The Need for Farmworker Housing in Florida

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Farmworker Population and Household Estimates

An estimated 135,000 farmworkers work in crop agriculture in Florida over the course of one year. These include greenhouse and nursery workers as well as field crop workers.¹

Farmworkers may be migrant or seasonal, with the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) defining a "migrant" as a person traveling more than 75 miles to find farm work. Seasonal workers also perform labor in crop agriculture but do not make this migration. Of the 135,000 total workers, 58 percent, or 77,639, are estimated to be migrant workers, and 42 percent, or 57,362, are estimated to be seasonal workers.

Farmworkers may be classified as accompanied or unaccompanied. Accompanied farmworkers are those living with a spouse, children, or parents, or minor farmworkers living with a sibling. An estimated 19 percent of migrant farmworkers and 53 percent of seasonal farmworkers in Florida are accompanied. The average household size is 3.24 members for accompanied migrant workers and 3.6 members for accompanied seasonal workers. Households may contain more than one farmworker; an average of 1.86 farmworkers live in each household containing accompanied migrant workers and an average of 1.37 farmworkers live in each household containing accompanied seasonal workers.

Based on these estimates, the following table shows the number of farmworker households and their household members in Florida:

	Unaccompanied Worker Households	Accompanied Worker Households	Total Households	Unaccompanied Worker Household Members	Accompanied Worker Household Members	Total Household Members
Migrant	62,888	7,931	70,818	62,888	25,696	88,584
Seasonal	26,960	22,191	49,151	26,960	79,888	106,848
TOTAL	89,848	30,122	119,970	89,848	105,584	195,432

Therefore, Florida has a total of 119,970 farmworker households with 195,432 household members.

This analysis estimates the number of farmworkers and farmworker households by Florida county based on each county's share of farm labor expenditures. The following twelve counties have the largest farmworker populations: Miami-Dade, Palm Beach, Hillsborough,

¹ The farmworker total includes workers in firms classified by the NAICS (North American Industry Classification, formerly SIC) in code 111, "Crop Production." This classification includes farms, orchards, groves, greenhouses and nurseries.

Collier, Hendry, Manatee, Orange, Polk, Highlands, DeSoto, Hardee, and Lake. These counties combined contain two-thirds of the state's farmworkers.

Incomes and Affordable Rent Ranges for Farmworker Households

Unaccompanied migrant farmworkers fall most frequently into the lowest income groups, with 81 percent earning less than \$10,000 per year. Unaccompanied seasonal workers also are heavily concentrated in the lowest income groups, with half earning less than \$10,000. Therefore, most unaccompanied farmworkers need single-person units or beds in larger units at rents below \$250 per month. Nearly all require rents below \$375 per month.

Accompanied farmworker households show more variation in their incomes. Accompanied migrant worker households are more likely than accompanied seasonal worker households to fall at the bottom of the income scale, with half earning less than \$10,000 per year. Accompanied seasonal worker households are more evenly spread throughout the income groups, with 30 percent earning less than \$10,000 per year but more than one-third earning above \$20,000 per year. Note that due to data limitations, this likely underestimates the number of accompanied worker households in the lowest income ranges and overestimates the number of households in the highest income ranges.

Two-thirds of accompanied farmworker families need housing units with rents of \$500 per month or less. Some accompanied farmworker families may be able to afford rents closer to market rates; that is, in the \$500 to \$875 range.

Farmworker Housing Supply

While farmworkers may find a variety of types of housing arrangements, three types of government-licensed or subsidized housing are reserved specifically for farmworkers:

- Florida Department of Health-permitted camps for unaccompanied workers. The current capacity of permitted camps is approximately 35,402 beds.
- US Department of Agriculture Section 514 and 516 housing for farmworker families. Florida has 3,822 units of Section 514/516 housing.
- FHFC-assisted farmworker family developments using SAIL, HOME, and tax credit resources. FHFC has allocated or approved funding for 1,743 units of farmworker housing, including 365 of the units also receiving Section 514/516 funding.

Assuming that the Section 514/516 units and FHFC-assisted units can house an average of four persons, these three types of housing can house a total of 57,662 farmworkers and their family members in Florida.

The twelve counties with the capacity to house 1,000 or more farmworkers are Collier, Palm Beach, Miami-Dade, Hillsborough, Hendry, Polk, DeSoto, Manatee, Indian River, Lee, Lake, and Pasco. These counties contain 85 percent of the state's farmworker housing capacity. All but three of these counties also appear in the list of the twelve counties with the most farmworkers. Therefore, while there is a substantial need for farmworker housing, the supply that does exist is largely concentrated in the areas with the most farmworkers.

Need Estimate: Comparison of Supply and Farmworker Households

The total gap between the number of single beds in camps for unaccompanied farmworkers and the number of unaccompanied farmworkers is 54,446 beds. Eight counties have an unmet need for single worker housing exceeding 2,000 beds: Miami-Dade, Orange, Highlands, Hendry, Manatee, Hardee, Polk, and Marion. The total gap between the number of family farmworker units and the number of accompanied farmworker households is 24,557 units. The nine counties with unmet need for family farmworker units exceeding 1,000 units are Miami-Dade, Palm Beach, Hillsborough, Hendry, Manatee, Orange, Highlands, Polk, and Collier.

The Need for Farmworker Housing in Florida

Introduction

This section of the housing needs assessment discusses the need for rental housing for migrant and seasonal farmworkers in Florida's counties. Farmworkers may or may not be accompanied by immediate family members, and unaccompanied farmworkers have different housing needs and incomes than accompanied farmworkers. Therefore, this analysis examines the number of accompanied and unaccompanied farmworker households, the incomes of each group, and the number of housing units appropriate to each group.

The analysis is divided into five sections:

- I. Farmworker Population and Household Estimates
- II. Incomes and Affordable Rent Ranges for Farmworker Households
- III. Farmworker Housing Supply
- IV. Need Estimate: Comparison of Supply and Households
- V. Data Limitations

I. Farmworker Population and Household Estimates

To determine the number of farmworker housing units needed and the number of people they must accommodate, this section makes estimates of the following:

- *Farmworkers*: individuals performing farm work in Florida or living in Florida when not migrating to other states to perform farm work.
- *Farmworker households*: individuals or family groups living together including at least one farmworker; many farmworker households include more than one farmworker.
- *Farmworker household members:* all of the individuals living in a farmworker household, regardless of whether they themselves perform farmwork.

As described in the following section, farmworkers may be migrant or seasonal, with the National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS) defining a "migrant" as a person traveling more than 75 miles to find farm work. Seasonal workers also perform labor in crop agriculture but do not make this migration. Because migrant and seasonal workers have different household characteristics, we make separate estimates of the numbers of farmworkers, households, and household members in each of these categories.

Total Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers in Florida

An estimated 135,000 farmworkers worked in crop agriculture in Florida in 2002. These include greenhouse and nursery workers as well as field crop workers.²

In the NAWS, 58 percent of farmworkers surveyed in Florida fit the definition of migrant workers. Thus, the estimated numbers of migrant and seasonal farmworkers in the state of Florida are as follows:

² The total number of farmworkers in Florida is derived from the 2002 USDA National Agricultural Statistics Service Farm Labor Survey (FLS) and the 2001 and 2002 National Agricultural Workers Survey (NAWS). The FLS includes a quarterly count of hired and agricultural service field workers in Florida. In the four quarters between October 2001 and July 2002, the FLS counted 151,200 hired and contract farmworkers in Florida. This included workers in firms classified by the NAICS (North American Industry Classification, formerly SIC) in code 111, "Crop Production." This classification includes farms, orchards, groves, greenhouses and nurseries.

The quarterly FLS counts some workers several times if they work multiple jobs during the year and misses other workers if they were not employed during the week in which each survey was taken. Therefore, we used NAWS data, which covers a full calendar year, to annualize the FLS count. The NAWS data indicated that 51 percent of Florida field workers are not captured in the FLS statistics, 20 percent are counted twice, 6 percent three times, 9 percent four times, and 1 percent five times. In total, the FLS quarterly count resulted in a 12 percent over-count of farmworkers. Thus, the estimated annualized count of farmworkers equals 151,200/1.12, or approximately 135,000 Florida field workers.

Table 1.Migrant and Seasonal Workers in Florida, 2002

Migrant Workers	Seasonal Workers	Total	
77,639	57,362	135,000	

Accompanied vs. Unaccompanied Farmworkers

In addition to the migrant/seasonal distinction, farmworkers may be accompanied or unaccompanied. Accompanied farmworkers are those living with a spouse, children, or parents, or minor farmworkers living with a sibling. Unaccompanied farmworkers are those who do not live with immediate family. According to the NAWS, an estimated 19 percent of migrant farmworkers and 53 percent of seasonal farmworkers in Florida are accompanied by immediate family.³ Applying these percentages to the estimate of total farmworkers yields the following estimates for Florida:

Table 2.	Unaccompanied and Accompanied Farmworkers in Florida, 20	02
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	Unaccompanied Workers	Accompanied Workers
Migrant	62,888	14,751
Seasonal	26,960	30,402
TOTAL	89,848	45,153

An analysis of farmworker housing needs must also take into account the needs of family members living with the farmworker. According to the NAWS, the average household size is 3.24 members for accompanied migrant workers and 3.6 members for accompanied seasonal workers. Moreover, a household may contain more than one farmworker. The NAWS found that an average of 1.86 farmworkers lived in each household containing accompanied migrant workers and an average of 1.37 farmworkers lived in each household containing accompanied seasonal workers. Thus, the estimated numbers of accompanied farmworker households and household members are as follows:

Table 3.Accompanied Farmworkers and Their Households in Florida, 2002

	Accompanied Workers	Households (Workers/Average Workers per Household)	Household Members (Households * Average Members per Household)
Migrant	14,751	7,931	25,696
Seasonal	30,402	22,191	79,888
TOTAL	45,153	30,122	105,584

³ Because the percentage of migrant and seasonal workers who reported being accompanied by family varied widely across different NAWS survey years, we used an average of the percentages reported in the 1997-2002 NAWS surveys.

Since unaccompanied workers do not have other members of their immediate families living with them, each worker forms a household of one. Thus, the number of unaccompanied worker households equals the number of unaccompanied workers. Combining the number of unaccompanied workers in Table 2 and the numbers of accompanied worker households and household members in Table 3 yields the total number of farmworker households and household members in Florida:

	Unaccompanied Worker Households	Accompanied Worker Households	Total Households	Unaccompanied Worker Household Members	Accompanied Worker Household Members	Total Household Members
Migrant	62,888	7,931	70,818	62,888	25,696	88,584
Seasonal	26,960	22,191	49,151	26,960	79,888	106,848
TOTAL	89,848	30,122	119,970	89,848	105,584	195,432

Table 4.	Farmworker	Households a	nd Household	l Members in	Florida, 2	2002
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In sum, Florida has 119,970 farmworker households with 195,432 household members.

Estimating Farmworker Population, Households, and Household Members by County

To estimate the number of farmworkers, farmworker households, and farmworker household members in Florida's counties, we calculated each county's share of the total expenditures for contract and hired farm labor reported by Florida's farmers to the 2002 Census of Agriculture. We assigned each county a portion of farmworkers, households, and household members based on its share of labor expenditures. These calculations are summarized in the following series of tables.

Table 5 shows the numbers of unaccompanied migrant and seasonal workers by county. As noted above, these also represent the number of unaccompanied households and household members, since each unaccompanied worker forms a household of one. Table 6 shows the number of accompanied workers, accompanied worker households, and accompanied worker household members for migrant and seasonal workers by county. Table 7 shows the total numbers of farmworkers, farmworker households, and farmworker household members by county, regardless of migrant/seasonal status. Finally, Figure 1 is a map showing the distribution of all farmworkers by county.

Table 5.	Unaccompanied	Farmworkers	by	County,	2002
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County	Percentage of State's Farm Labor Expenditures	Unaccompanied Migrant Workers	Unaccompanied Seasonal Workers	Total Unaccompanied Workers
Alachua	0.83%	523	224	747
Baker	0.26%	0	71	71
Bay	0.00%	1	0	2
Bradford	0.03%	19	8	28

County	Percentage of State's Farm Labor Expenditures	Unaccompanied Migrant Workers	Unaccompanied Seasonal Workers	Total Unaccompanied Workers
Brevard	0.75%	469	201	669
Broward	1.30%	815	349	1,164
Calhoun	0.22%	136	58	194
Charlotte	1.09%	687	294	981
Citrus	0.14%	90	39	129
Clay	0.37%	231	99	330
Collier	6.58%	4,136	1,773	5,910
Columbia	0.27%	168	72	240
DeSoto	3.09%	1,943	833	2,776
Dixie	0.04%	28	12	40
Duval	0.52%	324	139	463
Escambia	0.20%	128	55	183
Flagler	0.46%	291	125	416
Franklin	0.00%	0	0	1
Gadsden	1.73%	1,090	467	1,557
Gilchrist	0.53%	331	142	472
Glades	0.98%	614	263	877
Gulf	0.00%	1	0	1
Hamilton	0.13%	85	36	121
Hardee	2.76%	1,737	745	2,481
Hendry	5.91%	3,719	1,594	5,313
Hernando	0.24%	149	64	212
Highlands	3.98%	2,505	1,074	3,579
Hillsborough	6.63%	4,169	1,787	5,956
Holmes	0.05%	34	15	49
Indian River	2.19%	1,374	589	1,964
Jackson	0.45%	280	120	400
Jefferson	0.31%	196	84	280
Lafayette	0.31%	197	85	282
Lake	2.61%	1,642	704	2,346
Lee	2.14%	1,347	578	1,925
Leon	0.12%	77	33	110
Levy	0.89%	559	240	798
Liberty	0.00%	1	0	1
Madison	0.17%	105	45	150
Manatee	5.24%	3,293	1,412	4,705
Marion	2.36%	1,483	636	2,119
Martin	1.96%	1,231	528	1,759
Miami-Dade	11.18%	7,029	3,014	10,043
Monroe	0.05%	32	14	45
Nassau	0.11%	67	29	96
Okaloosa	0.05%	29	12	41
Okeechobee	1.71%	1,078	462	1,541
Orange	4.86%	3,058	1,311	4,369

County	Percentage of State's Farm Labor Expenditures	Unaccompanied Migrant Workers	ccompanied Migrant Unaccompanied Seasonal Workers Workers	
Osceola	1.18%	744	319	1,064
Palm Beach	9.33%	5,866	2,515	8,381
Pasco	1.07%	672	288	960
Pinellas	0.21%	132	57	189
Polk	4.35%	2,737	1,173	3,910
Putnam	0.62%	392	168	560
St Johns	0.94%	593	254	847
St Lucie	2.15%	1,351	579	1,930
Santa Rosa	0.16%	103	44	146
Sarasota	0.27%	170	73	243
Seminole	0.28%	173	74	248
Sumter	0.41%	259	111	371
Suwannee	0.76%	475	204	679
Taylor	0.02%	10	4	15
Union	0.10%	65	28	93
Volusia	2.13%	1,338	574	1,912
Wakulla	0.01%	8	3	11
Walton	0.14%	88	38	126
Washington	0.07%	42	18	60
State of Florida Total	100%	62,888	26,960	89,848

County	Percentage of State's Farm Labor Expenditures	Accompanied Migrant Workers	Accompanied Seasonal Workers	Total Accompanied Workers	Accompanied Migrant Worker Households	Accompanied Seasonal Worker Households	Total Accompanied Worker Households	Accompanied Migrant Household Members	Accompanied Seasonal Household Members	Total Accompanied Household Members
Alachua	0.83%	123	253	376	66	185	251	214	665	878
Baker	0.26%	39	80	119	21	58	79	68	210	278
Bay	0.00%	0	1	1	0	0	1	0	1	2
Bradford	0.03%	5	9	14	2	7	9	8	24	32
Brevard	0.75%	110	227	336	59	165	224	191	595	787
Broward	1.30%	191	394	585	103	288	390	333	1,035	1,368
Calhoun	0.22%	32	66	98	17	48	65	56	173	228
Charlotte	1.09%	161	332	493	87	242	329	281	873	1,153
Citrus	0.14%	21	44	65	11	32	43	37	114	151
Clay	0.37%	54	112	166	29	81	111	94	293	387
Collier	6.58%	970	2,000	2,970	522	1,460	1,981	1,690	5,255	6,945
Columbia	0.27%	39	81	121	21	59	81	69	214	282
DeSoto	3.09%	456	939	1,395	245	686	931	794	2,468	3,262
Dixie	0.04%	7	14	20	4	10	13	11	36	47
Duval	0.52%	76	157	233	41	114	155	133	412	545
Escambia	0.20%	30	62	92	16	45	61	52	163	215
Flagler	0.46%	68	141	209	37	103	139	119	370	488
Franklin	0.00%	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Gadsden	1.73%	256	527	783	137	385	522	445	1,385	1,830
Gilchrist	0.53%	78	160	237	42	117	158	135	420	555
Glades	0.98%	144	297	441	77	217	294	251	780	1,031
Gulf	0.00%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Hamilton	0.13%	20	41	61	11	30	41	35	108	142
Hardee	2.76%	407	840	1,247	219	613	832	710	2,206	2,916
Hendry	5.91%	872	1,798	2,670	469	1,312	1,781	1,519	4,724	6,243
Hernando	0.24%	35	72	107	19	52	71	61	189	250
Highlands	3.98%	588	1,211	1,799	316	884	1,200	1,024	3,183	4,206

Table 6.Accompanied Farmworkers, Households, and Household Members by County, 2002

County	Percentage of State's Farm Labor Expenditures	Accompanied Migrant Workers	Accompanied Seasonal Workers	Total Accompanied Workers	Accompanied Migrant Worker Households	Accompanied Seasonal Worker Households	Total Accompanied Worker Households	Accompanied Migrant Household Members	Accompanied Seasonal Household Members	Total Accompanied Household Members
Hillsborough	6.63%	978	2,015	2,993	526	1,471	1,997	1,704	5,296	7,000
Holmes	0.05%	8	17	25	4	12	16	14	44	58
Indian River	2.19%	322	664	987	173	485	658	562	1,746	2,308
Jackson	0.45%	66	135	201	35	99	134	114	356	470
Jefferson	0.31%	46	95	141	25	69	94	80	249	329
Lafayette	0.31%	46	95	142	25	70	94	81	251	331
Lake	2.61%	385	794	1,179	207	579	787	671	2,086	2,757
Lee	2.14%	316	651	967	170	475	645	551	1,712	2,262
Leon	0.12%	18	37	55	10	27	37	32	98	130
Levy	0.89%	131	270	401	70	197	268	228	710	938
Liberty	0.00%	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
Madison	0.17%	25	51	76	13	37	50	43	134	177
Manatee	5.24%	772	1,592	2,364	415	1,162	1,577	1,345	4,183	5,529
Marion	2.36%	348	717	1,065	187	523	711	606	1,884	2,491
Martin	1.96%	289	595	884	155	434	590	503	1,564	2,067
Miami-Dade	11.18%	1,649	3,398	5,047	886	2,480	3,367	2,872	8,930	11,802
Monroe	0.05%	7	15	23	4	11	15	13	40	53
Nassau	0.11%	16	33	48	8	24	32	28	86	113
Okaloosa	0.05%	7	14	21	4	10	14	12	36	48
Okeechobee	1.71%	253	521	774	136	381	517	441	1,370	1,810
Orange	4.86%	717	1,478	2,195	386	1,079	1,465	1,249	3,884	5,134
Osceola	1.18%	175	360	535	94	263	357	304	946	1,250
Palm Beach	9.33%	1,376	2,836	4,212	740	2,070	2,810	2,397	7,452	9,848
Pasco	1.07%	158	325	482	85	237	322	274	853	1,128
Pinellas	0.21%	31	64	95	17	47	63	54	168	222
Polk	4.35%	642	1,323	1,965	345	966	1,311	1,118	3,477	4,595
Putnam	0.62%	92	189	281	49	138	188	160	498	658
St Johns	0.94%	139	287	426	75	209	284	242	753	996
St Lucie	2.15%	317	653	970	170	477	647	552	1,716	2,267
Santa Rosa	0.16%	24	50	74	13	36	49	42	130	172

County	Percentage of State's Farm Labor Expenditures	Accompanied Migrant Workers	Accompanied Seasonal Workers	Total Accompanied Workers	Accompanied Migrant Worker Households	Accompanied Seasonal Worker Households	Total Accompanied Worker Households	Accompanied Migrant Household Members	Accompanied Seasonal Household Members	Total Accompanied Household Members
Sarasota	0.27%	40	82	122	21	60	81	69	216	285
Seminole	0.28%	41	84	124	22	61	83	71	220	291
Sumter	0.41%	61	125	186	33	92	124	106	330	436
Suwannee	0.76%	111	230	341	60	168	228	194	604	798
Taylor	0.02%	2	5	7	1	4	5	4	13	17
Union	0.10%	15	31	47	8	23	31	27	83	109
Volusia	2.13%	314	647	961	169	472	641	547	1,700	2,246
Wakulla	0.01%	2	4	6	1	3	4	3	10	13
Walton	0.14%	21	43	63	11	31	42	36	112	148
Washington	0.07%	10	20	30	5	15	20	17	53	71
State of Florida Total	100%	14,751	30,402	45,153	7,931	22,191	30,122	25,696	79,888	105,584

	Percentage of State's Farm Labor		Total Farmworker	Total Farmworker
County	Expenditures	Total Farmworkers	Households	Household Members
Alachua	0.83%	1,123	998	1,626
Baker	0.26%	190	150	349
Bay	0.00%	2	2	3
Bradford	0.03%	41	37	60
Brevard	0.75%	1,006	894	1,456
Broward	1.30%	1,749	1,555	2,533
Calhoun	0.22%	292	259	423
Charlotte	1.09%	1,475	1,310	2,135
Citrus	0.14%	193	172	280
Clay	0.37%	495	440	717
Collier	6.58%	8,880	7,891	12,855
Columbia	0.27%	361	321	523
DeSoto	3.09%	4,171	3,707	6,039
Dixie	0.04%	60	53	87
Duval	0.52%	696	619	1,008
Escambia	0.20%	275	244	398
Flagler	0.46%	624	555	904
Franklin	0.00%	1	1	1
Gadsden	1.73%	2,340	2,080	3,388
Gilchrist	0.53%	710	631	1,027
Glades	0.98%	1,318	1,172	1,909
Gulf	0.00%	2	2	3
Hamilton	0.13%	182	162	264
Hardee	2.76%	3,728	3,313	5,397
Hendry	5.91%	7,983	7,094	11,556
Hernando	0.24%	319	284	462
Highlands	3.98%	5,378	4,779	7,786
Hillsborough	6.63%	8,950	7,953	12,956
Holmes	0.05%	74	66	107
Indian River	2.19%	2,950	2,622	4,271
Jackson	0.45%	601	534	871
Jefferson	0.31%	421	374	609
Lafayette	0.31%	423	376	613
Lake	2.61%	3,525	3,133	5,103
Lee	2.14%	2,892	2,570	4,187
Leon	0.12%	166	147	240
Levy	0.89%	1,200	1,066	1,737
Liberty	0.00%	2	2	3
Madison	0.17%	226	201	327
Manatee	5.24%	7,069	6,282	10,233
Marion	2.36%	3,184	2,830	4,610

Table 7.Total Farmworkers, Households, and Household Members by County, 2002

County	Percentage of State's Farm Labor Expenditures	Total Farmworkers	Total Farmworker Households	Total Farmworker Household Members
Martin	1 96%	2 642	2 348	3 825
Miami-Dade	11.18%	15,090	13 410	21.845
Monroe	0.05%	68	60	99
Nassau	0.11%	145	129	209
Okaloosa	0.05%	61	55	89
Okeechobee	1.71%	2.315	2.057	3.351
Orange	4.86%	6,564	5.833	9,502
Osceola	1.18%	1,598	1,420	2,313
Palm Beach	9.33%	12,592	11,190	18,229
Pasco	1.07%	1,442	1,281	2,087
Pinellas	0.21%	284	252	410
Polk	4.35%	5,876	5,221	8,506
Putnam	0.62%	841	748	1,218
St Johns	0.94%	1,273	1,131	1,843
St Lucie	2.15%	2,899	2,576	4,197
Santa Rosa	0.16%	220	196	319
Sarasota	0.27%	365	324	528
Seminole	0.28%	372	331	539
Sumter	0.41%	557	495	806
Suwannee	0.76%	1,020	907	1,477
Taylor	0.02%	22	20	32
Union	0.10%	140	124	202
Volusia	2.13%	2,872	2,552	4,158
Wakulla	0.01%	17	15	24
Walton	0.14%	189	168	274
Washington	0.07%	90	80	131
State of Florida Total	100%	135,001	119,970	195,432





The twelve counties with the most farmworkers are Miami-Dade, Palm Beach, Hillsborough, Collier, Hendry, Manatee, Orange, Polk, Highlands, DeSoto, Hardee, and Lake. These counties combined contain two-thirds of the state's farmworkers.

II. Incomes and Affordable Rent Ranges for Farmworker Households

We used NAWS data to estimate the breakdown of farmworker households by family income range to determine how much the households can afford to pay in rent. In general, unaccompanied farmworker households tend to have lower incomes than accompanied farmworker households. Accompanied farmworkers may have several workers living in their households and earning farm income, or they may have family members contributing income from other types of work.

The estimates of farmworker income were complicated by the way in which the NAWS collects income information in two ways. The NAWS survey asks farmworkers, "What was your family's total income last year in USA dollars?" (emphasis added). First, for 18 percent of workers surveyed, this data is missing. To account for these workers, we have assumed that they would be distributed among the different income categories in proportion to each category's share of total workers. For example, if 20 percent of workers other than the missing workers reported incomes between \$7,500 and \$9,999, we added 20 percent of the missing workers to that category. Second, approximately 17 percent of workers surveyed—including 34 percent of unaccompanied migrant workers-responded that their family incomes were below \$1,000, with most of these responding that their incomes were below \$500. It is unlikely that most of these answers actually represent family incomes earned while the workers were performing farm work in Florida. More likely, these workers may be new to the US or to farm work and are reporting previous years' incomes that do not include farm work. Therefore, we made the assumption that these amounts did not reflect a full year's income. We redistributed these workers to the other income categories based on the other categories' share of the state total, the same method by which we redistributed the workers with missing data.⁴

Even with the workers reporting incomes below \$1,000 redistributed to other categories, unaccompanied migrant farmworkers fall most frequently into the lowest income groups, with 81 percent earning less than \$10,000 per year and almost none with incomes of \$20,000 or greater. Unaccompanied seasonal workers are also heavily concentrated in the lowest income groups, with half earning less than \$10,000 and only eight percent earning \$20,000 or more. Table 8 below shows the distribution of unaccompanied migrant and seasonal workers within income ranges. Assuming that households can pay no more than 30 percent of income for rent, Table 8 also shows the rent that would be considered "affordable" for each income range.

Annual Family Income	Affordable Monthly Rent Range	Unaccompanied Migrant Worker Households	Unaccompanied Seasonal Worker Households	Total Unaccompanied Worker Households
\$1,000 to \$2,499	\$25 to \$63	7,360	84	7,444
\$2,500 to \$4,999	\$63 to \$125	7,068	490	7,558
\$5,000 to \$7,499	\$125 to \$188	16,164	5,305	21,470

Table 8. Incomes and Affordable Rents for	Unaccompanied Farmworkers, 2	2002
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⁴ Note that this differs from farmworker study in the 2001 Rental Market Study, in which we simply suppressed data from the workers reporting less than \$1,000 in income. Here, we assume that workers reporting incomes below \$1,000 are likely to earn incomes similar to those of other reporting workers for a full year's work; therefore, redistributing them to the other income categories is appropriate.

\$7,500 to \$9,999	\$188 to \$250	20,111	7,550	27,661
\$10,000 to \$12,499	\$250 to \$313	6,327	5,481	11,809
\$12,500 to \$14,999	\$313 to \$375	4,433	3,267	7,700
\$15,000 to \$17,499	\$375 to \$438	911	831	1,742
\$17,500 to \$19,999	\$438 to \$500	231	1,586	1,817
\$20,000 to \$24,999	\$500 to \$625	24	1,088	1,112
\$25,000 to \$29,999	\$625 to \$750	0	215	215
\$30,000 to \$34,999	\$750 to \$875	0	153	153
\$35,000 to \$39,999	\$875 to \$1000	0	789	789
Over \$40,000	\$1000 and above	0	0	0
Total Households		62,629	26,840	89,470

Accompanied farmworker households show more variation in their incomes. Accompanied migrant worker households are more likely than accompanied seasonal worker households to fall at the very bottom of the income scale, with half earning less than \$10,000 per year and only 10 percent earning \$20,000 per year or more. However, accompanied seasonal worker households are more evenly spread throughout the income groups, with 30 percent earning less than \$10,000 per year but one-third earning \$20,000 per year or more.

Table 9 shows the income distribution and affordable rents for accompanied farmworker households. Note that we extrapolated from the number of accompanied workers to the number of households by dividing the number of workers in each category by the overall average number of accompanied workers per household (1.86 workers for migrant households, 1.37 workers for seasonal worker households). In fact, however, it is likely that some households with higher incomes contain more farmworkers than those with lower incomes, since households can aggregate the income of several workers to reach a higher income level. Therefore, these numbers likely underestimate the number of accompanied worker households in the lowest income ranges and overestimate the number of households in the highest income ranges. However, it is impossible to estimate the extent to which higher-income households contain more farmworkers, in part because accompanied farmworker households with higher family incomes may derive some of that income from family members in occupations other than farm work.

Annual Family Income	Affordable Monthly Rent Range	Accompanied Migrant Worker Households	Accompanied Seasonal Worker Households	Total Accompanied Worker Households
\$1,000 to \$2,499	\$25 to \$63	376	238	614
\$2,500 to \$4,999	\$63 to \$125	2,034	956	2,991
\$5,000 to \$7,499	\$125 to \$188	866	1,546	2,412
\$7,500 to \$9,999	\$188 to \$250	936	3,906	4,843
\$10,000 to \$12,499	\$250 to \$313	1,060	1,350	2,410
\$12,500 to \$14,999	\$313 to \$375	622	1,694	2,316

 Table 9. Incomes and Affordable Rents for Accompanied Farmworker Households, 2002

\$15,000 to \$17,499	\$375 to \$438	1,099	1,451	2,550
\$17,500 to \$19,999	\$438 to \$500	125	1,549	1,674
\$20,000 to \$24,999	\$500 to \$625	733	3,051	3,784
\$25,000 to \$29,999	\$625 to \$750	0	2,866	2,866
\$30,000 to \$34,999	\$750 to \$875	48	1,543	1,591
\$35,000 to \$39,999	\$875 to \$1000	0	1,945	1,945
Over \$40,000	\$1000 and above	0	0	0
Total Households		7,900	22,095	29,995

These income and rent ranges show that most unaccompanied farmworkers need singleperson units or beds with rents below \$250 per month and nearly all require rents below \$375 per month. Many accompanied farmworker families also need housing units with rents well below the market rate, with two-thirds requiring units with rents of \$500 per month or less. However, a number of accompanied farmworker families may be able to afford rents closer to market rates; i.e., in the \$500 to \$875 range. Table 10 and Figure 2 below show the percentages of unaccompanied and accompanied farmworker households that are able to afford rents at various levels. Again, note that these numbers likely underestimate the number of accompanied worker households needing housing in the lowest rent ranges and overestimate the number that can afford housing at higher rents.

Table 10. Percentages of Unaccompanied and Accompanied Farmworker Households by Affordable Rent Range, 2002

Affordable Monthly Rent Range	Unaccompanied Worker Households	Accompanied Worker Households
Up to \$125	17%	12%
\$125 to \$250	55%	24%
\$250 to \$375	22%	16%
\$375 to \$500	4%	14%
\$500 to \$750	1%	22%
\$750 and above	1%	12%

Figure 2. Percentages of Unaccompanied and Accompanied Farmworker Households by Affordable Rent Range, 2002



III. Farmworker Housing Supply

While farmworkers may find a variety of types of housing arrangements, two types of government-licensed or subsidized housing are reserved specifically for farmworkers:

- Department of Health-permitted camps: The Florida Department of Health (DOH) issues permits for camps to house unaccompanied migrant and seasonal farmworkers. The current capacity of DOH-permitted camps is approximately 35,402 beds. Note that the number of DOH-permitted units dropped substantially in the late 1990s, as the Department removed facilities from its permitting list if their units were available to anyone other than farm workers. This change affected Miami-Dade County in particular, which had 8,266 permitted beds listed in 1995-96 but only 1,276 beds listed in 2004. However, as this change occurred in the 1990s, the total number of permitted beds is largely unchanged from the number found in the 2001 Rental Market Study.
- State- and federally-subsidized multifamily housing: FHFC allocates some of its SAIL, HOME, and housing tax credit resources to multifamily developments specifically designed to house farmworker families. In addition, a number of multifamily housing complexes receive development subsidies from the US Department of Agriculture's Rural Development (RD) program to provide housing for farmworker families under the Section 514 and 516 programs. Presently, there are 5,565 farmworker units with these types of financing in operation or under development: 1,378 units with FHFC financing, 3,822 units with Section 514/516 funding, and 365 units with funding from both of these sources.

Assuming that the Section 514/516 units and FHFC-assisted units can house an average of four persons, these three types of housing can house a total of 57,662 farmworkers and their family members in Florida.

Table 11 lists the supply of these two types of farmworker housing by Florida county. The term "capacity" in this table and the following map refers to the number of individual farmworkers and their household members who can be housed. The term "unit" in this and later tables refers to an apartment in a Section 514/516 or FHFC development. A unit may have the capacity to house several farmworkers and family members. Figure 3 maps the total capacity of beds for farmworkers and their family members by county.

Table 11. DOH-Permitted Camps and State- and Federally-Assisted Farmworker Housingby County, 2004

<u>County</u>	RD & FHFC <u>Units</u>	Family Housing <u>Capacity</u>	DOH Permitted Camps <u>Capacity</u>	<u>Total Capacity</u>
Alachua	0	0	0	0
Baker	0	0	0	0
Bay	0	0	0	0
Bradford	0	0	0	0
Brevard	0	0	0	0
Broward	176	704	0	704
Calhoun	0	0	0	0
Charlotte	0	0	0	0
Citrus	0	0	79	79
Clay	0	0	0	0
Collier	973	3,892	6,771	10,663
Columbia	0	0	0	0
DeSoto	0	0	2,889	2,889
Dixie	0	0	0	0
Duval	0	0	5	5
Escambia	0	0	0	0
Flagler	0	0	0	0
Franklin	0	0	0	0
Gadsden	186	744	225	969
Gilchrist	0	0	8	8
Glades	0	0	722	722
Gulf	0	0	0	0
Hamilton	0	0	203	203
Hardee	100	400	315	715
Hendry	249	996	2,549	3,545
Hernando	0	0	0	0
Highlands	65	260	700	960
Hillsborough	353	1,412	4,459	5,871
Holmes	0	0	0	0
Indian River	265	1,060	570	1,630
Jackson	0	0	0	0
Jefferson	0	0	0	0
Lafayette	0	0	0	0
Lake	136	544	538	1,082
Lee	100	400	877	1,277
Leon	0	0	280	280
Levy	0	0	0	0
Liberty	0	0	0	0
Madison	0	0	16	16
Manatee	50	200	2,073	2,273
Marion	0	0	0	0
Martin	117	468	158	626
Miami-Dade	1,211	4,844	1,276	6,120
Monroe	6	24	0	24

<u>County</u>	RD & FHFC	Family Housing	DOH Permitted Camps	<u>Total Capacity</u>
	Units	<u>Capacity</u>	<u>Capacity</u>	
Nassau	0	0	0	0
Okaloosa	0	0	0	0
Okeechobee	15	60	701	761
Orange	84	336	55	391
Osceola	0	0	0	0
Palm Beach	860	3,440	6,401	9,841
Pasco	102	408	650	1,058
Pinellas	0	0	0	0
Polk	300	1,200	1,786	2,986
Putnam	52	208	198	406
St Johns	0	0	242	242
St Lucie	104	416	323	739
Santa Rosa	0	0	25	25
Sarasota	0	0	0	0
Seminole	0	0	0	0
Sumter	0	0	0	0
Suwannee	0	0	308	308
Taylor	0	0	0	0
Union	0	0	0	0
Volusia	61	244	0	244
Wakulla	0	0	0	0
Walton	0	0	0	0
Washington	0	0	0	0
State Total	5,565	22,260	35,402	57,662

Figure 3. Farmworker Housing Capacity by County, 2004



The twelve counties with the capacity to house 1,000 or more farmworkers are Collier, Palm Beach, Miami-Dade, Hillsborough, Hendry, Polk, DeSoto, Manatee, Indian River, Lee, Lake, and Pasco. These counties contain 85 percent of the state's farmworker housing capacity.

Not surprisingly, all but three of these counties also appear in the list of the twelve counties with the most farmworkers. Indian River County ranks fourteenth in the number of farmworkers, Lee County ranks sixteenth, and Pasco County ranks twenty-fourth. Therefore, while the following section will demonstrate a substantial need for additional farmworker housing, the housing that does exist is largely concentrated in the areas with the most farmworkers.

It is important to note that many farmworkers meet their housing needs through the private market or through subsidized housing not specifically reserved for farmworkers. Thus, the supply described in this section does not represent the full extent of affordable housing that is available to farmworkers. This is particularly true in counties such as Miami-Dade, where the number of permits for migrant camps has fallen sharply even though most of those camps may still exist and be available to farmworkers. When compared with the number of farmworker households and household members, as in the following section, this constrained definition of supply yields a higher need for farmworker housing than a true accounting of the full supply of housing available to farmworkers would.

IV. Need Estimate: Comparison of Supply and Households

The following estimate of the need for additional farmworker housing in Florida compares the supply of farmworker housing in each county to the number of farmworker households and household members. Table 12 estimates the need for total capacity— the number of individuals who need farmworker housing in each county—by comparing the capacity of DOH-permitted camps, Section 514/516 housing, and FHFC-assisted farmworker housing to the number of farmworkers and household members. Note that each Section 514/516 and FHFC-assisted unit adds a capacity of four to the supply. Table 13 estimates the need for beds for single farmworkers and housing units for families by comparing the number of DOH-permitted units to the number of unaccompanied farmworkers and the number of "family-type" Section 514/516 and FHFC-assisted units to the number of accompanied farmworker households. In this table, a single unit is counted once rather than as a capacity of four. In both tables, a negative number in the "need" column denotes a shortage of housing compared to the number of households. Figures 4 and 5 are maps showing the need for beds for unaccompanied farmworkers and for family units by county.

While we have compared the number of unaccompanied farmworkers to the number of DOH-permitted camp beds in Table 13, it is important to note that groups of unaccompanied farmworkers also may share units in state- and federally-subsidized multifamily developments. Therefore, some of the FHFC and Section 514/516 units that we have assigned to accompanied farmworker households may serve unaccompanied workers. Moreover, because unaccompanied workers may share housing, the numbers of *beds* needed for them do not necessarily translate to the number of individual *units* needed. Multifamily units may provide several beds; for example, a two-bedroom unit may provide four beds for unaccompanied farmworkers.

			Need:	
	Farmworker Household	Capacity: Farmworker	(Capacity minus Farmworker	
County	Members	Housing	Household Members) ⁵	
Alachua	1,626	0	-1,626	
Baker	349	0	-349	
Bay	3	0	-3	
Bradford	60	0	-60	
Brevard	1,456	0	-1,456	
Broward	2,533	704	-1,829	
Calhoun	423	0	-423	
Charlotte	2,135	0	-2,135	
Citrus	280	79	-201	
Clay	717	0	-717	
Collier	12,855	10,663	-2,192	
Columbia	523	0	-523	

Table 12. Need for Total Farmworker Housing Capacity by County, 2004

⁵ A negative number indicates housing need; i.e., that the number of household members exceeds supply.

County	Farmworker Household Members	Capacity: Farmworker Housing	Need: (Capacity minus Farmworker Household Members) ⁵	
DeSoto	6,039	2,889	-3,150	
Dixie	87	0	-87	
Duval	1,008	5	-1,003	
Escambia	398	0	-398	
Flagler	904	0	-904	
Franklin	1	0	-1	
Gadsden	3,388	969	-2,419	
Gilchrist	1,027	8	-1,019	
Glades	1,909	722	-1,187	
Gulf	3	0	-3	
Hamilton	264	203	-61	
Hardee	5,397	715	-4,682	
Hendry	11,556	3,545	-8,011	
Hernando	462	0	-462	
Highlands	7,786	960	-6,826	
Hillsborough	12,956	5,871	-7,085	
Holmes	107	0	-107	
Indian River	4,271	1,630	-2,641	
Jackson	871	0	-871	
Jefferson	609	0	-609	
Lafayette	613	0	-613	
Lake	5,103	1,082	-4,021	
Lee	4,187	1,277	-2,910	
Leon	240	280	40	
Levy	1,737	0	-1,737	
Liberty	3	0	-3	
Madison	327	16	-311	
Manatee	10,233	2,273	-7,960	
Marion	4,610	0	-4,610	
Martin	3,825	626	-3,199	
Miami-Dade	21,845	6,120	-15,725	
Monroe	99	24	-75	
Nassau	209	0	-209	
Okaloosa	89	0	-89	
Okeechobee	3,351	761	-2,590	
Orange	9,502	391	-9,111	
Osceola	2,313	0	-2,313	
Palm Beach	18,229	9,841	-8,388	
Pasco	2,087	1,058	-1,029	
Pinellas	410	0	-410	
Polk	8,506	2,986	-5,520	
Putnam	1,218	406	-812	
St Johns	1,843	242	-1,601	
St Lucie	4,197	739	-3,458	

			Need:	
Country	Farmworker Household	Capacity: Farmworker	(Capacity minus Farmworker	
County	Iviembers	Housing	Housenoia Miembers)	
Santa Rosa	319	25	-294	
Sarasota	528	0	-528	
Seminole	539	0	-539	
Sumter	806	0	-806	
Suwannee	1,477	308	-1,169	
Taylor	32	0	-32	
Union	202	0	-202	
Volusia	4,158	244	-3,914	
Wakulla	24	0	-24	
Walton	274	0	-274	
Washington	131	0	-131	
State of Florida				
Total	195,432	57,662	-137,770	

County	Unaccompanied Migrant & Seasonal Households	Supply: DOH- Permitted Camps	Need for Single Person Beds	Accompanied Migrant & Seasonal Households	Supply: Section 514/516 and FHFC- Assisted Family Units	Need for Family Units
Alachua	747	0	-747	251	0	-251
Baker	71	0	-71	79	0	-79
Bay	2	0	-2	1	0	-1
Bradford	28	0	-28	9	0	-9
Brevard	669	0	-669	224	0	-224
Broward	1,164	0	-1,164	390	176	-214
Calhoun	194	0	-194	65	0	-65
Charlotte	981	0	-981	329	0	-329
Citrus	129	79	-50	43	0	-43
Clay	330	0	-330	111	0	-111
Collier	5,910	6,771	861	1,981	973	-1,008
Columbia	240	0	-240	81	0	-81
DeSoto	2,776	2,889	113	931	0	-931
Dixie	40	0	-40	13	0	-13
Duval	463	5	-458	155	0	-155
Escambia	183	0	-183	61	0	-61
Flagler	416	0	-416	139	0	-139
Franklin	1	0	-1	0	0	0
Gadsden	1,557	225	-1,332	522	186	-336
Gilchrist	472	8	-464	158	0	-158
Glades	877	722	-155	294	0	-294
Gulf	1	0	-1	0	0	0
Hamilton	121	203	82	41	0	-41
Hardee	2,481	315	-2,166	832	100	-732
Hendry	5,313	2,549	-2,764	1,781	249	-1,532
Hernando	212	0	-212	71	0	-71
Highlands	3,579	700	-2,879	1,200	65	-1,135
Hillsborough	5,956	4,459	-1,497	1,997	353	-1,644
Holmes	49	0	-49	16	0	-16
Indian River	1,964	570	-1,394	658	265	-393
Jackson	400	0	-400	134	0	-134
Jefferson	280	0	-280	94	0	-94
Lafayette	282	0	-282	94	0	-94
Lake	2,346	538	-1,808	787	136	-651
Lee	1,925	877	-1,048	645	100	-545
Leon	110	280	170	37	0	-37
Levy	798	0	-798	268	0	-268
Liberty	1	0	-1	0	0	0
Madison	150	16	-134	50	0	-50
Manatee	4,705	2,073	-2,632	1,577	50	-1,527
Marion	2,119	0	-2,119	711	0	-711
Martin	1,759	158	-1,601	590	117	-473
Miami-Dade	10,043	1,276	-8,767	3,367	1,211	-2,156
Monroe	45	0	-45	15	6	-9
Nassau	96	0	-96	32	0	-32
Okaloosa	41	0	-41	14	0	-14
Okeechobee	1,541	701	-840	517	15	-502

 Table 13. Need for Farmworker Housing Units by Type and County, 2004

County	Unaccompanied Migrant & Seasonal Households	Supply: DOH- Permitted Camps	Need for Single Person Beds	Accompanied Migrant & Seasonal Households	Supply: Section 514/516 and FHFC- Assisted Family Units	Need for Family Units
Orange	4,369	55	-4,314	1,465	84	-1,381
Osceola	1,064	0	-1,064	357	0	-357
Palm Beach	8,381	6,401	-1,980	2,810	860	-1,950
Pasco	960	650	-310	322	102	-220
Pinellas	189	0	-189	63	0	-63
Polk	3,910	1,786	-2,124	1,311	300	-1,011
Putnam	560	198	-362	188	52	-136
St Johns	847	242	-605	284	0	-284
St Lucie	1,930	323	-1,607	647	104	-543
Santa Rosa	146	25	-121	49	0	-49
Sarasota	243	0	-243	81	0	-81
Seminole	248	0	-248	83	0	-83
Sumter	371	0	-371	124	0	-124
Suwannee	679	308	-371	228	0	-228
Taylor	15	0	-15	5	0	-5
Union	93	0	-93	31	0	-31
Volusia	1,912	0	-1,912	641	61	-580
Wakulla	11	0	-11	4	0	-4
Walton	126	0	-126	42	0	-42
Washington	60	0	-60	20	0	-20
State of Florida Total	89,848	35,402	-54,446	30,122	5,565	-24,557



Figure 4. Need for Single Farmworker Beds by County, 2004





Therefore, the total statewide gap between farmworker housing capacity and the number of farmworkers and their household members is 137,770. The total gap between the number of single worker beds needed and the number of unaccompanied farmworkers is 54,446 beds. Eight counties have an unmet need for single worker housing exceeding 2,000 beds: Miami-Dade, Orange, Highlands, Hendry, Manatee, Hardee, Polk, and Marion. Again, note that the removal of many of Dade County's migrant camps from the DOH permitting list may result in an underestimate of supply of single worker beds and therefore an overestimate of need in that county. The total gap between the number of family units and the number of accompanied farmworker households is 24,557 units. The nine counties with unmet need for family farmworker units exceeding 1,000 units are Miami-Dade, Palm Beach, Hillsborough, Hendry, Manatee, Orange, Highlands, Polk, and Collier.

V. Data Limitations

The numbers of farmworkers and housing units and the income numbers listed above must be used with caution due to a number of data limitations. First, the assignment of farmworkers to each county corresponds to that county's proportion of farm labor expenditures throughout an entire year, as listed in the 2002 Census of Agriculture. However, the number of farmworkers in a particular county may fluctuate throughout the year depending on crop cycles. By using a full year's data, the estimate of housing need may underestimate the need during the peak work times associated with the local crop and overestimate the need for the rest of the year. Since an area would need housing to accommodate its peak population of workers even if that housing stood empty part of the year, this limitation is likely to result in an underestimate of the housing units needed.

Second, the county-by-county labor expenditures from the Census of Agriculture include expenses for livestock workers as well as crop workers, but livestock workers are excluded from this analysis. Using the total labor expenditures to assign each county a share of workers apportions more of the state's workers to counties with significant livestock farming than county labor expenditure numbers using only crop worker labor expenditures would. Therefore, the number of crop workers by county may be overestimated in counties with significant livestock farming and underestimated in counties without livestock farming.

Third, the sample of workers questioned for the NAWS survey is small and may underrepresent people working on Florida citrus farms. Thus, the total count of farmworkers in the state, the division between migrant and seasonal workers, the division between accompanied and unaccompanied workers, and the income numbers are subject to error. This is particularly true for the accompanied/unaccompanied worker division. We used averages of percentage breakdowns reported in the 1997-2002 NAWS survey to arrive at this division. While the percentage of migrant workers who are accompanied ranged from 5 to 19 percent for most of that period, in 1999 56 percent of migrant workers reported being accompanied. Since it is unlikely that accompaniment rates varied that widely from year to year, these percentages likely contain error.

Fourth, as noted in Section II, the lack of family income data by household led us to extrapolate the number of households in each income range from the number of workers in that range. This may have led to an overestimate of accompanied worker households at the higher income levels and an underestimate of accompanied worker households at the lower income levels.

Finally, as noted in Section III, the count of housing units for farmworkers and their families does not include farmworker housing that might be provided by the private market or local entities, other than those licensed as camps by the state. Therefore, while the supply numbers do reflect the state's stock of DOH-licensed farmworker camps and state- and federally-subsidized multifamily units reserved for farmworkers accurately, they do not reflect all of the housing choices that may available to farmworkers.

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