

Welfare and Protection Council which has power to visit places where young persons under 18 years old are employed and generally to supervise such employment.

When the protection of children and young persons is not in the hands of some specially appointed body the law may be enforced by factory inspectors, or shop inspectors, or school boards, or the police. Opinions differ as to who is best fitted to enforce the laws governing the occupations considered here, but it is agreed that where children of school age are concerned the school authorities should be given adequate powers to see that the law is observed. As regards young persons above school age, employment in shops would seem to fall naturally within the province of shop inspectors where they exist. It is in occupations carried on in the streets and public places, and in work connected with public entertainments, that real difficulties arise, particularly in big cities. In some localities school authorities are given powers, in others the police; and approved voluntary organisations may also be called upon. But the matter bristles with difficulties and perhaps the best solution is to be found in the strict application of the licensing laws and the gradual withdrawal of children and young persons from employments carried on in the streets.

Conditions of Agricultural Workers in Spain¹

CLASSIFICATION OF FARMS AND WORKERS

In Spain the combinations of crops grown differ considerably in different regions; this involves variation in the types of farm. In the central Provinces, where the most usual combination is cereals, pulse crops, and unproductive fallow, the structure of agricultural undertakings is fairly simple; it is more complicated in the western Provinces, where the utilisation of fallow, stubble, and acorns for stock raising (especially pigs) is added to the combination peculiar to farms in the central region. In the southern Provinces yet another combination is found: the cultivation of cereals and pulse crops, without fallow, is combined with the cultivation of industrial plants (beet, tobacco, and cotton). Thus there are three types of farm, with different classes of workers.

The type of farm characteristic of the central region may first be considered. As cereals are the principal crop, ploughing and sowing are the most important operations, especially as the methods of dry-

¹ Based on information collected personally by a member of the Agricultural Service of the International Labour Office in the course of a journey through Spain.

farming adopted make it necessary to till the land several times. This is done by means of such implements as ploughs and harrows, each as a rule drawn by a pair of mules. The workers employed on the farm are of two kinds : permanent workers, engaged by the year, and daily workers. The permanent staff is principally employed on ploughing and sowing, and also on tending stock. There is one permanent worker (*mulero*) to each pair of mules. On farms of considerable size where there are several pairs of mules the *muleros* form a special group under a foreman (*apelador*), whose sole duty is to supervise their work, and an assistant foreman (*manijero*), who takes part in the work. There is also an extra worker ; for as the pairs of mules usually work one behind the other in the same field, the temporary absence of one worker would hold up the work of the entire group if there were no one to take his place. The large farms also employ labourers for odd jobs.

Daily workers are engaged for the whole period of certain seasonal tasks : weeding, reaping and threshing cereal crops, carting produce, vintage, etc.

On farms in the western Provinces, in addition to the groups of workers described above, there are also shepherds and swineherds (*porqueros*), whose duties are the supervision and care of breeding stock.

In the southern Provinces *muleros* and cattlemen are employed for ploughing, sowing, and carting. The more up-to-date farms also employ a mechanic, for draught animals are gradually being replaced by tractors. All these persons work under the orders of the *apelador* and the *manijero*. A further group consists of the workers employed to tend and watch breeding stock. For rushes of seasonal work daily workers are engaged as wanted.

As regards the number of workers in relation to the area of the farm, it is usual in the central Provinces to employ one permanent worker to every 25 hectares of land, which is the area that can be worked with one pair of mules. In the west and south, according to the amount of work to be done, one *mulero* is generally employed to every 15 or 20 hectares of land which is tilled but not irrigated. On irrigated farms the workers are of course much more numerous. The number employed in tending breeding-stock depends on the number of oxen, swine, or sheep ; there are never more than two or three families for this work.

The number of daily workers varies considerably according to the intensity of the farming operations and the season. The ratio of permanent to daily workers is roughly one to ten during periods of great pressure. In all parts of the country there is frequently a shortage of daily workers in the summer. In the western Provinces the gap is filled by Portuguese workers ; these are not regarded with a kindly eye by the Spanish workers, who accuse them of accepting too low wages. In the winter, on the other hand, unemployment is rife. The unemployed workers migrate either to other parts of Spain, where they usually try to find work in the mines, or to foreign countries, either for the period of unemployment, or even permanently.

THE VILLAGE SYSTEM

It often happens, and is indeed characteristic of agricultural conditions in Spain, that the worker lives at a considerable distance from his work. It is true that permanent workers as a rule live at the farm, in accommodation provided for them, and if necessary for their family, by the employer. But if there is a village not very far off, only a part of the workers—those who are most necessary—live at the farm. The remainder live in the village, in houses either owned or rented by them; in fixing their wages the fact that their employer does not provide living accommodation is taken into account.

Daily workers ordinarily live in the villages, which are sometimes several hours' walk from the farm where the workers are employed. If they have a small plot of ground where they can grow fodder, they can keep an ass or mule, which they then use to ride to and from the farm. Journey time is not counted as part of the working day, which is at most eight hours' actual work, except during periods of very great pressure. For workers coming from a distance who cannot go home every day, dormitories with more or less comfortable beds are provided.

The standard of accommodation provided on farms for permanent workers differs very considerably. At one end of the scale is the reasonably clean and comfortable cottage, stone or brick built (especially in districts where the winter is severe). At the other, there is the simple and primitive thatched hut (*chozo*), built on a circular ground plan, consisting of one room only. Bunks are fixed all round the inside wall, except for a space where there are one or two pieces of furniture in which to keep clothes and household goods. Water, unfortunately, is very often scarce; in some localities it is collected in cisterns for household consumption, and ponds and watercourses are used for watering the stock.

Taken as a whole, the buildings belonging to a large farm look rather like a village. They are usually built in the form of a hollow rectangle, with one or two inner courtyards. The quarters occupied by the employer and his manager are at the entrance; next come the staff quarters, and, at the end or sides, the stables and outbuildings. Sometimes, if the farm is a long way from a village, there is even a chapel; here a visiting priest holds service on Sunday, which is a day of rest made pleasanter by music and dancing.

WAGES, FOOD, AND METHODS OF ENGAGEMENT

Wages vary according to the region, the tasks assigned, and the season. They are paid in one of the three following ways:

(a) The whole of the wage may be paid in cash, at a rate varying from 4 to 8 pesetas a day, with free living accommodation.

(b) The wage may be paid in cash with a supplement in kind; the latter usually takes the form of *gaspacho*, a dish very common,

even in well-to-do families, in the centre, west, and south. This is a kind of cold soup, which is considered refreshing and stimulating. It is made with vinegar, oil, water, and a little salt ; these are whipped together, and all sorts of vegetables (peppers, onions, cucumber, etc.) and bread are added.

(c) The wage may be paid partly in cash and partly in kind ; the part paid in kind consists of full board (three meals daily). The first and most important meal is served at midday ; it consists of bread, wine, and *cocido*, a kind of stew made with sausage or meat (usually pork in working-class families), chick-peas or lentils, tomatoes, peppers, potatoes, etc. In the afternoon *gaspacho* is served ; the third meal, in the evening, consists of bacon or cheese, bread, and wine. The amount of food supplied to the workers varies according to local custom, the employer, and the workers' bargaining power in regard to their conditions. In general, agricultural workers and the peasant classes as a whole are very abstemious.

Meal times vary with the season and the district. Frequently dinner is at 1 or 2 p.m. ; *gaspacho* is served towards evening, and supper is very late so as to allow for the return of persons whose work is at a considerable distance. These hours are in accordance with the general customs of the country. The value of board and lodging is estimated at 2 or 3 pesetas a day ; the cash portion of the wage varies from 2 to 5 pesetas a day according to the locality and the kind of work.

In addition to their wage, permanent workers may have a small plot of land, which they cultivate as they like and the whole produce of which belongs to them.

These conditions apply to the person actually engaged. In the case of a family, the members of it not engaged as permanent workers have no special rights, except that of living at the farm if the employer lodges his permanent staff ; but they generally find employment on the farm as daily workers.

The wages paid to daily workers vary very much, both with the kind of work and especially with the season. The limits are fixed by the law of supply and demand. During periods of great pressure of work, the demand for labour is considerable and the workers take advantage of it to increase their demands. Conversely, when agricultural work is nearly at a standstill, the workers offer their services for a very modest wage.

The engagement of agricultural workers is generally effected in the village market-place. Workers out of employment gather there early in the morning or in the evening, and the *apeladores* from the various farms come and choose from among them the workers they need. Wages are fixed from day to day, according to the supply of and demand for labour. However, in certain regions, e.g. in the east, the engagement of agricultural workers is based on collective agreements between employers' and workers' organisations.