrease of 39.0 per cent.[47] This may be explained by the fact that many Socialists saw a greater promise of achieving their objectives through the Democratic party.

The change in the registration of the Prohibition and Commonwealth parties was slight, as was also that of the number of coöperators reporting themselves as nonpartisan.

It is especially worth noting that not a single one of the 1029 persons interviewed reported registration in the Communist party prior to entering the coöperatives, and only one was so registered since joining those groups.

[47] See California Department of State, *Statement of Vote at General Election on November 6, 1934* (Sacramento, 1934), pp. 3-4.

Table 28. Political Affiliation of Coöperators Before and During Coöperative Membership

	Before coöperative membership		During coöperative membership	
Political party	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Democratic	454	44.1	619	60.2
Republican	385	37.4	219	21.3
Socialist	21	2.0	14	1.4
Prohibition	7	0.7	5	0.5
Progressive	4	0.4	7	0.7
Commonwealth	2	0.2	5	0.4
Communist	. . . .	. . . .	1	0.1
Nonpartisan	137	13.3	140	13.6
Refused information	19	1.9	19	1.8
Total	1029	100.0	1029	100.0

It is clear, however, that most of the coöperators were of a progressive turn of mind. An analysis of their comments indicates that some, being in the grip of the general discontent, were ready to try anything new, anything which promised a "new deal"; others showed the influence of the Technocratic, the Utopian, the Townsend, and the Democratic movements. More particularly, the coöperators were, at the time of the investigation, under the influence of Upton Sinclair. Mr. Sinclair's "production for use" program was in many respects but an extension of the self-help movement and it was only natural that it should have evoked the support of the coöperators. A few did not mince words about the reason for their political stand. "Money has ruled long enough," remarked one; another, a Republican for forty-two years, said, "I have changed to Sinclair, as he can't do any worse than we have now."

The nonpartisans also were clearly of a liberal turn of mind, if we can judge from their remarks. Again and again they stated that they were free from party politics so that they could "vote for the man," "for the best man," and "never have to vote the straight ticket."

The foregoing data deal with affiliation; Table 29, below, gives the 1934 comparative vote registration of the total population of Los Angeles County (21 years of age and over) and that of the coöperators. This table indicates that almost 2 per cent more of the coöperators than of the general population were

Table 29. Comparative Vote Registration of Population of Los Angeles County and of Coöperators, 1934

	Los Angeles County		Coöperators	
Status of registration	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Registered	1,305,527	84.7	881	85.6
Nonregistered	235,247	15.3	139	13.6
No information	. . . .	. . . .	9	0.8
Total	1,540,774	100.0	1029	100.0

Source: California Department of State, *op. cit.,* p. 4, and United States Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Decennial Census of the United States: 1930,* Vol. III, pt. 1 (Washington, D.C., 1932), table 13, p. 252.

registered. However, it should be recalled that the coöperators were well along in years and therefore it should be expected that they should have a larger proportional registration.

As individuals, the coöperators were very active in the political campaign of 1934. The self-help units were passing through a period of great activity at the time, and the campaign was of particular significance to them. Upton Sinclair, a former Socialist, was nominated by the Democratic party for the governorship of California in the 1934 primaries, and Frank F. Merriam was nominated on the Republican ticket.

Sinclair's Epic (End Poverty in California) Plan[48] was based on the self-help idea. Mr. Sinclair carried on a vigorous campaign, advocating that the unemployed be given the opportunity to produce for their own use. He pointed to the work of the coöperatives and advocated that the self-helpers be aided with subsidies for land, factories, and raw materials in order that they might be able to make their own living and diminish the taxpayers' load. His crusade gave heart to the coöperators and made them feel that they had a great champion, a deliverer. The Epic campaign was so effective that Sinclair polled nearly one million votes in the gubernatorial election of November, 1934, and was defeated only by one of the most expensive and concerted efforts ever made against progressive elements in California. The results of this election on November 6, 1934, were as follows:[49]

[48] See Upton Sinclair, *I, Governor of California, and How I Ended Poverty* (Pasadena, 1934).

[49] Department of State of California, *op. cit.,* p. 300.

Frank F. Merriam (Republican)	1,138,620
Upton Sinclair (Democrat)	879,537
Raymond L. Haight (Commonwealth) (Progressive)	302,519
Sam Darcy (Communist)	5,826
Milen C. Dempster (Socialist)	2,947

Although it was impossible, for obvious reasons, to determine precisely what proportion of the coöperators actually voted for Mr. Sinclair, it is not unlikely that most of them did vote for him, since the larger proportion of the self-helpers were enrolled in the Democratic party. It must not be inferred, however, that the self-helpers were swept into the movement blindly; the remarks of some of them indicate that they were fairly discriminating. For example:

"I am going to vote for Sinclair, but do not know how he'll be able to carry out his project. It is a pretty big job, but it's certain that industry can't absorb the surplus labor power. Even the people that don't know where their next meal is coming from are believing it. They can't discriminate the true from the false."

"I don't approve of Sinclair. I think that he is shallow, and has a fascistic mind, but I am going to vote for him nevertheless because he is the best man running."

In summary, it may be said that while the coöperators showed a lively interest in politics, their party affiliation as well as their total registration indicated that they did not materially differ from the general population. The Epic Plan and the gubernatorial campaign of 1934 did bring into focus the self-help movement, but even then the self-helpers were quite discriminating. Local politicians attempted to involve the coöperators in pressure politics, but these efforts were unsuccessful and, though they no doubt did the self-help movement some damage, the coöperators steered their course quite sanely, managed to keep politics out of their units, and devoted themselves to the task of making a living.

XIII. WOULD COÖPERATORS LIKE TO SEE SELF-HELP CONTINUED?

In the preceding twelve sections we have examined the coöperators themselves and their activities. The analysis has aimed to discover the extent to which the coöperators were or were not a normal segment of the population and whether the self-help coöperatives afforded their members an opportunity to lead a relatively normal existence.

We shall conclude this part of our study by making a further inquiry, namely: Would the coöperators, in view of their experience in the coöperatives, have liked to see the self-help organizations continued, or disbanded? The answers to this question are classified in Table 30.

In analyzing the opinions classified in Table 30 it needs to be recalled that our findings relate to the latter part of 1934, when the self-help coöperatives were

Table 30. Coöperators' Opinions Regarding Continuance of Coöperatives

Opinion	No.	Per cent
Favorable	783	76.0
Opposed	204	19.9
Undecided	37	3.6
No data	5	0.5
Total	1029	100.0

experiencing great activity and evoking enthusiasm. Therefore, in all probability more members expressed a favorable opinion than they might have later. On the other hand, the ranks of the coöperatives still contained at that time many disgruntled individuals who spoke unequivocally against the coöperatives. In view of these two facts, Table 30 probably reflects quite accurately the opinions of the coöperators. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that some opinions, whether favorable or unfavorable to continuance, are clear-cut and emphatic, while others are mild or conditional.

Those who were favorable gave four reasons for wanting to see the self-help units continued, namely: these organizations are and will be a necessity; they are a means of avoiding charity; they are especially helpful to the aged, the deficient, and the indigent; and lastly, the self-help organizations would contribute toward the development of the coöperative movement and therefore to the solution of economic problems. We shall briefly examine and illustrate these opinions.

Those who believed that self-help or a similar device would be a necessity, were of the conviction that an increasing proportion of the working population would be constantly without ordinary employment. The coöperatives "will have to continue," one member remarked, because "lots of people will always need it"; or, as another put it, "this depression has nothing to do with the unit; many people will need the unit just the same." Others voiced the same opinion. "Under the capitalistic system the self-help coöperatives will have to continue," for "there is always unemployment."

The second group believed the units to be better than charity. "We are permitted to work for what we receive"; in them "you get a chance to work for what you receive, even if it isn't much"; anyone "would rather have work than help from the County." As "there are always bound to be folks out of work, the coöperatives sure beat charity," commented one; and another optimistically remarked that he would like to see the self-help units continued in order "to eliminate the necessity for all charity organizations."

The third group believed that the self-help organizations should be continued because they considered them especially suited to the needs of the aged, the handicapped, and the indigent. Some were convinced that with technological advance the aged would increasingly be discarded by private industry and business; and since these would be compelled to seek some means of sustenance, the coöperatives could provide that chance. "My age will prevent me from getting a regular job; the coöperatives will furnish a moderate amount of light work in exchange for food." It is true that "the Democratic slogan is 'A New Deal,' but there are no provisions made in this new deal for a man of my age." So the coöperatives are a necessity for the aged; in fact they are "wonderful things for old people who are unable to work elsewhere." Some considered the self-help units organizations especially suited to the needs of the handicapped, "the cripple," "the mentally deficient," and "for stupid people." Others felt that the coöperatives should continue because they are "very good for the poor people"; "such people as we always need it"; and "there will always be men in our circumstances that will need such help, the poor will always be with us."

Fourth, a small number favored continuance for a deeper reason. As one member put it, "We believe in production for use instead of profit." Several others gave the same reason in so nearly the same words as to suggest the existence of a slogan. The following is the comment of a manager:

"The coöperative idea is the only solution for a people when capital crowds men out and refuses to pay them what they earn, when a government destroys food, all because they want to keep the prices beyond what any of the poor pay today. The coöperative plan gives everyone work. It pays everyone. It exchanges articles of food, clothing, and other necessities and makes the getting of these things easier without having the high prices attached to some things that put them beyond the reach of all but a few."

On the other hand, there were those, about 20 per cent of the total, who favored discontinuance. It may well be that there would have been more, had some not feared that their position might become known by comrades. In any event, those favoring discontinuance gave three main reasons: the self-help coöperatives are not needed; they are badly or dishonestly managed; they kill initiative or otherwise injure those participating in them.

First, forty-seven of the interviewed believed that the self-help organization would not be needed when the "present" unemployment crisis should be over. Incidentally, most of the coöperators seemed firmly to believe that it would be over! And not only would there be no need of such organizations after the crisis, but they "can't be made a success in good times." Moreover, if "Sinclair is elected there will be no need of the coöp."

Second, some favored discontinuance because the units were badly or dishonestly managed. According to these, the coöperatives are "too haphazard," badly managed; there is "too much graft in them"; and a person "must bribe the man who hands out supplies ill order to get what he wants." "Those that are

profiting from it are the worthless type, including officials. managers, and truck drivers, whereas the common members are kept from getting regular jobs and are not being helped."

A third group advocated discontinuance because the self-help organizations would "kill ambition and initiative," make "men indolent and lazy," and turn "a lot of people into bums." Their headquarters had become "loafing places"; "everyone should be out working and independent from this type of organization."

Besides those who strongly favored or disfavored continuance, there were some, nearly 4 per cent of the total, who either were indifferent or qualified their answers. There were those who preferred "real work for wages"; those who would not be bothered with a self-help unit if they had "a regular job;" for "work with pay is best." The same thing was said so often as to lead to the conclusion that there was a body who regarded the coöperatives with the same abhorrence as they did charity. In fact, one man put it bluntly: "I don't want what they dole out. I'd rather get wages, buy my stuff, and get what I want."

On the other hand, a few qualified their answers by stressing the employment aspect of the matter. Whether the self-help organizations should be continued depended "on whether unemployed men can be absorbed in private industry." Moreover, if old-age pensions failed, then self-help should be continued.

Furthermore, some believed that the self-help units would perform a necessary function if they were properly handled, if placed under able management, if they could be run honestly and with equality for all members. If not, the coöperatives should be discontinued. Furthermore, the value of the self-help organizations depended, according to these opinions, upon whether everyone would work together, and perhaps even more upon whether "the people could do the type of work they were trained to do."

Still others emphasized the quantity or quality of the goods received. That is, they would favor the continuance of the self-help organizations if the units could work more systematically "with ranch owners for first-class vegetables," and thereby both the quality of the food be improved and the supply be made more stable. Moreover, staples were necessary, for men "cannot live on vegetables and fruits alone; they must have other foods."

A few would like to see the self-help units continue if the government would provide materials, or if they could achieve self-support. In any event, the coöperatives needed more money to work with and some money to afford the payment of some money wage.

Finally, some were sanguine in their praise. They were "strong" for the units. The units had been "lifesavers" for the deserving; they had "furnished food and work which people could not get anywhere else." The coöperatives were wonderful; they had built up and kept up the morale of the people. They were an economic, mental, and social help. They prevented a great deal of idleness and mischief. In fact, the units would "prevent revolution," and "if properly developed they would save the country."

The totality of these opinions seems to indicate that most of the persons interviewed were grateful to the self-help units for what they had done for them and would like to see them continued, for the public good as well as for their own. Those who opposed continuance sometimes betrayed personal animosity. All in all, the reasons advanced for continuance seem fairly cogent and valid. This is especially true of those who qualified their answers and made constructive suggestions for improvement.

XIV. DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZATION AND PRINCIPLES

The foregoing eleven sections have described the cooperators and their activities. The present section and the five next following, which together constitute the third part of this study, will consider certain aspects of self-help activity in Los Angeles County, through 1936.

First, as to the development of the organization, operation, and governing principles. The self-help organization has passed through four major phases, namely: (1) small-group barter and salvaging activity, (2) collective barter, (3) specialization within each unit and coördination between the various units, and (4) the beginning of production.

In the initial stage, the self-help coöperatives consisted of small groups, ordinarily made up of a dozen or so persons, banded together for the purpose of exchanging labor for goods. They had no formal organizations, no coördinating agencies, virtually no knowledge of each other, and no means of exchanging information, goods, services, or skills. These early groups engaged almost wholly in salvaging surplus goods, "seconds." or leftovers. For example, they gathered truck-garden produce which was not being harvested or marketed, giving a certain number of hours of labor in exchange for a given quantity of produce.

In time a systematization of activities occurred. As the number of persons in single groups increased, they began to form what came to be known as "units." This phase of development was accompanied by considerable enthusiasm and activity. Headquarters were secured, meetings were held, constitutions framed and adopted, officers chosen, managers and boards of directors elected, and depots established for the collection and distribution of goods. As time passed, the units further systematized their activities by adopting a "point" system which specified the number of hours of work necessary for securing a certain quantity of goods, and established a collective system for bartering with noncoöperative persons and groups. Again, division of labor gradually developed. Managers came to have more specific duties and authority. "Contact men" were appointed to go about the various localities, discover where work could be found, and make barter arrangements with the producers. Some of these contact men fell into disrepute and came to be known as "chiselers," because they seemed to have

brought undue pressure to bear upon producers and business people to induce the latter to "make" work or to "hand over" goods. Division of labor was applied to the members, some being assigned to headquarters work, some to gathering produce, some to transporting or sorting out the goods assembled, some to the commissary, the clothing department, and to various other jobs. Systematization also occurred with respect to the types of members. At first, the members were of two types: the "white slip" members, who were wholly dependent upon the self-help units and upon whatever other income they could earn elsewhere; and the "pink slip" members, who were getting some help from the County in the form of food, clothing, rent, and utilities, in addition to what they were getting from the units. In 1934 about 56 per cent of the entire self-help membership in Los Angeles County were "white slip" or nonrelief members and 44 per cent were "pink slip" or relief members. This distinction between "white slip" and "pink slip" members in time disappeared, since many of the self-help units came to be subsidized by the County, State, or Federal government.

As their number and membership increased, the self-help organizations entered into the third phase of their development, namely, that of specialization and coordination. The various units became more or less specialty centers, some salvaging mainly one kind of food or other goods, other units "producing" something else. Coördinating organizations also developed, such as the Unemployed Coöperative Distributing Association and California Coöperative Units, which exchanged information, goods, and services.

The fourth phase consisted in the development of production proper. In the early stages the units, having no resources of their own and being unable to obtain capital through salvage and barter, could not engage in primary production except through some outside help. The City and County governments, perceiving that the self-help coöperatives could be of material help in reducing the relief burden, did as early as August, 1932, begin to subsidize the units by furnishing food, staples, oil, gas, and other items which could not be obtained by barter. But that did not attack the basic problem. The self-help units had production possibilities; they could themselves produce certain goods if they but had the necessary raw materials and production tools. At this point the Federal government entered upon the scene; with the passing of the Wagner-Lewis Act in June, 1933, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration began to make grants to approved units for production purposes. The money supplied by the Federal government, used to purchase raw materials, necessary tools, and to rent idle farms or factories, gradually made it possible for the units to undertake production proper. This development became more and more marked, until by the close of 1936 a number of units were devoting themselves to specialized production, as may be seen from Tables 35 and 36, below.

It should be added that Federal policy did not permit the subsidized units to sell in the open market the goods produced under the grant. These goods

were "sold" to other coöperatives only, or to governmental relief or quasi-relief organizations, such as the Transient Service and the Civilian Conservation Corps, and to the State Relief Administration for the repayment of loans made by that body to the self-help units.

This fourfold development was neither uniform nor general. Most units, although primarily engaged in salvaging goods, carried on some production. Again, some specialized and others did not; some exchanged labor for goods, others engaged primarily in the exchange of services; some were under production grants, others were not; some were content with barter activities, while others were pushing forward into production; and nearly all units carried on more than one kind of activity simultaneously.

In the course of this development the self-help units also gradually adopted certain guiding principles. First, they emphasized self-reliance. They encouraged their members to maintain a spirit of self-respect, to refuse charity, to accept private or public aid only in return for services rendered. Some units even refrained from seeking governmental aid; in December, 1936, there were 55 units in Los Angeles County operating without grants.

The self-help units applied the principle of mutual aid. In the main, they admitted to their ranks only persons capable and willing to work coöperatively.

Nondiscrimination was the rule in most units. All persons willing to work and contribute to the common good were admitted regardless of race or nationality, economic or social status, religious or political affiliation. This does not mean that discrimination never existed, but it does mean that the units as organizations did strive to keep, and generally succeeded in keeping themselves free from racial, religious, or other prejudice.

The units adhered quite generally to the democratic principle. Each coöperator, regardless of his position, had only one vote. They also afforded equality of opportunity and support. They demanded from each according to his ability and gave to each according to his need. In actual practice this principle could not always be carried out; yet, by requiring work according to one's ability and providing support according to one's needs, the units managed to carry out this principle with reasonable success. Barring out favoritism or dishonesty, all received relatively equal returns for equal amounts of labor.[50]

Finally, the units governed themselves by the principle and practice of peaceful action. They petitioned for the things they needed rather than hurled threats, and seldom employed direct or indirect coercion. They peacefully devoted themselves to their attempt to wrest a living from an economic order which seemed to have no place for them; and by trial and error they succeeded in supporting themselves with a minimum of help from others.

[50] See Section V, p. 320.

XV. SALIENT PROBLEMS

The self-help coöperatives have had to deal with several major problems—among others, with the lack of prime resources; irregular supply, low quantity, and poor quality of consumers' goods; a relatively inefficient personnel in membership; a lack of system, and occupational misplacement; political interference; and inexpert management.

First, as to the lack of prime resources and equipment. The self-help units have had to rely upon such basic materials as they could secure in exchange for services. Such land as they have used has been "lent" by private owners or utilities companies,[51] with the result that they have had an insufficiency and insecurity in land. The same is true of all other basic materials. They have not had cloth with which to make clothing. leather to make shoes, cattle to produce milk, cheese, or butter, nor have they commanded the buildings, machinery, or other equipment needed in their work. They have had the man power, but not the materials. Some basic resources have been supplied by governmental subsidy; but even these have been limited.

Accordingly, the difficulty of providing consumers' goods has been acute. The units have managed to provide their members with some of the basic necessaries, but the supply has been nearly everywhere and at all times precarious. That has been particularly true of fresh foods. Whenever producers could not harvest their crops or market them at sufficiently profitable prices to warrant the paying of wages, they coöperated with the units. But repeatedly the amount of goods has been unstable and often even the more necessary commodities scarce. The members themselves frequently referred to this fan. "Supplies are undependable," remarked one member; "during the winter they were pretty good, but this summer things have been pretty slim." A second stated that he could not live without the unit, but, he added, "I am not getting enough food to keep up weight"; a third expressed appreciation of what the unit has done, "but my wife and I would starve on what we get up there."

Even when the supply has been sufficient, the quality has generally been poor. The bread was often two days old; the vegetables consisted of culls or discards, often near to decaying; the clothes and other goods were mainly castoffs. As the units strengthened their organization and procedure, the quality of foods, particularly meat and milk, improved; but even then the problem persisted.

One member put the matter as follows: "We do get a lot of vegetables, all we want, such as they are, but most of them aren't fit to eat. If a store were to sell such stuff, they would be prosecuted. Most of our vegetables come from the [X.Y.Z.] market. They buy a lot of this cheap stuff, and we go over it and sort it out. Some

[51] The coöperators, especially their managers, often expressed appreciation of the help they received from firms such as the Pacific Electric Company of Southern California, in being permitted to use idle tracts of land.

we can save, some we can't. . . . For our work we should receive something edible, instead of what we do get."

In the words of another: "We have been given vegetables of the poorest quality. . . . Some of the gardeners give us the vegetables they do not turn in to the markets, all culls, and when they reach the unit, many of them are unfit for human use; if vegetables are wilted it isn't worth accepting them, as it would only mean the trouble of carrying them home and finding a garbage place to deposit them."

Personnel difficulties have been perhaps even more striking than those of resources and consumers' supplies. As the coöperators were persons well along in years, averaging 52.7 years, as many of them were in poor health or handicapped, and others labored under the strain of frustration, it was only natural that difficulties should have arisen. But the extent of the trouble is perhaps hard to realize. Scores of members seem to have perceived that part of the difficulty of self-help inhered in themselves. "We are always quarreling." In one organization an amateur actor was "ready to fight at the drop of a hat"; in another, "the large number of handicapped members makes management very difficult"; in a third, "a faction pitches against the rest of the people and the unit has had three managers in the last two months"; in still another organization, "we have to have a new manager every six weeks." A manager put it succinctly: "Our hardest problem is to get a half-dozen people to see one thing the same way. You do everything under heaven for them and they think you are working against their good."

Part of this situation is related to another problem, namely, the lack of genuine cooperation among members and of systematic managerial procedure. Although some coöperators appeared to have had some coöperative experience in pioneering and farming activities, they seemed to have been subjected to the competitive system for so long that they could not help thinking and acting competitively. Promising individuals, especially relatively young persons, often left the self-help ranks when they had the least opportunity to undertake even temporary work outside, when it was these very persons who were needed to assure success. In many units there was "no intelligent system of work and wages," and members were obliged to go "from one organization to another in search of some unit that is run in an orderly manner."

There was also some uneven distribution of work and goods, and insufficient cash payments. One member struck at a basic principle of self-help when he objected to the system as one by which the members worked the same amount of time and then got different amounts of goods in proportion to the size of the family; and a bachelor could not see why the unit had not taken a single man or woman into consideration as much as the family person: "I get just as hungry as a man with four kids." Or, as another member stated: "We are asked to pay for our food supply in service; regardless of how much or how little food they give us, we must give them sixteen hours of genuine labor every week. There is no value whatever set upon our labor. There is no consideration of the quantity or quality of food supplied. During the past month I have had to give my required

sixteen hours weekly, and yet in return we have had no staples whatever on account of some difficulty at headquarters. Have they lessened our hours of service at the unit? Not at all; we must continue to give the required hours. What have we received in return? In short, the idea is good, very good, but . . . the present method is crude and unfair."

Furthermore, occupational misplacement prevailed in most units, especially in the early years. As pointed out in Section V, skilled persons were often put to work at common labor, and common laborers at quasi-skilled tasks. Carpenters, painters, and mechanics were placed at gathering or sorting out vegetables or at other unskilled work. And there was little or no exchange of skills between units. This lack of utilization and exchange of skills, though partly due to the relative youth of the coöperatives and to inexpert management, nevertheless made for inefficiency.

Besides these internal difficulties, these self-help coöperatives had to deal with politics. No sooner had the units begun to form than ward politicians began to look toward them with longing eyes. While members and managers were engaged in a life-and-death struggle to meet the urgent needs of their people, politicians did their utmost to manipulate the units. Radicals and liberals, on the one hand, stressing the difficulties the units were having in securing goods and the low standard of living their members were obliged to have, tried to drag the coöperatives into a demonstration of protest against the economic order in general. This activity, though not conducted by the coöperators, put the coöperatives in a false light, and gave the impression that the units were nests of radicalism and that they were seeking to overthrow the established order; when, as a matter of fact, they had scarcely enough vitality to keep going. The drawing of the self-help coöperatives into the gubernatorial campaign of 1934 was also unfortunate and probably retarded their development.[52] Conservative politicians, on the other hand, seeing the growing power of the coöperatives, percolated into the ranks, proffered assistance, and sought to manipulate the self-help governments to their own ends.

The problems specified above, however, were partly due to the newness of the organizations. Some of them were in a measure solved as improvement in procedure took place. The problem of materials and equipment, for example, was partly solved by subsidies of the Federal government; the units themselves in time accumulated capital and capital goods of their own, as will be seen from Section XVIII, below. The organizational structure was strengthened and labor displacement to a degree declined. Politics practically disappeared from the movement. The personnel problem continued to be a major source of trouble.

The problem of managers and management was so crucial that it is discussed separately in the following section.

[52] See Section XII, p. 351.

XVI. MANAGERS AND MANAGEMENT

The managers were probably the key to the success or failure of the self-help coöperatives. But as these organizations arose suddenly out of the depression, it would have been unreasonable to expect that the membership should always include specialists trained for managerial tasks. Furthermore, the units offered little or no inducement to capable persons with managerial training. Such persons are in too great demand for well-paid positions. This is probably the crux of the matter.

In order to determine what kind of persons were managing the units, a special study was made of 24 managers, constituting about 13 per cent of the 139 managers in Los Angeles County toward the close of the field investigation. The comments of the coöperators and reports of the field investigators have also been drawn upon.

The findings show that eighteen of the managers were American-born whites, four were Negroes, two were Mexicans; all were citizens of the United States. One was born in California. All of them had at the time been residents of California for five years or more. They were a little older than the coöperators, the former averaging 53.6 years, the latter 52.7 years. All but three were men. All but one were married and had children. The average size of their families was 2.9 persons, as contrasted with 3.3 for the coöperators' households. Nine owned their own houses, all of which were heavily mortgaged; three had owned their homes but had lost them in the course of the depression; the rest had never owned real property. Sixteen reported "excellent" or "good" health, eight were in "fair" or "poor" health.

Eleven managers were Republicans and nine were Democrats before joining the coöperatives, and they retained those affiliations; two were Republicans but had gone into the Democratic ranks; one had been and was still registered as an Independent; one declined to state his political affiliation. Nearly all had affiliated with the Utopian society when that organization arose. Fifteen were Protestants, five were Catholics; four were not connected with any church. Thirteen belonged to various "social" organizations, and eleven of these were members of the Masons or the Elks; eleven had no "social club" connections.

In all these respects, these managers showed significant deviations from the average coöperator. Moreover, they fell below the average in education. Of the twenty-four managers under review only two had a college training; seven had attended and one had completed high school; six had finished only grammar school; and seven had attended but not finished the grades; one declined to answer. Thus these managers did not quite come up to the average coöperator in education.[53]

[53] See Section IX, p. 337.

These managers had no special preparation for their work. They included one painter, a contractor, a carpenter, two salesmen, one saleswoman, an insurance agent, a storekeeper, a real-estate agent, an oil operator; one had owned a service station, one a grocery store, one a trucking, one a manufacturing, and one an upholstering business; three had been engineers, two teachers, one was a farmer, one a Community Chest worker, one a clergyman, and one a laborer.

This miscellany is partly explained by the fact that usually the managers were the originators of the units and therefore were self-elected. This, of course, indicates that they were persons of initiative and foresight, but that did not necessarily guarantee their efficiency as managers. As the units strengthened their organization, they made provisions for selection, but it still remains perfunctory. In fact, there were persons among the cooperators who had had managerial or near-managerial experience, but the units seem to have been unable to discover and to use them in that capacity.[54]

It has been pointed out that the principle of work according to one's ability and returns according to one's need prevails quite generally in the coöperatives. A departure was made with respect to the managers. The twenty-four managers under review had an average monthly income of $14.50, as contrasted with $10.88 for the coöperators, a difference of $3.62 per month. In addition, two-thirds of the managers had incomes higher than the average for the members. The difference is of course small, but it is sufficient to have led the members to accuse the managers of favoring themselves in the distribution of supplies and of opportunities for monetary earnings; especially because the managers' households were on the average smaller than those of the members, as pointed out above, the former averaging 2.9 and the latter 3.3 persons. On the other hand, as will be seen from Table 31, seven managers had returns less than the average for the coöperators. The tabulation, though of no statistical value, is interesting as an indication of individual variations in managers' incomes.

Upon examining the members' comments, it is found that the coöperators were as appreciative of the capable and honest managers as they were critical of the incapable and dishonest. One coöperator described the manager as sincere and capable, interested and eager to render every possible service to the members. "He often takes a truck to the agricultural areas for supplies and is generally very alert for chances to supply the commissary." Occasionally a manager was regarded favorably by nearly every member interviewed in his unit. Such was the case of one who, formerly a Community Chest worker, seems to have given the unit genuine leadership. One member voiced the sentiment of others: "He is a man of rare, great executive ability. While he is a man of very little education and very ordinary family, yet he has the spark of genius which achieves. He has wide knowledge of political situations and knows human nature."

[54] See Tables 6 p. 314 and 8, p. 321.

Table 31. Individual Monthly "Salary" of Twenty-Three Managers Interviewed

$27.86	$18.38	$13.77	$10.30
22.50	17.43	13.25	6.51
21.40	16.63	12.43	6.03
21.04	14.25	12.00	5.34
20.57	13.94	10.91	4.04
20.09	13.90	10.90	. . . .
Average $14.50			

On the other hand, most of the managers under review came under censure. Whether these criticisms really depicted the managers or merely reflected the character of the members themselves, is not always clear. However, the members' comments were, generally speaking, specific, impersonal, even considerate. Further, the same accusations occurred so frequently and were so independent in source, as to give them a degree of scientific accuracy. The field investigators tested most of the reports.

The managers were charged with four things, namely, using the units for ulterior purposes, being inefficient, practicing favoritism, and being dishonest.

The using of units for ulterior purposes did not occur often. Perhaps the most glaring instance was that of a clergywoman of a minor cult, who organized a unit, made herself the manager, and used the unit to "save souls." She was a vigorous, socially minded person, who, according to one member, did "everything in her power to bring happiness to everybody." She had turned her home into unit headquarters; and every Wednesday and Sunday she conducted religious services, after which the unit members filed into her kitchen, where she personally handed the supplies to them. "There has been much trouble [commented another member] because the manager insists on including religion with unit activities. One of her requirements is that every member of the unit shall be a member of her church and attend meetings to secure supplies. Some of the members object to this. The Reverend . . . has had a lot of trouble with the organizations which gave out supplies, as they will not permit religion and business to mix. So we have been actually without supplies of any kind for over eight weeks."

Unfair distribution of food seems to have been common, according to the members. The managers took the largest amount and the best quality of food for themselves and their friends and gave what was left to others. Some members also asserted that they had to sign receipts in advance for food which they did not receive.

Favoritism was also frequently charged against the managers. "The pets get the best of everything. Also they get the chance to get on the County sewing project, which pays fairly good money." The members were supposed to get tickets entitling them to vote if they had worked sixteen hours that week; but there were some managers who did not issue tickets to those not in accord with their politics. There were similar other accusations of partiality.

Many members accused their managers of selling supplies and "pocketing" the money or turning it to their friends. "A man must be low down when he will live off the donations intended for the down-and-outer. But such a class holds the managerial offices in our organization. We can get an accounting, of course, but it is worthless; facts are misrepresented. If a man is mean enough, he can practice petty graft and live in a fair degree of comfort."

The manager of one coördinating organization appears to have been notoriously dishonest, especially in his attempts to "sell out" the self-help organization to politics. The charge may have been exaggerated, but since many members and managers all over Los Angeles County spoke in no uncertain terms regarding the matter, there was probably some foundation for the complaint. He was accused of being a "petty politician" who was "trying to kill the coöperative plan." He was "crooked all the way through," and was making all he could out of the coöperatives while they lasted. "If what I've heard could be proved he would spend the rest of his life in San Quentin."

All in all, however, managers do not seem to be exceptionally inefficient or dishonest. They do lack training, some are not particularly capable, but the majority are at least enterprising. In fact, in view of the intricacy of their task, they have done their work competently and honestly. Not only do most of them work from sunup to sundown and often later, not only have they had to "make bricks without straw," to do without sufficient raw materials and tools, but also they have had to deal with a very difficult membership. Though they have no substantial remuneration[55] or recognition, they are the scapegoats. Some of the members themselves are objective and discriminating enough to recognize all this. One member comments: "At the unit headquarters we are all conscious of the strain. All this works on the mind of each one and the first thing we are arguing. . . . We're not satisfied with the way the manager does things. . . . He does nothing, he knows nothing. And then we begin to realize that we're under a strain and that the poor devil of a manager is worried also, that his family have wants unsatisfied, and we feel ashamed. This goes on day after day, criticizing, arguing, condemning, and then feeling sorry and apologizing and trying to reconstruct. I tell you things are in such a condition that we just can't think right; how to exist is so immediate a problem!"

[55] Under the Works Progress Administration, managers are on the upper salary scale.

XVII. TWO UNITS AT WORK

In view of the problems described in the two foregoing sections it is a wonder that the self-help coöperatives have survived at all. As a matter of fact, they not only have survived, but have shown tenacity and resourcefulness. There are both grant and nongrant units which, despite the difficulties, have succeeded quite well.

Since it is impossible to describe in detail even a few units, we shall give a detailed picture of only two, namely, the Santa Monica Unemployed Citizens' League, Unit No. 239, a nongrant organization, and the Huntington Park Unit, No. X-3, a grant organization. These two organizations are not in a strict sense "typical," since the self-help units vary so greatly that it cannot be said which are or are not typical. The two units described, in fact, are among the more successful; they are selected for detailed description because the size of their activity affords an opportunity to get a glimpse of the actual working of these organizations.

Unemployed Citizens' League of Santa Monica, Unit No. 239

The Unemployed Citizens' League of Santa Monica is a nongrant unit. It was organized in July, 1932, by one hundred persons. In June, 1933, it had five hundred members; in June, 1934, three hundred; in June, 1935, two hundred and fifty, and in December, 1936, one hundred and ninety-five members. These figures account for only current active members, that is, those members who during a given month met the minimum work requirements of fifty hours per month and received the regular benefits. The total number of registrations, including the active members and those who lapsed into inactive membership, totaled approximately three thousand from July, 1932, to December, 1936.

The unit is operated under a Board of Directors consisting of its main officers (the President, Vice-President, Executive Secretary, and Auditor) and nine members elected from the membership.

The unit is situated in Santa Monica, California, a city predominantly residential. It occupies a corner five-acre plot four blocks from the business center in a quasi-industrial district, the site having been lent by the Patten-Blinn Lumber Company![56]

The unit carries on its operations in a series of frame buildings, formerly lumber sheds, forming a quadrangle on the four sides of the plot. The entrance, on the northeast corner, leads directly into a long building in which are, first, a modestly furnished office, next the commissary, then the clothing shop, the

[56] The Company has not requested, nor has it received, exemption from taxes for this service.

milk-supply room, and finally a storeroom. In the other buildings are an auto-repair shop, a fish-processing plant, a mechanical workshop, a storeroom for salvaged paper and bottles, a shoe-repair shop, a furniture and stove-repair room, a clothing-renovating establishment, and in a one-room cottage are the barber shop and the library. Within the quadrangle formed by the buildings is a roadway on all four sides, and within the roadway lies a three-acre plot on which are a truck garden, a power saw, and a stack of firewood. Diagonally across the street from this main block is a separate building, used as the dining and entertainment hall. This building is lent by a local owner, who also lets the unit use a small residence next door as living quarters for its unattached men.

The unit carries on a variety of production or quasi-production activities. Since it is close to the Pacific Ocean, one of its chief activities is *fish production.* The organization owns two motor boats, purchased with cash. These are operated by a dozen men, who bring in a haul of as much as a thousand pounds a day when the fish are "running good." A portion of the fish is distributed for immediate consumption, some goes to the mess hall, some is dispensed to the members for home consumption, some is sent to the County Rehabilitation Department to be exchanged for vegetables or other goods, and some is peddled in Santa Monica and near-by communities. The fish which is not needed for immediate consumption is smoked, pickled, or dried, and stored for future use. The unit maintains its own properly inspected and approved fish plant, in which it conducts these operations. From July, 1932, to the end of April, 1936, the Santa Monica unit produced sixty-five tons of fish.

The unit obtains *dairy products* for its members by barter. It supplies the labor of two of its members, in alternating shifts, to the Edgemar Creamery, and two to the Santa Monica Creamery, both commercial dairies. In return the unit receives a daily average of one hundred and twenty quarts of milk, chocolate milk, and buttermilk, twenty pounds of cottage cheese, and, during the season, about ten gallons of orange juice. The unit has a huge ice chest, the ice being supplied by the Union Ice Company, from which it dispenses these dairy products to the members each day from 4:00 to 5:00 P.M. During the four and one-half year period, July, 1932-December, 1936, the unit dispensed thirty-four thousand gallons of milk and buttermilk and three thousand pounds of cottage cheese.

Bread is obtained by a similar barter arrangement with the Continental Baking Company, a local bakery. The unit supplies five or six men or women in alternating shifts, and in return it receives about three thousand pounds of day-old bread daily. From July, 1932, to December, 1936, the unit distributed a total (estimated) of 305,000 pounds of bread.

The unit produces a limited amount of *vegetables.* Between July, 1932, and April, 1936, the Santa Monica organization operated a twenty-acre truck-garden plot, lent to it by a private owner, on which it raised an estimated 1,000,000 pounds of vegetables during that period. This truck-garden operation was discontinued when the land was taken over by the State Emergency Relief

Figure 6. Santa Monica Unemployed Citizens' League exchanges labor for fruit with the College of Agriculture, University of California at Los Angeles.

Administration. Since April, 1936, the unit has operated only the three-acre plot mentioned above, situated within the main compound, where it raises a limited amount of cabbage, onions, carrots, radishes, turnips, and tomatoes. The other and more substantial vegetable supplies, such as potatoes, it obtains mainly by bartering fish or other goods with the County Rehabilitation Department. Some of these vegetables are canned; approximately 10,000 containers of vegetables or fruit and 65 barrels of sauerkraut were put up from July, 1932, to December, 1936. From July, 1932, to December, 1936, the unit distributed 2,500,000 pounds of vegetables.

Fruit is obtained from two main sources: from the College of Agriculture on the Los Angeles campus of the University of California, in return for partly caring for the ten-acre grounds and the trees of its experimental citrus plot (see Figure 6); and from the owner of an eighty-acre lemon grove near by, a source which was later cut off. The unit distributed 500,000 pounds of fruit during the period mentioned above.

The food is partly dispensed in the form of *meals*. The unit maintains a cook and three helpers. The dining room seats 115 persons. Meals are served three times a day, to an average, in 1936. of 110 persons daily. The following are typical menus.

Breakfast

Hot Cakes Toast Cereal Coffee

Dinner

Hamburger Loaf with Tomato Sauce
Boiled Potatoes Boiled Cabbage
Cottage Cheese Bread and Butter
Coffee

Supper

Hamburger Patties
Hashed Browned Potatoes Bread and Butter
Coffee or Buttermilk

When supplies are available, fruit and jam are added to breakfast, the vegetables are changed, and fish or other kinds of fresh meat are served. During the fifty-one months from October, 1932, to December, 1936, the unit served 154,000 meals, at an average outlay (goods obtained through barter excluded) of two cents per meal.

Food is also dispensed daily for *home consumption*. From July, 1932, to December, 1936. the unit distributed 3,305,500 pounds of bread, fruit, and vegetables, 34,000 gallons of milk, and 3000 pounds of cottage cheese. The unit, since its inception, has supplied food for home consumption amounting to about 554,000 meals.

The Santa Monica unit maintains also a *clothes-cleaning and renovating* department, which not only serves its members, but also makes articles for cash sales. Between July, 1932, and December, 1936, the unit made and sold 150 rugs, 100 comforters, and 100 quilts.

The *shoe-repair and cabinet-repair* shop serves members only.

Sleeping accommodations are provided on the second story of one of the headquarters buildings, in a large tent on the grounds, and in a small house across the street. These accommodate about forty persons, usually men without homes. All other members live in their own homes, within a short distance of the unit.

The unit maintains a *garage*, which employs two mechanics and is equipped to take care of all but a few major repairs. Members' cars receive first attention. The mechanics retain the full amount they receive for outside work, which sometimes amounts to $10 or more per week for each. The garage takes care of more than a score of cars and trucks weekly, besides two motorboats and nonmember cars.

The unit runs a small *library* and *barber shop,* both of which are housed in a one-room cottage. Some 3000 books and periodicals, all of which are gifts to the unit, are available for circulation among the members. The book and magazine circulation amounts to about 700 monthly. The barber shop provides about 200 haircuts per month to the members and their families.

The *health* of the members is cared for through labor exchange with the medical and dental professions. The unit also makes arrangements for hospitalization, especially for women during childbirth and for accident cases. Similar arrangements are made for *legal* needs.

The *employment bureau* attempts to find steady or part-time work for the members, thereby affording them an opportunity to supplement what they receive from the unit with cash income from other sources. These jobs usually consist of cleaning, gardening, and similar work in private homes; they ordinarily pay 40 to 50 cents an hour; the members retain all except approximately 10 per cent, which goes into the unit treasury.

For the recreational needs of its members, the unit has about twice a month and on special occasions free concerts, dances, drama, and lectures. Two dances have been held in the Municipal Hall. One of these, at which the late Will Rogers acted as master of ceremonies, yielded $1000 net. Tickets to motion pictures are obtained through barter or other arrangements with local moving-picture theatres.

The foregoing description clearly indicates that the Santa Monica Unemployed Citizens' League relies largely upon barter. It should be noted that some of this barter activity is *large-scale* or more or less *long-term.* In the spring of 1935 the unit "contracted" with the City of Santa Monica to supply laborers toward the construction of the Municipal Ball Park, in return for which the City gave the unit $800 in grocery orders. The unit has also a permanent arrangement, already mentioned, with the University of California by which it cares for the University's experimental citrus-fruit orchard on the Los Angeles campus and in return receives fruit and wood which the orchard yields; with dairy and bakery private concerns for the milk and bread it needs; and with individual units and with the County Rehabilitation Department for the exchange of fresh and smoked fish for vegetables.

Besides direct barter, the Santa Monica Unemployed Citizens' League conducts certain *cash-producing activities.* The salvage department collects *old papers* and sells the clean, single sheets to vegetable markets at $13 per ton, and the crushed and soiled paper to junk dealers at $6 to $8 per ton. Old bottles and junk are also collected and sold.

Another source of cash revenue is *firewood*. Members of the unit, equipped with two power saws, axes, and wedges, have obtained firewood from wrecked buildings, such as those of the old Fox Studios, from trees condemned by the City of Santa Monica, and from other sources. In this manner the unit "produced" 100,000 feet of lumber, 1200 loads of kindling wood, and 1000 cords

of fireplace wood during the period July, 1932-July, 1936. Most of this was sold for cash and yielded $2600 during that period.

The unit derives additional cash from the sale of fresh *fish,* and *sewing-room products,* such as rugs, quilts, and comforters, from the fees paid into the *Employment Bureau,* and from benefit *dances and picnics.*

By these various means the Santa Monica unit obtains a cash income of approximately $130 per month, a total of $7040 for the entire period of its operation. The cash expenditures for all purposes, mostly to purchase raw materials and equipment and to meet expenses not met by direct barter, amounted to $6,896.48, thus leaving a net balance in December, 1936, of $143.52.

From time to time the unit receives outright gifts from both private and public sources. These include the use of the land on which it operates by the Patten-Blinn Lumber Company, free utility service by the Santa Monica Gas and Light Company, some financial aid by the City of Santa Monica, monthly allotments of gasoline by the State Relief Administration for use of members' cars, and miscellaneous small donations from various sources.

The unit was obliged to discontinue two activities. One of these was the Coöperative Retail Store, operated from February, 1935, to December, 1935, which had to be abandoned chiefly for lack of funds to build up a stock of staple supplies, and inability to obtain a competent manager. The rabbitry, which the unit operated from the winter of 1933 to the fall of 1934, was also abandoned on account of inability to find a competent manager.

Through these activities, the Santa Monica Unemployed Citizens' League supplied the basic needs of an average of approximately 300 families (about 1000 persons) during the four and one-half years of its operation. Starting from scratch, by means of barter and without handling much cash, it has been able to "produce" needed goods and services without conflicting with established enterprises, since its members command virtually no purchasing power.

Huntington Park Unit No. X-3

The Huntington Park Unit No. X-3 is a grant organization. It is situated at 2859 East Slauson Avenue, Los Angeles, a section predominantly industrial but close to a truck-gardening district. It is housed in a sheet-metal, single-story building, formerly a garage, about 45 by 120 feet. The unit has also used an adjoining plot of 50 by 150 feet, lent to it by the private owner.

The membership of this unit has throughout its operation been comparatively small, averaging approximately 70 active members. Three-quarters of the membership has consisted of men. The age of its members, except for half a dozen, ranged from 50 to 7.1 years to the close of 1936, the average age being approximately 55 years for the entire membership. The majority of these persons were, prior to their joining the coöperative, industrial workers, construction laborers, and farmers.

The direction of the Huntington Park unit is in the hands of a business manager, who arranges for and supervises the salvage, barter, and labor-exchange operations of the unit. He is assisted by an office manager, in charge of accounting and executive supervision of activities at the headquarters, and a part-time office helper. Under the terms of the Federal grant, the business manager, the office manager, and the ten key workers in charge of the unit project have been paid salaries under the Works Progress Administration, ranging from $65 to $94 per month.

The Huntington Park unit has been in operation since 1932, during the first two years as a nongrant organization. In the summer of 1934 it received from the Federal government an original grant of $5000 to be used for the purchase of equipment on self-liquidating projects. By July, 1936. it had expended $725 of this sum, but by December, 1936, it had used most of the balance in the construction of an oil-reclamation plant. Since the original grant, it received no further assistance from the government, except the payment, during the two years 1934-1936, of the wages of the managers and key workers mentioned above.

All work (except that of Works Progress Administration key personnel) is done on the credit-point basis, 60 credit points being given for each hour of work and each point carrying the value of one cent. Each active member is required to work a minimum of 64 hours a month, or a total of 3840 points, in return for which he receives a good portion of the basic goods and services needed. It is usual for the members to have a surplus of credits at all times.

The Huntington Park unit specializes in the production of *bakery goods.* The baking equipment, purchased with Federal grant funds at a price of $317, is operated by two members. During the April-May-June, 1936, quarter, this unit "sold" to its members and other units 2827 loaves of bread at seven cents each, 3051 doughnuts at 14 cents and 18 cents a dozen, 94 pies at ten cents each (plus 10 credit-exchange points), 75 dozen cookies at five cents a dozen, and 600 dozen cupcakes at ten cents a dozen (plus ten credit-exchange points).

The unit maintains a commissary for the daily distribution of staple foods and canned goods, fresh fruits, and vegetables. Five fifteen-foot shelves, filled every morning, are left with a small stock at the close of the day. The products are either produced by the unit or are purchased ordinarily from the Consumers' Wholesale Coöperative Warehouse. Occasionally goods are purchased in the open market.

In addition, the unit operates 12 vegetable *gardens* on land near by, the property being obtained through labor exchange. During the April-May-June, 1936, quarter, these gardens produced 27,134 pounds of vegetables, chiefly potatoes, squash, corn, beets, turnips, cucumbers, tomatoes, and carrots. As the unit produced more of these goods than was needed by its members, the surplus vegetables were "sold" to the State Relief Administration or exchanged with other units.

The unit maintains a *kitchen* and *dining room,* operated by a cook and helper. It serves one meal a day—at noon—to an average of 30 members, the charge for each meal being 50 credit points. The total of meals served during the second

quarter of 1936 was 2668. This unit conducts a small *shoe-repair* shop, handling about 100 pairs of shoes per month; and a single-chair *barber shop* which gives 80 or 90 haircuts each month.

The unit conducts a number of other "production" activities. One of the most active of these is the *sewing* project. It employs nine persons, including the supervisor, and makes clothes, comforters, rugs, and the like, for the use of its members. No surpluses of clothes are available for exchange or sale. The total value of the production of this project during the second quarter of 1936 was $398.66.

This unit also carries on a *salvage* and *wrecking* department, the principal activity of which consists in the salvaging and selling of firewood, rags, roof tiles, paper, and miscellaneous objects. The income from the sale of firewood alone during the second quarter of 1936 was $456.

The *transportation* and *garage* project employs a manager, an assistant, and a mechanic. The unit owns five trucks, three of which are utilized for unit work (chiefly salvage), and the other two for general hauling service at $1.50 and $2 per hour, with driver. The unit purchases gasoline from local dealers, at a discount, and sells it to its members; it sells about 900 gallons per month to its members. The garage does repair work for the members and outsiders.

The Huntington Park unit owns an *oil-reclamation* plant, representing an investment of $1000 and having a capacity of 300 gallons a day. It reclaims old oil, refines it into first-grade quality at a cost of about 23 cents per gallon, and sells it at 30 cents a gallon wholesale.

The unit has had an arrangement with the City of Huntington Park by which the unit has supplied laborers for street repair or construction. The city pays $4 a day for each man; $2 of this is retained by the worker and $2 goes into the unit treasury. The worker, however, gets a credit of 400 points additional for each day's earnings, with which he "purchases" goods from the unit. The income from this source has varied greatly; during the quarterly period April-May-June, 1936, it totaled $937.75.

From the description just given it will be seen that all the activities conducted by this unit, namely, salvage of wood and brick, truck and hauling service, street-cleaning labor, and oil reclamation, produce a certain amount of cash. During the first six months of 1936 it earned a total of $6,530.37 in cash through these various activities.

During the first two years that it operated under Federal grant, the Huntington Park unit produced and distributed to its members goods or services amounting in retail value to approximately $60,000. Almost exactly one-third of this was in cash. The year 1936 ran somewhat higher than the two-year average, showing a total of $35,000 in benefits for the first six months.

The total normal overhead expenses in operating this unit were about $250 per month, divided as follows; rentals of property, $57.50; utilities, office, and other operating expenses, $92.50; miscellaneous salaries to cook, night watchman, and office helper, $100 monthly.

XVIII. SAVINGS TO TAXPAYERS

The foregoing sections have brought out that the self-help organizations have utilized a substantial amount of labor and goods which in all probability would otherwise have gone to waste; they have given their members an opportunity to keep occupied and thereby to maintain their morale; and they have made it possible for a substantial body of persons to supply a portion of their basic necessities by their own effort and thereby to keep their self-respect.

These advantages, however, have accrued mainly to individuals. The question arises whether the self-help organizations have also contributed toward the solution of any social problem; particularly, whether they have reduced relief costs. Undoubtedly there are those who will evaluate the coöperatives, will foster or hinder them, primarily on the basis of their possible savings to the community.

But the question of savings is not easy to answer. Pertinent statistical and other data are almost nonexistent; and the meager data that do exist are not strictly comparable: some being yearly figures, some semiyearly; some covering grant units alone, others the nongrant. The making of an estimate, therefore, presents difficulties. Notwithstanding these, the computation is attempted, and to achieve accuracy the following facts and principles are applied.

First, we accept the supposition of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and of the California State Relief Administration that coöperators who are eligible but who did not apply for relief would in all likelihood have been forced to seek public relief, had it not been for the coöperatives. The State Relief Administration's requirements were so stringent that to be eligible a person must have been practically destitute.

Second, we accept the testimonies of the coöperators themselves that they would have been obliged to turn to charity had it not been for the coöperatives. These testimonies are supported by the fact that many of the persons involved were above forty-five years of age and therefore were almost completely shut out of industry and business; that they had no available resources, and had no relatives to care for them—itself a condition of relief eligibility. Therefore, most of them would probably have been obliged to turn to public or private relief had it not been for the coöperatives. It is not impossible, of course, that a small percentage would have found some other means to avoid public aid; but such a supposition is conjectural, and if accepted would make deductions other than those already made in these estimates purely discretionary.

Third, as a precaution against overstatement, use is made of the most conservative figures available concerning number of persons affected, average relief budgets, variations in prices, costs, and so forth. Full weight has also been given to the suggestions of the Los Angeles County Relief Administration, the

Department of Rehabilitation, and the Division of Self-help Coöperative Service. Finally, the figures have been checked by competent statisticians.

Table 32 presents the computations relative to the gross relief savings made by the self-help coöperatives to Los Angeles County during the year 1934. It gives an estimate of the number of coöperative members who were eligible for, but did not receive, public relief; it multiplies this number by an item representing the average family budget of the county for families of the size of the coöperators' households; and adds the per-family cost which the county or other governmental units would have had to bear had not the coöperatives cared for these families. The result shows an average gross monthly saving of $139,601.28 and an annual gross saving of $1,675,215.36.

Table 33 lists the cost to the public of the self-help coöperatives in Los Angeles County. These expenditures include Federal Emergency Relief Administration grants, administrative costs, value of surplus relief commodities issued to coöperators, gasoline and oil, and foodstuffs furnished by the State and County relief agencies for the support of the coöperative units in Los Angeles County. These figures show an average monthly expenditure of $21,752.92, or an expenditure of $261,035.04 for the year 1934.

Table 34 presents a summary statement of the net savings, by subtracting the cost (Table 33) from the estimated gross savings (Table 32). This shows that the self-help organizations, according to these calculations, saved Los Angeles County the sum of $1,414,180.32 for the year 1934.

It should be stressed that the figures given in Tables 32-34 are for 1934. During that year, coöperative membership reached a high point and the savings in relief costs effected by the coöperatives probably attained the peak. Since that year, coöperative membership has declined from the average of 10,000 in 1934 to an average of about 4500 in 1936 (3500 in December, 1936.) The proportion of coöperators' families eligible for but not receiving relief has also decreased, from 68.0 per cent in 1934 to 25.2 per cent in 1936.[57] This results from the fact that eligibility requirements for resident relief have been greatly raised in 1936 and such groups as transients, eligible for relief in 1934, have been declared ineligible. Further, improved relief budgets during 1935 and 1936 have drawn a greater proportion of those eligible into the ranks of public relief agencies. And, finally, certain "key workers" in some grant units have, since 1935, been paid salaries by the Works Progress Administration.

For all these reasons, the savings effected by the self-help organizations have undoubtedly greatly decreased. Notwithstanding this decrease, however, the self-help coöperatives have continued to produce substantial savings. The

[57] See California State Emergency Relief Administration, *Social Service Survey of Coöperatives to Determine Eligibility for Relief, December, 1936, and January, 1937* (1937).

Table 32. Gross Savings to Taxpayers Made by Self-help Coöperatives in Los Angeles County, 1934

1. Average monthly number of coöperative families not receiving aid from Los Angeles County	3,808
Exact average coöperative membership per month for 1934 in Los Angeles County is not known. It is known that in February, 1933, it was 27,300, in June, 1934, 14,000, and in December, 1934, 7,758. Taking the median rate of decline between these dates, we arrive at the figure of 10,000 as the conservative per-month membership. Since 44 per cent of coöperative families were found to be receiving relief from the County and 18 percent were not eligible for relief, we subtract 4,400 (44 per cent) and 1,792 (18 per cent) from the interpolated figure of 10,000 and arrive at 3,808 (38 per cent) as the number of coöperative families which were eligible for but did not receive relief from the County.*	
2. Total relief-case cost per family (items *a* and *b* below)	$36.66
a. Exact average monthly relief budget for 1934 is not known. The basic relief budget of the Los Angeles County Department of Charities in June, 1934, was: for 4-member family, $35.54; for 3-member family, $28.44. Since budget was raised during latter part of 1934, these budgets are conservative when applied to the whole of 1934. Also, the figures do not include cost of surplus food and clothing issued to relief clients. From the figures as given, however, we compute the basic budget for 3.38-member family (average for coöperators) to be $31.02.	
b. Administrative-cost data for 1934 not available. Finance Division estimated per-case cost was 15 per cent higher in 1934 than in 1935. To arrive at conservative estimate, the June-December, 1935, average per-case administrative cost† is adopted for 1934. This was $5.64.	
3. Gross savings per month (item 1 multiplied by item 2)	$139.601.28
Gross savings for 1934 (item 3 multiplied by 12 months)	$1,675,215.36

*See California State Emergency Relief Administration, Special Programs Division, *Relief Status of Members of Self-help Coöperatives, Circular Letter No. 191, March 25, 1935* (Sacramento, 1935).

†Los Angeles County Relief Administration, Finance Division, *Comparative Analysis of Relief Disbursements and Administrative Cost, Six Months Ending December 26, 1935* (typescript, January, 1935).

Table 33. Public Cost of Self-help Coöperatives in Los Angeles County, 1934

Agency making grant	Amounts	Total expenditures	Average monthly expenditures
1. Federal Government			
F.E.R.A. grants in L.A. County,*			
Oct., 1933-Dec., 1934	$164,603.57	$130,925.68†	$8,728.38
Unexpended balance, Dec. 13, 1934. . .	33,677.89	. . . .	. . . .
S.E.R.A., Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, administration cost, July, 1934-June, 1935	87,018.88‡	52,211.33§	4,350.94
Federal Surplus Relief Corp.‖			
Foodstuffs, July, 1934-Dec., 1934	. . . .	11,068.75	1,844.79
2. State Emergency Relief Adm. ¶	. . . .	7,533.00	1,255.50
Donations, July, 1934-Dec., 1934			
Gasoline: 52,775 gallons	6,896.00		
Oil: 2,795 gallons	637.00		
3. Los Angeles County**	. . . .	33,439.87	5,573.31
Donations, July, 1934-Dec., 1934			
Gasoline: 203,000 gallons	21,315.00		
Oil: 11,500 gallons	2,600.00		
Foodstuffs (2 wks. supply)	9,524.87		
Donated, July 1-Oct. 31, 1934.			
4. Total monthly expenditures	. . . .	. . . .	21,752.92
Cost for 1934 (item 4, column 3, multiplied by 12 months)			$261,035.04

*California State Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, *Semiannual Report, December 31, 1934* (San Francisco, c. 1934), p. 32.

†*Ibid., Balance Sheet, November 1, 1934* (San Francisco, c. 1934).

‡*Ibid., Annual Report, June 30, 1935* (San Francisco, 1935), p. 35.

§Richard W. Bell and Frank W. Sutton, California State Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, estimated 60 per cent of the administrative costs for the self-help coöperatives throughout the State to be chargeable to Los Angeles County.

‖California State Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, *Semiannual Report, December 31, 1934* (San Francisco, c. 1934). p. 28.

¶*Ibid.*

*******Ibid.*

Table 34. Estimated Net Savings to Taxpayers by Self-help Coöperatives in Los Angeles County, 1934

Gross savings (Table 32)	$1,675,215.36
Public cost (Table 33)	261,035.04
Net savings,	$1,414,180.32

California State Relief Administration estimates that during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935, the grant units alone in the entire State saved the people $670,000;[58] and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration estimates that during the year 1935 grant coöperatives throughout the United States effected a saving of $2,279,396 in relief costs.[59] The savings resulting from the activities of nongrant units were probably at least equal to if not more than those of grant units.

Besides direct savings, the self-help coöperatives are making an indirect saving to the community by building up substantial funds of production goods, materials, and other resources. The exact figures are not known, but a rough conservative estimate for California should place them at approximately $150,000, an amount not very large, but representing sizable production capacity.

It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the self-help coöperatives have not only rendered a marked service to the individuals involved by giving them employment, supplying them some of the means of livelihood, and helping them to keep up their self-respect, but also the coöperatives have rendered a public service by making savings which in the aggregate and in production power are quite substantial.

XIX. SELF-HELP COÖPERATIVES IN 1936

The self-help coöperatives of 1936 present a marked contrast to those of 1931-1934. The early units, it will be recalled, consisted of loosely thrown together organizations, with fairly large membership; they engaged chiefly in salvaging and bartering activities; they exchanged information or coördinated efforts among the various units only to a minor extent; they carried on very little production or specialization work; and they had practically no capital or equipment. By the end of 1936 substantial changes had occurred along all these lines.

First, the number of units and of members had greatly decreased. Higher relief budgets, the Works Progress Administration, and the upturn of business during 1935 and 1936 had drawn many members from the self-help ranks. In California the number of units decreased from one hundred and seventy-nine in December, 1934, to one hundred and twenty-eight in December, 1936, or 28.5 per cent; and in Los Angeles County from one hundred and thirty-nine to ninety-nine, or 28.8 per cent.

[58] See California State Relief Administration, *Review of Activities of the State Relief Administration of California, 1933-1935* (San Francisco, 1936), p. 220.

[59] See Federal Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperatives, *Summary of Federal Aid to Self-help Coöperatives in the United States, July 1, 1933, to December 1, 1935* (Washington, 1936), p. 1.

Membership also decreased.[60] Although exact membership figures have always been difficult to obtain, since the reports issued at different times by several groups fail to agree, the situation in its broad outlines is clear. In December, 1934, the self-help membership in the State of California amounted to 11,003; in December, 1936, 4000—a decline of 64 per cent; in Los Angeles County, membership declined from 7758 in December, 1934, to 3500 in December, 1936, or 54.9 per cent.

However, while total membership was decreasing, the self-help organizations continued to make their appeal. This is seen in the fact that while during the first six months of 1936 there was an average decrease each month of 16.5 per cent in grant-unit membership in the State, there was at the same time an average new membership of 11 per cent. The net loss, therefore, was only 5.5 per cent during this time.[61] Also, the highest turnover in membership was occurring among nonrelief members, that is, among those not receiving aid from the City or County; whereas those on relief showed a relative stability in self-help membership. This probably indicates that with the improvements which were occurring in 1935 and 1936 more and more people who could find employment elsewhere left the self-help groups.

This reduction in the number of units and members went hand in hand with a decrease in all activities. For instance, the grant units reported 4,000,000 man hours applied to production and services from June 30, 1934, to June 30, 1935, and only 2,474,107 for the corresponding period of 1935-1936, a decrease of 38 per cent. It should be noted that this decrease is not so great as that for membership, which was 51.8 per cent during the same period.[62]

The decrease in the number of units, members, and man-hour operation did not, however, present a net loss. This change, first, eliminated the weaker and less productive units, and led to the consolidation of units carrying on the same activities or operating in the same territory. Second, it purged the coöperative ranks of persons not really belonging in them: persons who should have been on relief rolls, youthful individuals who could find employment as business improved, and disgruntled individuals—all left the self-help organizations. Those who remained really belonged there and represented a relatively stable and permanent membership, who continued to rely upon self-help activity for their livelihood. There were also a few who, although able to return to private industry,

[60] See California State Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperatives, *Semi-annual Report, December 31, 1934,* p. 25; supplemented by an estimate based upon current statistics made by Mark Lifschultz, Statistician. Division of Self-help Coöperatives, Los Angeles County, by *Interview of February 7, 1937.*

[61] California State Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, *Annual Report, July 1, 1935* (1936), p. 7.

[62] See California State Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, *Semiannual Report, January 1, 1936, to June 30, 1936* (typescript, 1936), p. 8.

preferred to "stand by" and aid in the development of the self-help organizations in the hope that they would contribute to the solution of the fundamental problems involved.

The decrease in units, members, and operation was accompanied by the development of specialization. In the early days, the urgency of the moment led the units to undertake almost anything and everything that came to hand, a hit-or-miss activity which naturally continued for some time. During 1935 and 1936 many units turned toward specialization. In January, 1936, there were in Los Angeles County alone forty-eight grant units, out of the total of fifty-five in the County, which were applying themselves almost wholly to one special task, such as food production, canning, woodcutting, manufacture of clothing, the refining of motor oil. This specialization trend, it should be noted, is far more noticeable in southern California than in the north, where each organization still carries on a wide variety of activities.

By 1936 the one hundred and twenty-eight or so units existing in the State of California had developed one hundred and sixteen principal specializations, as may be seen from Tables 35 and 36.

They also maintained display stores and sample rooms, as for example at 309 San Fernando Road, Los Angeles, for the display and wholesale ordering

Figure 7. "Cali Co'op" or California coöperative products.

Table 35. Principal Production Specializations in Los Angeles County, January, 1936

No. of units	Specialization	No. of units	Specialization
9	Wood business	1	Brick business
6	Bakery business	1	Cleaning and pressing
4	Canning business	1	Gardening
3	Rabbit raising	1	Ice business
3	Shoe repairing	1	Labor exchange
2	Bottle washing	1	Mechanical work
2	Clothing mfg.	1	Potato-chip mfg.
2	Dairy business	1	Soap manufacture
2	Poultry business	1	Tire business
2	Wrecking	1	Vineyard work
1	Battery business	1	Welding
		1	Yard cleaning
Total units, 48			Total specialization, 23

Source: Los Angeles County Department of Rehabilitation, *Coöperative Unit Survey, January, 1936* (typescript, 1936).

of goods. They also periodically published a directory listing the commodities produced and the services rendered by the "producer-user" units in California.

Besides specialization, the self-help organizations made a marked relative growth in production proper. In the early years, nearly 100 per cent of the activity of these organizations consisted of salvaging and garnering-of-surplus operations. Gradually this type of activity was reduced until during the first half of 1935 salvaging and similar operations made up 24.8 per cent and during the second half of 1935 but 15.9 per cent of the total. Meantime, production operations greatly increased. Up to the middle of 1934, even grant units produced only a negligible amount of goods. During the year July, 1934-June, 1935, on the other hand, they produced goods valued at wholesale at $613,738.90 (besides an additional $168,189.98 in barter services) and during July, 1935-June, 1936 produced goods

Table 36. Principal Coöperative Production Specializations in California and Number of Units Engaged in Them, 1935-1936

Specialization	No. of units	Specialization	No. of units	Specialization	No. of units	Specialization	No. of units
Agricultural products	6	Canned fruits and vegetables (in glass)	3	Electric wiring	2	Jackets (leather)	4
Aprons	4	Catsup	2	Exchange depots	3	Labor exchange bureau	3
Artist	2	Cattle feed	2	Extracts	1	Laundry work	2
Automobile-repair work	3	Cement work	1	Fertilizer	1	Layettes	1
Bakery products	9	Cereals	1	Firewood	20	Leather specialties	1
Barber (Most units barter with barbers)		Clock repairs	1	Fish (fresh)	3	Legal advice	1
		Clothing (men's and boys')	5	Fish (smoked)	1	Looms	1
Baskets	1	Clothing (women's and children's)	8	Flour	1	Machine shop	3
Batteries	2	Clothing reconditioned	4	Furniture (household)	4	Market produce	29
Beans (dried lima)	3	Commodity banks	3	Furniture (office)	3	Mattresses	2
Beans (dried pink)	2	Commodity federations	6	Furniture (reed)	1	Meat (fresh, smoked, cured)	3
Beauty parlor (Most units barter with beauty parlor)		Cosmetics	2	Furniture (novelties)	2	Meat (rabbit)	3
		Cotton batts	1	Furniture polish and cloths	1	Merchandising advice	2
Breeder of stock	2	Cushions	3	Furniture repairs	4	Milk (goat)	1
Brooms	1	Dairy products	6	Garbage collection	1	Milch goats	1
Cabinet work	4	Dresses	7	Gasoline and oil	5	Molasses	1
Candy	1	Dried fruits and vegetables	5	Head bands	1	Nuts	3
Canned fruits and vegetables (in tins)	12	Drugs and medicines	1	Hogs	2	Office supplies	2
		Eggs and poultry	2	Infants' wear	2	Orchard products	6
				Insurance advice	1	Overalls	1
				Jackets (cloth)	2		

Table 36 (Cont'd.)

Specialization	No. of units	Specialization	No. of units	Specialization	No. of units	Specialization	No. of units
Pajamas	2	Rugs	8	Syrup and syrup bars	1	Underclothing (men's and boys')	5
Photolithography	2	Sheets and pillow cases	1	Tamales	1	Underclothing (women's, children's)	5
Pillows	2	Shirts (dress)	3	Tires (repair)	1	Uniforms	2
Plastering	1	Shirts (work)	3	Towels	2	Upholstering	3
Play suits	2	Shirts repairing	9	Tractor service	2	Vinegar	1
Pop corn	1	Soap	1	Transportation (coöperative freight lines)	4	Warehousing	3
Potato chips	2	Sorghum molasses	2	Transportation (truck rental)	7	Women's sunbonnets	1
Pressing and cleaning	1	Stockings (repair)	1	Trousers	2	Wood novelties and toys	3
Printing	3	Sugar	2	Turkeys	1	Wool yarn	1
Quilts and comforters	20	Suits (men's and boys')	1				
Rubber stamps	2	Suitings	1				

Total number of specializations, 116

Source: California Coöperative Units, *Coöperative Products and Services, Directory 1935-1936* (Los Angeles, 1936), pp. 1-24.

valued at $583,830.75 at wholesale;[63] while the nongrant units in Los Angeles County reported for the period January, 1935-January, 1936 a total production of $249,762.68 at wholesale. The main production operations consisted of farming, canning, baking, sewing, woodcutting, and dairying, in order of value-amount produced.

Further, by the end of 1936 the self-help organizations had developed a fairly efficient system for the exchange and "sale" of goods. During 1935 and 1936 they made improvement in the packing, labeling, and storing of goods, and greatly extended the exchange of goods. These activities were carried on in southern California by six centralizing organizations for grant units and by the Los Angeles Rehabilitation Department for the nongrant units. Moreover, the quantity, quality, and variety of goods available to members also improved.

The sale of goods also increased. The sales made in 1935 by grant units amounted to $876,904.37, of which $141,986.63 (16.2 per cent) was for cash and $734,917.74 (83.8 per cent) represented "point sales," that is, sales of goods and services to members in return for labor on the basis of the point system.[64] Most of these "sales" were, of course, within the coöperative system; but "sales" were made to organizations other than coöperatives, such as the Transient Service, Civilian Conservation Corps, and the State Relief Administration, as payment for loans or grants made by various governmental agencies.

Furthermore, improvements were made in hourly earnings and monthly income. For the period January-June, 1935, the average value of production and services per man-hour for grant units was 16 3/5 cents; during the period July-December, 1935, it was 23.1 cents, representing an increase of 39.2 per cent. For production proper (services being excluded) hourly earnings rose from 27 4/5 cents per man-hour value in the first half of 1935 to 38 cents in the second half of 1935,[65] an increase of 36.7 per cent.

Finally, the estimated real income per member per month for those grant units in the State for which specific figures are available showed an increase from $12.50 per month in 1934 to $13.44 in December, 1935.[66]

These, then, are the economic activities the self-help units were conducting and the improvements they were making down to the close of 1936. Some units, in addition, undertook educational work; in collaboration with the Emergency Education Program, they set up special classes in vocational training, such as

[63] California State Relief Administration, Self-help Coöperative Service, *op. cit.,* p. 26.

[64] California State Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, *Semiannual Report, July 1 through December 31, 1935* (San Francisco, 1936), pp. 51-52.

[65] *Ibid.,* p. 43. Comparative figures for the year 1936 had not as yet been compiled when this report was drawn to a close.

[66] *Ibid.,* pp. 56-57.

canning and sewing, designed to meet the needs of the coöperators, and courses in the history and procedures of the coöperative movement itself.

Taking everything into consideration, the self-help coöperatives of 1936 showed a definite improvement over the early organizations. With fewer units and a smaller, more stable membership, with reduced operation, consolidated organization, enhanced specialization, increased production, improved exchange and merchandising methods, increased exchange and sale of goods, and an advance in hourly and monthly member earnings, the self-help organizations came to render a genuine service to their members and the community.

But what of their future?

XX. THE FUTURE OF SELF-HELP COÖPERATIVES

The reader who has followed the details of this study has probably asked himself whether the self-help coöperatives have arisen out of real need, whether they have met that need, and whether the procedure they have by chance developed is one that might prove permanently useful. The data presented have at various points thrown light upon these very questions. In this concluding section[67] we shall pull together the more essential parts of the findings and focus them upon the question of the possible future of the self-help coöperatives.

That these organizations arose out of a real need there would seem to be little question. Among the 12,000,000 persons fully unemployed and the 10,000,000 to 12,000,000 partly unemployed in the United States, during the years of the great depression, there were apparently considerable numbers who shrank from turning to relief, or who for one reason or another were ineligible for relief.[68] Suddenly thrown out of employment, stranded in cities, shut off from land and other resources by "NO TRESPASSING" signs on every hand, and without financial means, they sought a way of making their own living. They could not use such savings as they had made, because they were either "lost" in the depression scramble or were tied up in real estate or otherwise. They could not turn to work relief, because by 1931, when the coöperatives began to form, that activity had not as yet been started. And most of them had no relatives who might support them. So these people, for the most part persons around fifty years of age, joined hands and courageously sought to do for themselves. As the pioneers had often joined hands in wresting a living from nature which, though potentially abundant, yielded only to hard group labor, so the self-helpers united to gain sustenance from an economy which, though capable of producing abundance,

[67] Portions of this section were given as an address at the autumn, 1936, meeting of the Pacific Southwest Academy and were published by that organization in a pamphlet entitled *The Future of the Self-help Coöperatives* (Los Angeles, 1937).

[68] See p. 318.

was not giving them a living. Like the pioneers, too, the self-helpers started from scratch, their only assets their labor power and determination.

More or less accidentally they hit upon self-help and created hastily thrown together organizations, known as "units." By the end of 1934 there were 310 units in the various parts of the United States, serving approximately one million persons.[69]

These associations undertook to supply the needs of their members by assembling idle labor and collectively bartering it for goods and services. At first they applied themselves almost wholly to salvaging activity; they went from street to street in the cities and from place to place in the countryside, exchanging their labor for whatever they could get of surplus food, clothing, shelter, fuel, and services which for the most part were going to waste.

But the self-help units had undertaken a task fraught with great difficulties. First, they had no land, no raw materials, tools, factories, or shops, and no financial means with which to purchase them. So they were obliged to rely upon land and buildings lent or given to them; to employ castoff tools and leftover materials; and to depend upon salvaged food and other goods, of low quality, the supply of which was at all times uncertain or insufficient.

Second, the self-help units faced a personnel problem of the first magnitude. Manned as they were by persons of relatively advanced age, many of whom were physically or otherwise handicapped, forced by the emergency of the moment hastily to throw together their organization, the units developed confusion, occupational displacement, discontent, petty bickerings among the members, and more or less serious antagonisms between members and managers.

Third, they had to operate under untrained management. The managers were at first largely self-appointed, and only rarely had they any training for their jobs. This was more or less inevitable, since managerial positions are highly lucrative on account of the low supply of competent managers. Nevertheless it resulted in managerial inefficiency and some dishonesty. It is true that in view of limited resources, of the highly conglomerate character of the membership, and of the haste with which the organizations arose, the managers accomplished the well-nigh impossible; but the problem of inefficiency, and even of dishonesty, in management was severe.

Fourth, the self-help groups had to deal with politics. While these organizations were engaged in a life-and-death struggle to meet the dire needs of their members, partisan politics forced itself into every possible opening; the political machinations of the Unemployed Coöperative Distributing Association of Los Angeles County in the early days supply an illustration. The self-help coöperatives were also drawn into the California gubernatorial campaign of 1934. This was unfortunate, for, though the making of the coöperatives an issue in that campaign

[69] See p. 294.

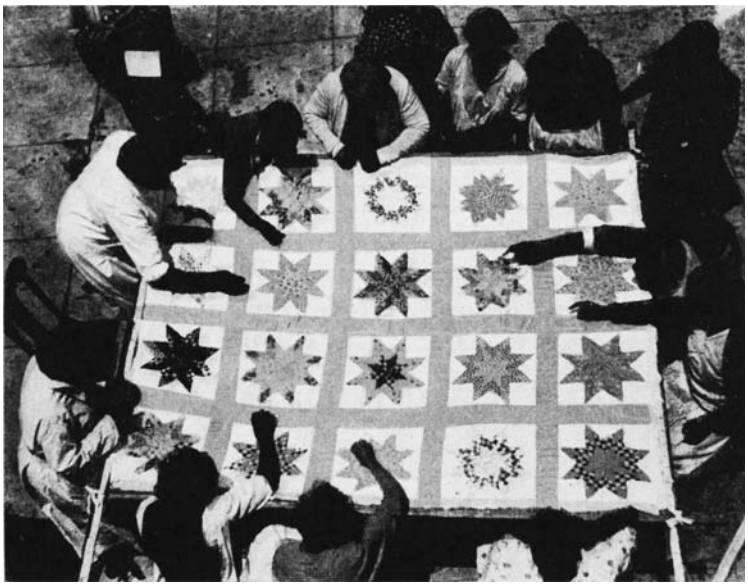

Figure 8. Figuring out their future.

was unquestionably prompted by good intentions, that fact placed the self-help groups in an unfortunate position. Because they lacked economic and political support, it was easy to stimulate opposition to them and to destroy the confidence which the public had originally had in them. Conservative elements which had merely looked askance at the self-help units now saw a real danger lurking in them, when in reality they had scarcely blood enough to keep alive and were too deeply engrossed in trying to meet needs of the moment even to think of Communism or any other "ism." And yet, the moment they were brought into the political arena, many saw in the self-help organizations the forerunners of "Communism." So, the heated campaign of 1934 was partly directed against the coöperatives. In this manner politics threatened the very existence of self-help activity and certainly hampered its development; and later both State and Federal government agencies, evidently prompted by political pressure, placed stumbling blocks in the way of the functioning of the self-help units.

And yet, in spite of these and other difficulties, the self-help coöperatives have accomplished significant results. First, they have employed productively a considerable amount of labor, and have utilized large amounts of goods which in all likelihood would have gone to waste. They have in this manner supplemented the work of relief agencies and rendered a service to the community.

Second, the self-help coöperatives have in part fed, clothed, housed, and otherwise supplied the basic needs of thousands of persons; and they have done

this on a required sixteen hours and an actual twenty-one hours of work per week. By freeing their members from worry over their basic needs, the self-help units have enabled their people to work at odd jobs and thus to eke out an existence. This has helped many families to keep together, to retain the ownership of their homes, to keep their children in school, and otherwise to carry on.

Third, the self-help units have performed an important social function. By giving their members a chance to keep occupied, to make their own living, and to avoid charity, they have enabled their people to-maintain their self-respect in the face of the distressing economic situation of the time. It is impossible even to estimate the service the self-help organizations have rendered in this regard. Only by measuring the psychological distress and the character breakdown suffered by the unemployed who have been compelled to eat the bitter bread of charity could an estimate be made of the boon the coöperatives have been to thousands of persons. In spite of all the difficulties they had to labor under, the mutualism the coöperators have shown has at times been impressive. Members and managers alike have often worked far in excess of the regulation hours,[70] for this common good. They have planned, worked, eaten together, for the most part in a spirit of mutual sympathy and helpfulness.

Fourth, the self-help units have effected considerable savings to the various communities. In Los Angeles County the direct relief for the unemployed was $32.62 per family per month in December, 1936, exclusive of cost of administration, whereas it cost the Federal and State governments an average of approximately $4 per family a month to subsidize the self-help grant coöperatives. Besides, the coöperatives produced goods and services valued at more than the total grants received from governmental agencies.[71] In these and other ways, the self-help coöperatives have, according to the detailed computations presented above,[72] saved the taxpayers of Los Angeles County alone some $1,400,000 during the year ending December 31, 1934. The savings, though considerably lessened subsequently, have continued to be made. The California State Emergency Relief Administration has estimated that the grant units alone, that is, the units receiving governmental subsidies, effected a saving in relief costs throughout the State amounting to $670,000 for the year ending June 30, 1935; and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration estimates that grant units throughout the country saved the taxpayers more than $2,225,000 during 1935.[73] Later figures are not available, but it is safe to assert that the self-help organizations are even producing substantial savings to the people throughout the nation.

[70] See pp. 323-324.

[71] Estimated on the basis of total governmental grants and average self-help coöperative membership from October, 1935, to December 1936, inclusive.

[72] Section XVIII.

[73] See p. 377.

Fifth, the self-help units have accumulated a fairly substantial fund of capital goods. Grant units in Los Angeles County alone had, on December 31, 1936, machinery and equipment on hand valued at $75,754.38, depreciation deducted. Current accurate figures are not available for the nongrant units, but on January 1, 1936, forty-six (of the total of 55) nongrant units in Los Angeles County reported machinery and equipment valued at approximately $28,300, an amount which has no doubt increased since that time. These sums, though not impressive in themselves, represent no mean actual and potential production and earning power. Furthermore, the units have improved their barter procedure, bettered their membership personnel, standardized their system of work and rewards, extended and made relatively efficient their assembling, preparing, and "marketing" of goods, improved their management, and increased production proper, items which though unmeasurable represent substantial assets.

The foregoing statements regarding accomplishments should not, however, leave too rosy a picture in the mind of the reader. These accomplishments, marked though they are, are on a relatively low plane. The self-help organizations have at best performed only a submarginal function, that is, they have fed, clothed, housed a comparatively small number of persons; have supported their members largely on castoffs; have experienced confusion within their ranks; have operated in unattractive and even unsanitary work quarters; and have been managed inefficiently, some of them dishonestly. In short, they have not supplied their members a decent standard of work and living.

However, this relatively low standard of work and living is not peculiar to the coöperators. These people, it must be remembered, were of the unemployed, many of them of the unemployables—they were people around fifty years of age for whom modern industry has no use. As such, they partook of the lot of all the unemployed and unemployables. It would have been miraculous had coöperators been able to maintain a high standard of living when it was almost impossible for the laboring class to maintain a decent standard of living even when fully employed! The coöperators, then, have shared the lot of all unemployed groups. It was not a matter of higher or lower standards of living; it was a question of living at all. Moreover, the self-help organizations, with practically no resources, have done about as well for their members as governmental agencies, with relatively unlimited resources, have done for those under their care. Furthermore, the self-help organizations have given their members something priceless, namely, a sense of self-reliance and self-respect.

Taking everything into consideration, therefore, it would seem that the self-help coöperatives have rendered a definite service and that they are capable of performing an even greater function. With a more stable membership, an orderly organization, improved management, and increased equipment and capital goods, they could mitigate the problem of unemployment, especially as it affects persons above forty-five years of age.

But is it at all certain that the self-help organizations will perform that function? Or that they can even survive? Or that they will be permitted to project themselves into the future?

These questions cannot be answered definitely. Perhaps no attempt should be made to answer them. Some would say the future of self-help lies in the lap of the gods. And so it may. And yet, the foregoing presentation of the data discovered would seem incomplete were we to leave our findings dangling before the reader. We shall, therefore, draw up a few conclusions.

First, that the coöperatives can perform a desirable function there would seem to be little question. If the findings presented throughout this report are valid, and we believe they are, the self-help organizations constitute an excellent means for the employment and the partial self-support of persom of relatively advanced age who prefer to do something for themselves rather than resort to charity. Moreover, the percentage of persons of forty-five years of age and over in the population of the United States is rising rapidly: It rose from 17.7 per cent in 1900 to 18.9 in 1910, to 20.8 in 1920, to 22.8 in 1930, and to an estimated 24.6 in 1935.[74] And what the future holds in this respect may indeed be considered alarming.[75] Since, as is well known, industry is increasingly discarding workers as they reach the age of forty-five or so,[76] it is to be expected that an ever-increasing number of persons forty-five years of age and over will be permanently unemployed. Shut off from even idle lands, and with no resources of their own, they will inevitably become a greater and greater burden upon the community unless they have a chance to do something for themselves. Self-help surely offers as good a means as any to this end. The self-help organizations are capable of producing even larger savings than they have produced in the past if they are directed to providing a self-sustaining means of livelihood to the thousands of persons who are every year reaching the age of "obsolescence." It would seem, therefore, that so far as the cause of relieving the already overburdened taxpayers may be served, the community can ill afford not to support the self-help organizations. And if there be such a thing as social intelligence, the community will surely do that very thing.

Moreover, the self-help coöperatives are sound according to standards of advanced practice in social work. It is now generally recognized that the only justifiable type of aid given to the needy is that which affords them opportunity to do for themselves. Direct relief, though still largely practiced, is generally discredited by competent social workers. Aid which offers opportunity for

[74] United States Bureau of the Census, "Estimated Population of the United States by Age as of April 1, 1935," news release of February 18, 1937, Reg. No. 2485 (Washington, D.C., 1937), p. 2.

[75] See Harold Ward, "Problems of Population," *New Republic,* Vol. LXXXXVI (New York, 1938), p. 41.

[76] See pp. 314, 316, 317.

self-help is sounder and more productive of constructive results; and the more independent of governmental or other agencies the self-help is, the more it tends to produce sound results.

Further, self-help is a humane form of relief. It is a commonplace that there is nothing more destructive of self-respect, of courage, of endurance, than economic dependency. The self-help units, as the members themselves frequently aver, offer a sense of self-reliance and self-respect. In some respects they are more adequate than relief enterprises organized and conducted by the government, such as the Works Progress Administration. In the self-help coöperatives, the members organize and conduct their own activities, supervise and deal with other workers, and make and dispose of goods according to their own judgment, rather than have these things done for them or be lost in a maze of red tape. In short, self-help gives its people a chance to do for and by themselves, to be and act as independent, self-respecting human beings.

Self-help has even larger possibilities. It arose, as pointed out above, merely as a means of self-support, but in reality it has initiated or at least materially pushed forward coöperative production in the United States. And as production is the very core of the coöperative movement, the self-help units may, wholly fortuitously, prove to be a very important link in the establishment of the coöperative movement in this country.

It is in this, perhaps, that the deepest significance of self-help lies. For though cooperation is sometimes opposed[77] it is in reality part and parcel of the capitalistic order.That is, it applies the very coöperative procedure which capitalism employs in the production and distribution of goods for profit, to the making of profits by reducing the cost of living.

As such, the coöperative way is the "middle way," in that it mitigates some of the defects of the present system and yet functions within or alongside that system. Capitalism has produced an ever more intensified monopoly control and concentration of resources and wealth; it has been a major factor, if not the main factor, in producing increasingly more severe cycles of prosperity and depression; and these cycles may become so pronounced and so disturbing to the economic process as to wreck the present order. The coöperatives, wherever they have been in operation at all widely, have actually interrupted this self-destructive process.[78]

All this seems relatively clear. But what factors will condition the continuance of the self-help coöperatives? The continuance of self-help rests, first, upon the degree to which the leaders are able to understand and deal with opposition. That opposition should have arisen is in the very nature of society. It seems to be a

[77] See Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Domestic Distribution Department Committee, *Coöperative Business Enterprises Operated by Consumers* (Washington, D.C., 1936).

[78] See Marquis W. Childs, *Sweden: the Middle Way* (New Haven, 1936), pp. 160-161 and Chapter XXII.

general law governing the life of societies that any procedure which departs from what is at the moment the established form, however necessary that new procedure may be, evokes opposition. However, another general law seems also to prevail, namely, that opposition when properly dealt with promotes the growth and strengthens the sinews of a movement; new social procedures seem to thrive in the rough climate of opposition. If the self-help people, particularly the leaders, realize these facts and devote themselves to their tasks with serenity and courage, it is not at all impossible that the hidden resistance they are experiencing may strengthen their activity. Whether the self-help people and leaders have enough perception and stamina to face the situation squarely remains to be seen.

Even more important is whether the workers in the United States are really capable of developing such a device as self-help. The working classes of the United States have fared well under the individualistic system; they therefore are not habituated to coöperative endeavor, nor do they have any knowledge of it. The superabundance of natural resources, the newness and virility of the people, the rapid development of mechanization, the democratic procedure, and the relatively wide distribution of economic goods have given the working classes of this country a well-being which the same classes of other countries do not enjoy. The workers here are too well off, have not as yet suffered enough to be ready for cooperation; and it may well be that they do not need coöperation at the moment. Moreover, the workers in this country do not seem to have the perception which the capitalistic classes possess; while the latter form far-reaching and effective combinations, the former go on fighting among themselves. In any event, the pay envelope makes too immediate an appeal for workers to be interested in coöperation of any kind. Again and again we have encountered persons in the self-help units who have said, "Oh, the coöps are all right, but we want work for wages." As a result the ranks of the self-help units have already been decimated[79] and it is not unlikely that members will continue to leave the self-help organizations until only the memory of them will remain.

But the problem of supplying work to the mounting millions above forty-five still remains. And the self-help organization is about as well suited to meet the needs of some of them as is any other device. If self-help is to survive, it needs help and that right early; and the only agencies which are in a position to give that help are those of government. But will government nurse and encourage the self-help organizations, even as it has nursed "infant" industries? Will it help them to continue to perform the function they have performed and to perform it even more effectively?

What is the conclusion of the whole matter?

First, our findings have made it clear that self-help offers a device and procedure which may be of substantial advantage to the community in mitigating the problem

[79] See pp. 314, 316, 317.

of giving employment to some of the permanently unemployed, particularly those forty-five years of age and over.

Second, this being true, self-help organizations should be encouraged and aided to keep on, and to improve their procedures.

Third, the Federal government should continue to subsidize the more efficient units, make even more substantial grants than it has made, and seek to coordinate the activities of these organizations. However, the Federal government should preserve and foster independence on the part of these organizations, since this is one of their more constructive features.

Fourth, State governments should more actively take up the task of providing funds as loans or part loans to the units in order to enable them to secure necessary materials and equipment for the conduct of their activities.

Fifth, the County governmental agencies should encourage those units which prefer to remain independent of Federal or State subsidy; act as coordinating agencies for the exchange of information, services, and goods; and foster the sense of independence of the coöperators themselves.

Sixth, Federal, State, and County educational authorities should collaborate in a program of education in cooperation, not only for the members of the self-help organizations and those interested in them, but also for the public in general. Both should be instructed to regard self-help as an agency supplementary to the present-day economy rather than as a movement in opposition to it.

APPENDIX A

Note on Scope and Method of the Investigation

The investigation reported in the foregoing pages was originally suggested by a community agency, which set up a committee to direct it, and requested the present writer to carry it out. As plans began to mature, however, it became clear-at least to the writer—that some of the original sponsors were only interested in a cursory survey. As this did not seem worth while to the present writer, and as the workers of the community agency were too burdened with immediate duties to carry out even a superficial field investigation, it became necessary to seek collaboration from other sources, or to abandon the research. Fortunately, the Social Science Research Council of New York made a grant in aid, and the investigation, though delayed for six months, proceeded.

It was decided at the outset to obtain information directly from the coöperators themselves rather than to depend upon organizers, administrators, managers, and other officials; not because the latter were deemed untrustworthy, but because it was believed that a more intimate view of the self-help organizations could be obtained by coming into direct contact with the members.

The schedule was prepared with that objective in view. In order to determine what items would be feasible and essential, a preliminary schedule was prepared by means of interviews with a few self-help members and managers. This preliminary schedule was tested by sending three workers to apply it to a few cooperators and their families. It was then corrected and improved several times, printed, and made ready for the investigation.[80]

To obtain and prepare the field workers presented a special problem. Funds being insufficient to permit our employing our own investigators, application was made to the State Emergency Relief Administration, which assigned ten field investigators to the project. Since most of these persons had no experience in field research, it was necessary to subject them to intensive training. This was done by group and individual conferences. General instruction sheets were issued. The investigators were also subjected to tests: they were sent into the field to fill a few schedules, their reports were scrutinized, and those workers who presented schedules with too many omissions or errors were replaced by others. Notwithstanding these preparations, a considerable turnover was necessary: we had an average of ten workers in the field, but used a total of thirty persons during the six months of field work.

The obtaining of a sampling also presented difficulties. It was decided to delimit our investigation to those units which were not receiving aid from the County, on the theory that thereby we would be better able to determine the social utility or nonutility of self-help. We therefore made plans to prepare our master

[80] For a sample of the schedule see Appendix C.

lists by taking every tenth name from the lists of all the self-helpers not receiving aid from the County. But we encountered an insuperable difficulty. The complete lists of those not receiving aid were at the time in the possession of a coordinating organization which denied us access to them. But as the investigation aimed at being of service to the community and to the members of the self-help groups, we did the next best thing. We took every fourth name from the nongrant lists of the State Emergency Relief Administration and from those of the nongrant units which made them accessible to us; thus we were able to compile a list of more than ten thousand names and to interview about 10 per cent of these. This we deemed a reasonably adequate sample. There were in Los Angeles County, at the start of the field work on June 1, 1934, 7840 coöperative members who were not receiving aid from the County or other source; the field investigators interviewed 1068 of these and produced 1029 usable reports; thus, our findings based on the usable schedules represent 13.1 per cent of the coöperators not receiving aid from the County.

Although the objective of the investigation was to study persons, and not organizations, precaution was taken to distribute the interviews among as many units and in as many communities as possible. There were on June 30, 1934, about 122 units, and on December 31, 1934, 139 units in Los Angeles County. The investigators reached 76, or approximately 58.0 per cent of them. The number of persons interviewed averaged slightly over, 3.5 per unit. Seven of the larger units yielded 303 usable schedules, and five of the smaller units 1 each. In addition, the investigators covered forty-two communities in the densely populated portions of Los Angeles County, from Pomona on the east to Santa Monica on the west and from Sunland on the north to Long Beach on the south. Moreover, in order not to overweigh our sample with interviews from Los Angeles City, the proportion drawn from that city was held down to 8 per cent less than might have been drawn. Since Los Angeles City contained (1930) 56.0 per cent of the population of the County, our sample of nearly 48.0 per cent from that city afforded opportunity to reach 8 per cent more persons from semirural communities than otherwise.

The actual obtaining of the information met with the usual difficulties. Not only did the schedule require three to four hours to fill, but also the coöperators were at the time being investigated by so many agencies that some of them balked. The field workers' task, therefore, was trying. On the other hand, several circumstances acted in their favor. During the latter half of 1934, when the field work was going on, the self-help groups were unusually active and the self-helpers were enthusiastic and ready to impart information. Again, the fact that the study was being supported by the Social Science Research Council and the University of California proved to be helpful, as the people seemed thereby to be assured of the objective nature of the research. Further, the coöperators seemed to sense the fact that we had one and only one objective in view, and that this was to render a service to the unemployed themselves and to the community.

But, as in all such investigations, some stubborn individuals were encountered. When this occurred, either the investigation was passed to the alternate or use was made of a simple device, employed on previous occasions by this author. The person was told that other coöperators in his unit or "rival" units had already given information; that the investigation would proceed in any event, whether or not he replied; that the investigation would include more than a thousand families, and that if he replied to the questions, he could, when the findings should be made public, compare his experiences with those of others. Further, if he wished to record his name, when the findings were published he would, if possible, be notified and given access to the report. This simple device usually succeeded in obtaining participation.

The field work was limited to six months, July 1 to December 31, 1934, on the theory that a longer period would probably produce changes in coöperative procedure which might make some of the findings invalid. The investigation was limited to Los Angeles County because that county constituted a well-knit coöperative center, contained 139 units out of 179 in California and out of 310 for the United States as a whole, and included the principal types of units and activities. Moreover, funds did not permit the covering of a larger territory.

The tabulation of findings took longer than was expected, mainly because of the lack of adequate equipment. Without a Hollerith at our disposal, it became necessary to compile and compute the data with hand calculators. For this work the State Emergency Relief Administration supplied four workers. But the task proceeded slowly. Many of the computations had to be done by hand by Mr. Wade E. Church, who, incidentally, for a time worked almost without remuneration.

While the compilation of data was going on, the self-help coöperatives were undergoing marked changes. The organization of the Works Progress Administration plus the upturn of business produced a reduction of membership and many other phenomena. We therefore took advantage of the situation and made a survey of the changes. This gave us a better opportunity to view them in their totality, in flux, and thereby to determine with more precision the extent to which they seem or do not seem to be of use to present-day economy. Sections XIV to XIX inclusive embody these findings. In this connection Mr. Louis Wasserman, a graduate student at the University of California at Los Angeles and a National Youth Administration appointee, acted as chief research assistant: a portion of Mr. Wasserman's compensation came from a special grant made by the University of California Board of Research.

APPENDIX B

Other Studies

As this study is intended as a description of a specific situation, little attempt has been made to compare our data with those of other studies. Comparative statements have been made throughout this report, but only in what were considered the essentials and then mainly with respect to totals, as when we compare the age distribution of the cooperators with that of the population of the County as a whole.

The student who wishes to make a comparative study will find material on Los Angeles County in several studies. Of these the following may be mentioned. Clark Kerr, *Self-help: A Study of the Coöperative Barter Movement of the Unemployed in California, 1932-1933,* records the author's personal observations of one hundred and sixty self-help organizations, including one hundred and twenty-five in Los Angeles County, made during the period January-July, 1933; George Knox Roth, *Compton Unemployed Coöperative Relief Association: A Sociological Study, 1932-1933,* describes the author's personal observation of the rise of the first self-help unit in California, namely, that of Compton, in Los Angeles County; Harry L. Masser *et al., Coöperative Relief Organizations in Los Angeles County,* reports data gathered by the Citizens Committee on County Welfare of Los Angeles, a private body, through a very general investigation made in 1932-1933; Clark Kerr and Paul S. Taylor's "Self-help Coöperatives in California" presents a general description and statistical data dealing with the self-help organizations in California, including units in Los Angeles County, down to the first part of 1935; the various reports of the California State Relief Administration, Division of Self-help Coöperative Service, contain, among other data, information regarding the self-help grant units in Los Angeles County. The two reports which embody especially pertinent information are the *Semi-annual Report, January, 1935,* and the *Annual Report, July 1, 1935-June 30, 1936.* The California Emergency Relief Administration, Division of Research and Surveys, *Report on Registration Blanks of Self-help Coöperative Associations* (typescript, 1934) and *Research Project on Self-help Coöperatives in California* (typescript, 1935) include descriptive data on organizations and individual members (among others) in Los Angeles County; and Los Angeles County, Department of Charities, *Report on Self-help Coöperative Service* (typescript, 1935) describes the members of these organizations in Los Angeles County. Mention may also be made that Mr. Clark Kerr is preparing a history of the movement in the United States and Europe, the title of which will probably be "Organized Self-help by the Unemployed."[81]

[81] For bibliographical data on published studies mentioned above, see Bibliography on pp. 413-415.

APPENDIX C

Note on "Appendix Tables" and Other Materials

The foregoing report is based upon detailed statistical tables. As each of these usually fills an entire typewritten page and some cover two or three pages, it is impracticable to publish them. Yet they contain a wealth of material which will be of value, both to those who wish to check the findings presented in this report and to those who may desire to extract data which have not been recorded in this volume. They have therefore been assembled, bound in their original typewritten form, and given the title and authorship of this report and the subtitle, "Appendix Tables." The original set has been deposited in the Library of the University of California at Los Angeles, a copy has been placed in the Library of the University of California, Berkeley, and a second copy has been sent to the Library of Congress.

In addition to the tables, a considerable amount of original material, for the most part extracted from the schedules and containing remarks of the coöperators and records of the observations of the investigators, accumulated in the course of the investigation and the preparation of this report. These materials also could not be used in this volume. But since they contain many rich, intimate, and colorful details regarding the social history of one thousand twenty-nine families, their difficulties and reflections during this, one of the most profound economic depressions that Western society has experienced, it has been thought appropriate to preserve them. They may prove of great value to the future student of the social history of our times. Accordingly, these materials have been ordered in keeping with the divisions and subdivisions of the schedule, have been given the title of the report and the subtitle "Supplementary Materials," and have been deposited in the library of the University of California at Los Angeles.

The filled-in schedules, as handed in by the investigators, and often containing notes by them, and corrections and remarks by the research assistant, have also been deposited in the library of the University of California at Los Angeles. They have been given the title of the report and the subtitle of "Original Schedules."

APPENDIX D
SCHEDULE

HOW MEMBERS OF THE WORKMAN'S COÖPERATIVES LIVE AND EARN

Under Auspices of
Social Science Research Council and
University of California

A Research by
Constantine Panunzio, University of
California at Los Angeles

I. FAMILY COMPOSITION

A. Unit No..... Date of interview..... Investigator.....

B. Full name of head of household.....

C. Address..... City..... County.....

D. Birthplace (state or country)..... Reg. voter: Yes..... No.....

E. How long in California?..... In Los Angeles County?..... In City?.....

F. Name of wife (or husband)..... Birthplace (state or country).....

G. Members of household June 1, 1934: .....

Line No. (a)	Relationship to head of household (b)	Sex M or F (c)	Age at last birthday (d)	Now in home (e)	No. weeks home during year (f)	Status (Please check) Single (g)	Mar. (h)	Des'ted (i)	Widow (j)	Sep'd (k)	Div'd (l)
1	Head										
2	Wife (or husb.)										
3	Child—1										
4	Child—2										
5	Child—3										
6	Child—4										
7	Child—5										
8	Child—6										
9	Child—7										
10	Child—8										
11	Others—1										
12	—2										

II. HEALTH OF THE FAMILY (Last three years)

Line No.	Has the general health of the family been: (Please check) (a)	E (b)	G (c)	F (d)	P (e)	Illness (f)	Duration (months) (g)	Kind of illness (h)
1	Head of household							
2	Wife (or husb.)							
3	Child—1							
4	Child—2							
5	Child—3							
6	Child—4							
7	Child—5							
8	Child—6							
9	Child—7							
10	Child—8							
11	Others—1							
12	—2							

13. Have you noticed a general change in the family's health since work has been unsteady? (Please check) Yes..... No..... If Yes, Better?..... Worse?.....

14. Is the health of any member of the family worse because of:

	Yes	No	How many?
a. Lack of sufficient food?			
b. Inadequate housing?			
c. Worry over finances?			
d. Inadequate medical care?			
e. Inadequate medical supplies?			
f. Inadequate clothing?			
g. Other causes?			
(Specify)			

B. Has any member of the family had any of the following during the last three years?
(Please check)

Disease (a)	Head (b)	Wife (c)	Child—1 (d)	Child—2 (e)	Child—3 (f)	Child—4 (g)	Child—5 (h)	Child—6 (i)	Child—7 (j)	Child—8 (k)	Others (l)	Others (m)	Others (n)	Duration (months) (o)
1. Appendicitis														
2. Bronchitis														
3. Cancer														
4. Cerebral hemorrhage														
5. Cirrhosis of liver														
6. Cholera														
7. Congenital debility														
8. Diarrhea and enteritis														
9. Diphtheria														
10. Diseases of heart														
11. Stomach diseases														
12. Hernia														
13. Influenza														
14. Malaria														
15. Measles														
16. Meningitis														
17. Pneumonia														
18. Scarlet fever														
19. Senility														
20. Small pox														
21. Suicide														
22. Typhoid														
23. Typhus fever														
24. Tuberculosis														
25. Whooping cough														
26. Other diseases														
27.														

III. Housing, Residence, Citizenship, and Property

A. Housing.

1. In what type of dwelling have you lived? (Check)

	Before coöp	During coöp	After coöp
a. House			
Wooden			
Brick			
Stucco			
Other			
b. Apartment			
c. Garage			
d. Flat			
e. Hotel			
f. Rooming house			
g. Barn			
h. Store			
i. Other (Specify)			

2. What was condition of dwelling? (Please check)

a. Excellent			
b. Good			
c. Fair			
d. Bad			

	Before coöp	During coöp	After coöp
3. Rooms and facilities			
a. No. rooms (excluding bath and storerooms)			
b. No. rooms for sleeping			
c. No. of beds			
Single			
Double			
Cribs			
d. Bathroom			
Privy			
Toilet			
Private			
Shared			
No. families using			
e. How long have you lived in present dwelling? (Years, months)			
f. Household combined or "doubled up"?			
g. Garage			
h. Garden			

B. Residence:

1. In what state have you lived during the last three years? (Please check)

Ala.	Del.	Iowa	Mass.	Neb.	N.Ca.	R.I.	Vt.		
Ariz.	Fla.	Kan.	Mich.	Nev.	N.Dak.	S.Ca.	Va.		
Ark.	Ga.	Ky.	Minn.	N.H.	Ohio	S.Dak.	Wash.		
Cal.	Ida.	La.	Miss.	N.J.	Okla.	Tenn.	W.Va.		
Col.	Ill.	Me.	Mo.	N.M.	Ore.	Texas	Wis.		
Conn.	Ind.	Md.	Mont.	N.Y.	Penn.	Utah	Wy.		

2. In what state did you live? 3. In what state before that?

4. How many moves have you made in the county of Los Angeles? 1 2 3 4

5. Why did you move? (Check)

a. Reason for moving was:

1. To get cheaper rent	
2. To be with relatives	
3. To be near coöperatives	
4. To be near an opportunity to work	
5. Dislike of neighbors	
6. Sickness	
7. Because of irritation due to neighbors cats dogs musical instruments	
8. Near street-car line	
9. Climate	

C. Citizenship:

1. Are you a citizen of the United States? Yes..... No.....

2. If not, of what country are you a citizen?
   Germany?..... Italy?..... Russia?..... Mexico?.....
   England?..... Spain?..... France?..... Japan?.....
   Others? (Name).....

3. Color (or race) of head of household (check) one of the following:

a. White.....	.....	d. Chinese.....	.....	g. Filipino	.....
b. Negro.....	.....	e. Japanese.....	.....	h. Other.....	.....
c. Mexican.....	.....	f. Am. Indian.....	.....	.....	.....

4. Have you, during the last three years, been denied employment because you were not a citizen of the United States? Yes..... No.....

   a. How many times? 1.....2.....3.....4.....5.....

   b. Where? (City).....

D. Property:

	Before coöp	During coöp	After coöp
1. Did you own your own home?.....	.....	.....	.....
2. Was it mortgaged?.....	.....	.....	.....
3. Were you making payments on:			
Principal?.....	.....	.....	.....
Interest?.....	.....	.....	.....
Principal and interest?.....	.....	.....	.....
4. Were your current taxes paid?.....	.....	.....	.....
5. Were there current assessments?.....	.....	.....	.....
6. If so, were the assessments paid?	.....	.....	.....
7. Have you made application for Home Loan?.....	.....	.....	.....
8. Did you receive a Home Loan?.....	.....	.....	.....

IV. Social and Other Activities

A. Did you belong to any of the following organizations? (Check)

	Before coöp						During coöp					
	Attend meetings?		Member?		Dues paid?		Attend meetings?		Member?		Dues paid?	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. American Legion												
2. American Legion Auxiliary												
3. Athletic club												
4. Bridge club												
5. Chamber of commerce												
6. Church club												
7. Eastern Star												
8. Elks												
9. Epic Club (Upton Sinclair)												
10. Farm bureau												
11. Farmers' union												
12. Home bureau												
13. Kiwanis												
14. Labor union												
15. Lecture course												
16. Luncheon club												
17. Masons												
18. Moose												
19. Odd Fellows												
20. P. T. A.												
21. Relief Workers' Pro. Assn.												
22. Rotary												
23. Silver Shirts												
24. Social club												
25. Unemployment councils												
26. Utopian Society												
27. Women's club												
28. Woodmen of the World												
29. Others: (Specify)												
30.												
31.												

B. Are you a member of any of the following parties? (Please check)

	Before coöp	During coöp
1. Republican		
2. Democratic		
3. Socialist		
4. Progressive		
5. Liberty		
6. Communist		
7. American Workers		
8. Others (Name)		

C. Are you a member of a church? (Please check)

	Before coöp	During coöp
1. Protestant		
2. Catholic		
3. Jewish		
4. Other (Name)		
5. None		

D. How often have you attended church during the last three years?

	Once a month	Twice a month	Four times a month	More than four	None
1. Head					
2. Wife (Husband)					
3. Child—1					
4. Child—2					
5. Child—3					
6. Child—4					
7. Child—5					
8. Child—6					
9. Child—7					
10. Others					
11.					
12.					

V. Education and Educational Activities

A. Did you complete any of the following? (If not, indicate grade completed) (Check)

	Head	Wife (Husband)	Child—1	Child—2	Child—3	Child—4	Child—5	Child—6	Child—7	Child—8	Others—1	Others—2	Other—3
1. Grade school													
2. Junior high													
3. High school													
4. College													
5. University													
6. Trade school													
7. Business college													
8. Foreign-language school													
9. Communist school													
10. Parochial school													
11. Dancing classes													
12. Gymnasium school													
13. Other (Name)													

B. Did your children receive financial aid for attending college and university?

Yes..... No..... Government..... Private..... Amount.....

VI. Occupation and Employment

A. Which of the following occupations did you regularly follow before and after joining the coöperatives? (Check)

Occupation	Before coöp	During coöp	After coöp	Occupation	Before coöp	During coöp	After coöp
Accountant and auditor				Manufacturer			
Actor and showman				Mechanical engineer			
Agent, collector, and credit man				Mechanic, auto, factory, garage, and repair shop			
Artist, sculptor, and teacher of art				Messenger, errand and office boy and girl			
Author, editor, reporter				Musician and teacher of music			
Baker				Nurse (not trained)			
Barber, hairdresser, etc.				Official and inspector, city and county			
Bookkeeper and cashier				Painter, glazier, and varnisher (building)			
Brick and stone mason				Paper, printing and allied indus.			
Builder and building contractor				Physician and surgeon			
Chauffeur, truck and traction dr.				Plumber, gas and steam fitter			
Clerk in store				Policeman			
Carpenter				Porter (except in store)			
Clergyman				Real-estate agent and official			
Clerk (except in store)				Retail dealer			
Comp. linotype and typesetter				Rest., café, and lunchroom keeper			
Commercial traveler				Salesman and saleswoman			
Dentist				Shoe factory			
Designer				Stenographer and typist			
Draftsman				Stockbroker			
Electrician				Suit, coat, and overall factory			
Electrical engineer				Servant			
Engineer (stationary)				Tailor and tailoress			
Farmer (owner and tenant)				Textile industry			
Farm laborer				Telephone operator			
Factory laborer, iron and steel in.				Teacher (school)			
Foreman and overseer (mfg.)				Technical surveyor and surveyor			
General and not specified, lab.				Trained nurse			
Ins. agents, manager and off.				Wholesale dealer			
Laborer, road and street				Wholesale dealer, import-export			
Laborer and helper, bldg. cont.				All other occupations			
Laborer, steam and street R.R.'s							
Lawyer and judge							
Janitor and sexton							
Laundry operative							
Machinist							
Manager and official (mfg.)							

B. Employment: Draw a line over the months or portions of month you have been employed (not in coöperatives). Leave unemployment periods blank.

	1932												1933												1934											
	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D
1. Head																																				
2. Woman																																				
3. Child—1																																				
4. Child—2																																				
5. Child—3																																				
6. Child—4																																				
7. Child—5																																				
8. Child—6																																				
9. Child—7																																				
10. Child—8																																				
11. Others—1																																				
12. —2																																				
13. —3																																				

Remarks:

C. Have any of your children been kept out of school because: (Please check)

	Yes	No		Yes	No
1. Head of family unemployed?			6. No money for school games?		
2. Insufficient clothing?			7. No money for tuition?		
3. Insufficient food?			8. No money for towel tickets?		
4. No money for carfare?			9. No money for school dances?		
5. No money for incidentals?			10. Others (Name)		

11. Have your children ever objected to going to school because of any of the above?

12. Have your children ever reported that their classmates insulted them because you were out of work?

C. Has any member unduly complained or shown discontent since your last regular employment (excepting coöp work)? Yes..... No.....

D. Did he complain of: Yes (X) No (O) (a)	Head (b)	Wife (c)	Child—1 (d)	Child—2 (e)	Child—3 (f)	Child—4 (g)	Child—5 (h)	Child—6 (i)	Child—7 (j)	Child—8 (k)	Other (l)	Other (m)	Other (o)
1. Inadequate housing													
2. Worry over finances													
3. Inadequate medical care													
4. Inadequate medical supplies													
5. Inadequate clothing													
6. Lack of cosmetics													
7. Lack of tobacco													
8. Lack of incidentals													
9. Others (Specify)													
10.													
11.													

E. Has lack of necessities, due to unemployment, led to any of the following? (Check)

	Yes	No
1. Disobedience of child at home		
2. Disobedience of child at school		
3. Truancy of child		
4. Stealing		
5. Has children's school work suffered?		
6. Do they feel inferior to their more fortunate classmates?		
7. Do their classmates know you are in the coöperatives?		

F. Have any of the following problems appeared in your family since you have not been regularly employed?

	Yes	No
1. Increased spats in the home		
2. Increased spats with neighbors		
3. Mental disorders		
4. a. Insanity		
b. Epilepsy		
c. Nervous breakdown		
d. Others		
5. Divorce		
6. Desertion		
7. Separation		
8. Loss of custody of children		
9. Addition to family by custody or adoption		
10. Conflict with police		

VII. Income and Expenditures

A. What is your cash monthly income from			B. What is your monthly income in kind?		
1. Property			1. Food		
2. Boarders			2. Rent		
3. Wages			3. Utilities		
a. Head			4. Clothing		
b. Women			5. Property payment		
c. Children			6. Upkeep of car		
4. Pension			7. Carfare		
5. Insurance			8. Medical care		
a. Relatives			9. Recreation		
7. Others			10. Others		

C. Are you receiving aid from any of the following organizations? (Please check)

	Yes	No		Yes	No
1. County Welfare Department			9. American Red Cross		
2. Jewish Social Service Bureau			10. American Legion Service Dept.		
3. Family Welfare Association			11. International Institute		
4. Catholic Welfare Bureau			12. State Emergency Relief Adm'n		
5. Salvation Army Relief			13. Church (Name)		
6. Motion Picture Relief			14. Relatives		
7. Assistance League			15. Savings		
8. Volunteers of America			16. Others		

D. What is your monthly outgo for?

1. Rent or payments?	$		6. Carfare?	$	
2. Assessments and upkeep of home?			7. Upkeep of car?		
3. Utilities?			8. Medical care?		
4. Food?			9. Recreation?		
5. Clothing?			10. Incidentals?		
			11. Contributions?		

VIII. Relationship with Coöperative

A. How did you learn about the coöperative? (Please check)

1. Chamber of commerce		9. Neighbors	
2. Chance		10. Newspaper	
3. Church		11. Political organization	
4. Coöperative		12. Relatives	
5. Fellow worker		13. Social agencies	
6. Fraternal organization		14. Trade journal or magazine	
7. Friends		15. Others	
8. Interested individual		(Specify)	

B. To what units did you belong before June 1, 1934?

1. Please give numbers .....
2. Of which were you a charter member? .....
3. Was your unit(s) a member of the organized central council? Yes..... No.....
4. How long were you a member of all the units? Years..... Months.....

C. With what did the coöperative provide you during the first six months of 1934?

	Units	Amounts	Value		Units	Amounts	Value
1. Barber				r. Pepper			
2. Cash				s. Potatoes			
3. Clothes				t. Salt			
4. Food				u. Tea			
a. Bacon				5. Fruits, vegetables			
b. Egg, powdered				a.			
c. Beans				b.			
d. Bread				c.			
e. Butter				d.			
f. Canned goods				6. Gas			
g.				7. Insurance			
h.				8. Lights			
i.				9. Meals (communal hall)			
j.				10. Medical care			
k. Cereal				11. Rent (house)			
l. Cocoa				12. Shoe repair			
m. Coffee				13. Transportation			
n. Eggs				14. Water			
o. Flour				15. Others (Specify)			
p. Milk				16.			
q. Oleomargarine				17.			

D. In what quantity and what quality?

	Excel.	Good	Fair	Poor
1. Is the quality of the food given				
2. Is the variety of the food given				

3. Is the quantity of the food given at one time for:
1 Day?..... 2 Days?..... 5 Days?..... 1 Week?..... 2 Weeks?..... Longer?.....
(Indicate)

4. Is the housing given: Good?..... Fair?..... Poor?.....

E. Does the unit provide recreation? (Please check)

	Yes	No		Yes	No
1. Athletic clubs			7. Literary clubs		
2. Classes			8. Movie tickets		
3. Coöoperative clubs			9. Musical clubs		
4. Dances			10. Picnics		
5. Group outings			11. Social clubs		
6. Lectures			12. Others		

F. In what type of recreational activity would you be interested?.....

G. Work requirements of the coöperatives:

1. How many hours per week does the coöperative require?.....

2. How many days per week do you actually work?.....

H. Organization and relationships of coöperative unit:

1. How long has the present manager of the coöperative unit to which you belong been in office:
6 Months?..... 1 Year?..... 2 Years?..... Over 2 years?.....

	Yes	No
2. Do you have any voting power in the management of your unit?		
If so, do you vote at every opportunity?		
3. Do you regularly attend meetings of your unit?		
4. Does your unit receive contributions from the community in which it is located?		

5. What type of contributions?	Units	Value	6. Sources of contributions (Please check)		
a. Housing			a. Clubs		
b. Clothing			b. Churches		
c. Food			c. Lodges		
d. Cash			d. Stores		
e. Gas			e. Utility		
f. Lights			f. Others		
g. Water			.....		
h. Medical care					
i. Medicine					

7. Does your unit receive aid from the Federal government? Yes..... No.....
In the form of cash? Yes..... No..... How much? $.....
In the form of supplies? Yes..... No..... How much?.....

8. Would you like to see the coöperative continue to function after the present unemployment crisis is over? Yes..... No.....

9. Has there been an increase in the size of your family?.....

A. Size of family:

1. Before coöperative..... 2. During coöperative..... 3. After coöperative.....

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