

CHAPTER X

IMPROVING AGRICULTURE AND FOOD SECURITY





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1. Protect and improve the H-2A jobs program
2. Enhance labor force training in agriculture to promote jobs and increase food production
3. Create overtime flexibility in agricultural jobs
4. Remove gray wolves from the Endangered Species list
5. Make outdoor heat and wildfire smoke rules easy to follow
6. Dietary choices should remain a personal choice

Policy Recommendation:

1. PROTECT AND IMPROVE THE H-2A JOBS PROGRAM

Washington's farmers and ranchers face a continual labor shortage while working to maintain the state's position as a leader in global food production. A key element in filling farm jobs is a robust labor force, which in turn provides opportunity and income for farmworker families both locally and abroad.

As farmers and ranchers in Washington compete in the global marketplace, they must have skilled employees to help grow and harvest their crops. The most recent data shows there are 35,200 farms and ranches operating in Washington state, supporting a diverse output of food production featuring more than 300 unique commodities.¹ Agriculture provides the state with more than \$20 billion in revenue annually and Washington leads the nation in the production of apples, blueberries, hops, pears, spearmint oil, and sweet cherries.²

The federal H-2A work program

In recent years, the number of local farmworkers available has dwindled. In 2021, the Washington State Employment Security Department did not place *any* local employees in advertised farmworker positions.³ As a result, reliance on the federal H-2A work visa program has steadily increased in Washington over the last decade.

Authorized by Congress and implemented by states, the H-2A work visa program permits workers from abroad to work legally on farms in the United States. In 2021, 317,000 visas were approved for farmworkers to work on farms across the United States.⁴ Washington state ranks fourth in the nation for H-2A visa workers, hiring nearly 29,000 people annually, comprising 9% of all H-2A hires.⁵

The H-2A visa program provides jobs, income and access to housing and healthcare for foreign-born farmworkers. It also encourages stability and a sense of community, as workers develop a relationship with employers that encourages them to return to the same farm year after year. The program is popular with workers because it is reliable and provides them with access to good jobs.

Benefits to Washington state

The H-2A visa program provides significant benefits to Washington state. The most recent estimates show there are an average of about 130,000 farmworkers living in Washington annually.⁶ Among these, a stable number of about 30,000 H-2A visa-holding farmworkers make their way to Washington each year. Farmworkers with H-2A visas form a “core” of experienced workers for employers because they agree to remain in the employ of the farm at which they are hired.

H-2A temporary agricultural work visa

The wide use of the H-2A temporary agricultural work program highlights its popularity and the need for additional agricultural labor throughout the state. The use of the H-2A visa program is expensive and time-consuming, so it is a last-resort process for employers. At the same time, the program is often used to the maximum extent possible. According to the U.S. State Department, participation in the H-2A visa program grew by 218% between 2007 and 2017, more than doubling the size of the program.⁷

Conclusion

Critics of H-2A work visas say farmers and ranchers are “exploiting” workers by “forcing” them to remain in the employment of the farm that hired them. However, the program is entirely voluntary and provides wages well above the state’s hourly minimum wage. Employers have every incentive to treat workers well so they will return in the future. The H-2A visa program is a key resource for agricultural employers in filling jobs and ensuring the completion of essential on-farm tasks.

Because the H-2A visa program provides a much-needed experienced workforce while contributing to food security for all, it is a program the state should work to maintain. State leaders should join with federal policymakers in any discussions that would make the program easier and less costly for employers to hire workers through the program.

Policy Recommendation:

2. ENHANCE LABOR FORCE TRAINING IN AGRICULTURE TO PROMOTE JOBS AND INCREASE FOOD PRODUCTION

Despite automation and the use of modern machinery, food production is labor intensive, requiring trained and dedicated workers to manage the land, bring in harvests, and feed the world.

The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations projects a world population of 9.7 billion by 2050.⁸ The demand a population of that size places on the food system will require labor to help with the cultivation and harvesting of those crops.

Policy shift away from manual labor

In the early 2000s, there was a shift in educational discussions away from trades, technical vocations and manual labor to promote traditional four-year college for everyone. The implication of this policy was that manual, blue-collar jobs are undignified and undesirable.

As a result, policymakers have focused education and training policies on the fast-growing sectors of high-tech communications, computer software, and aerospace while neglecting the labor needs of the rural areas of the state.

The blue-collar labor force has aged, and rural communities are finding it difficult to attract new employees. Today, the agricultural sector is experiencing a severe labor shortage, making it harder to harvest crops and maintain a reliable food supply.

The dignity of manual work

Far from being seen as undesirable or not respectable, manual labor enhances human dignity and service to the community. The public policy discussion of education and development should shift back to an emphasis on the dignity of manual trades, skilled vocations, and the essential value of blue-collar jobs.

The way to promote the dignity of vocational jobs is to emphasize the potential to build a better life through human development programs like FFA and 4-H programs.⁹ These programs encourage entrepreneurial initiative, engineering skills, and mechanically-minded abilities for the betterment of society that can be used on the farm and in other trades.¹⁰

Alternative educational and training opportunities

The first step to solving labor needs for Washington's farmers, ranchers, and rural communities is to promote the development of the workforce in trades and vocational areas including, agriculture, veterinary medicine, mechanics, carpentry, and more. This is best done by offering a wide range of alternative education and training options.

Career and Technical Education (CTE) programs, skills centers, technical colleges, apprenticeships, and similar programs match students with their interests and abilities. These learning programs provide learning alternatives to traditional four-year programs, which often do not serve the life-skill needs of students and tend to burden them with long-term debt.¹¹

Conclusion

Policymakers should devote equal attention and resources to educational alternatives and vocational training in the agricultural sector. This approach would open new job opportunities in the domestic workforce and help fill the labor needs of various employers throughout the state, including farmers and ranchers.

Policy Recommendation:

3. CREATE OVERTIME FLEXIBILITY IN AGRICULTURAL JOBS

In 2020, a state supreme court ruling ended overtime exemptions for all dairy workers in the state.¹² In 2021, the Legislature ended the overtime exemption for all agricultural employees. The bill, originally introduced to protect the remainder of the agricultural community from an overtime requirement, was instead changed into legislation to phase out overtime exemptions for all agricultural workers in three years.¹³

Unintended consequences

Advocates of the overtime pay law claimed the policy would increase the incomes of farmworkers throughout the state. However, the required time-and-a-half pay structure has bumped up against the real-world economics of farm income, reducing the average number of hours worked by farmworkers from 60 hours a week during peak times to an average of just 41.1 hours a week.¹⁴ The reduction in earnings for workers is significant. Before the implementation of the overtime pay requirement, farmworkers in Washington earned an average of \$19 an hour, or \$1,140 a week at 60 hours a week. Now, farmworkers are being paid an average of \$21 an hour, a higher rate, but earn only \$871 a week at 41 hours a week.

Return to flexibility

Under the previous overtime exemption, farmworkers were afforded flexibility with their work schedules. If a medical appointment or child's sporting event fell during working hours, most employers gave their employees time off to attend. Given the shortened schedules employees now have, there is less flexibility during the workday, so workers are more likely to miss medical appointments and important family events.

Lawmakers have two ways to fix the need for flexibility and give lost earnings back to farmworkers. Lawmakers can revisit the current overtime law and revise the overtime threshold by increasing it to 48 hours. Alternatively, lawmakers can pass a bill that would give agricultural employers a self-determined, voluntary overtime exemption period for critical harvest times during the summer and autumn months.

“Bump and freeze”

The current overtime law phases in the overtime rule over three years. In 2024, agricultural employers are required to pay time-and-a-half after 40 hours worked in a week. Lawmakers could revisit the overtime law and “bump” the minimum threshold to 48 hours and freeze it there for overtime pay.

The compromise would allow most agricultural employers – dairy operators are required to pay overtime after 40 hours under state supreme court ruling – to maintain their traditional six-day workweek with eight-hour shifts or develop a different version of work shifts for their employees. A 48-hour workweek would allow farmworkers to earn an additional \$168 a week, putting them closer to their previous income levels.

Harvest window

Another improvement lawmakers can make is to create a “harvest window” that would allow agricultural employers to declare themselves exempt from overtime pay limitations up to 55 hours a week for 12 weeks annually. This harvest period would apply to peak work times, whether picking fruit or monitoring cattle for births. By providing flexibility during a 12-week period that could be split throughout the year, many of our agricultural employers would be able to offset their loss of income by working overtime during the busiest times of the year.

There is one drawback to the “harvest window” solution: the requirements of year-round or near-year-round growers. Washington state is home to several fresh produce growers who cultivate crops that need harvesting during a season that lasts more than three months. Those growers will not be able to give their employees back the hours farmworkers are requesting under the state’s current restrictive work rules.

Conclusion

Lawmakers owe farmworkers the income taken from them by the decision to end the overtime exemption. An examination of agricultural economics and talking to farmworkers before changing their work schedules would have given lawmakers a better understanding of why the overtime exemption was created and persisted as a good labor policy for more than 100 years. Listening to farmers and farmworkers would have allowed

urban-based lawmakers to be more sensitive to the unique needs of those living in rural communities.

Lawmakers now have two options – to enact a “bump and freeze” policy or to allow a “harvest window” – to make it up to farmworkers who have seen their incomes slashed by the hasty decisions made in Olympia without the consent of those most affected by the law.

Policy Recommendation:

4. REMOVE GRAY WOLVES FROM THE ENDANGERED SPECIES LIST

For the 14th year in a row, Washington’s population of wild gray wolves has increased, reaching at least 216 wolves and 19 breeding pairs. When gray wolves returned to Washington in 2008, it was believed they would naturally disperse statewide within a decade. Re-introducing these wild predators was made contingent on that assumption.

Fifteen years later, wolves have not distributed themselves across the state, leaving an abundance of gray wolves, and their impact, concentrated in the easternmost third of the state.

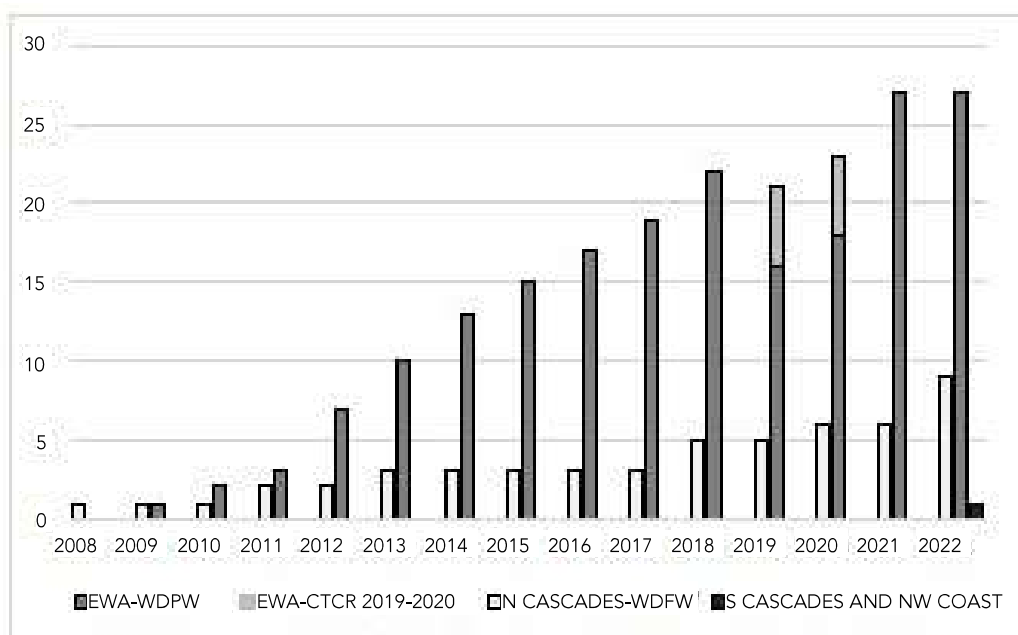


Figure 4. Minimum known number of packs by recovery region in Washington, 2008-2022. Wolf packs counted by Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife (WDFW), the Spokane Tribe, and Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation (CTCR). CTCR packs were monitored differently during 2019 and 2020.

Source: Gray Wolf Conservation and Management 2022 Annual Report, Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife

Gray wolves should be delisted by region

The Washington Department of Fish and Wildlife (WDFW) recently reported the predator population is thriving in specific parts of the state and is virtually non-existent in others.¹⁵ As a result, the total population of wolves is at the level considered “recovered” by the initial plan, but the arbitrary requirement that the population must be spread into three regions chosen by WDFW officials has not been met.

This policy has created the worst of both worlds. The concentration of wolves means one corner of the state is affected by most of the conflict and danger to communities because wolves won’t spread out to other areas.

To solve this problem Washington state officials should delist gray wolves in the easternmost third of the state, where an abundant wild population is higher than was expected in the initial recovery plan. Under the standards of the Federal Endangered Species Act, gray wolves are already considered successfully recovered in that part of the state.

This finding is confirmed by the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation, which considers the wolf population to be fully recovered on their land. A state recovery declaration for the same region would bring parity with the federal delisting and would allow state wildlife officials to manage gray wolf recovery programs for the benefit of the whole state.

Delisting criteria

The wild gray wolf count for 2022 found a minimum of 216 animals in 37 packs, including at least 19 breeding pairs, with 27, over 70%, of those packs located in the eastern third of the state.

Under the Gray Wolf Conservation and Management Plan there must be:

“...15 breeding pairs of wolves present in the state for at least three years, with at least four in eastern Washington, four in the northern Cascades, four in the southern Cascades/northwest coastal area, and three others anywhere in the state” or “18 breeding pairs ... documented during a single year and the distribution objectives are met.”¹⁶

The number of breeding pairs necessary for a state delisting has been more than met, with only the arbitrary distribution goal not being met. It is clear

that disbursement throughout the state will take longer or may never occur at all, creating a burden in parts of the state currently saturated with rising gray wolf populations.

A practical wolf recovery plan

To provide a path to balanced cohabitation between humans and wild predators, delisting in the eastern-most third of the state would be a positive first step. After a full delisting of gray wolves in the eastern third of the state, each county or recovery region should be assessed individually as gray wolf numbers increase. An incremental recovery solution would allow counties and residents to regain valuable autonomy in species management that meets the specific needs of each region.

Incremental delisting would allow officials to test proposed solutions for statewide delisting, without having an adverse effect on the overall gray wolf population. By declaring the species recovered in smaller increments, management techniques could be tried and perfected in areas where a stable population exists rather than waiting until the overall state wolf-population goal has been reached.

Conclusion

It is evident that wild gray wolves have returned as a viable part of Washington natural ecosystem. Declaring their population recovered in the region that overlaps with the Federal ESA delisting area would bring fairness and parity to affected communities and would allow state officials to refine their policy approach to gray wolf management in the future.

Policy Recommendation:

5. MAKE OUTDOOR HEAT AND WILDFIRE SMOKE RULES EASY TO FOLLOW

Washington state offers a variety of jobs that require employees to work outdoors in inclement and potentially hazardous weather conditions, including high-heat days and days of poor air quality during wildfire season. The state Department of Labor and Industries (L&I) should make any safety rules related to heat and wildfire smoke easy to implement for the benefit of both workers and their employers.

Outdoor heat rules

During the “heat dome” event of 2021, no part of Washington was spared blistering high temperatures.¹⁷ On June 29th that year, the state Department of Ecology recorded some extraordinarily high temperatures around the state, including 134 degrees Fahrenheit at the Mill Creek bridge near Walla Walla and 123 degrees at Alpowa Creek near Clarkston.¹⁸ The extreme temperatures throughout the state sparked a conversation about revising the heat rules for outdoor work across the state and prompted protests in front of the Governor’s Mansion.¹⁹

Maintaining safe working standards in temperatures well above 100 degrees is something everyone can agree on. However, setting the lower trigger temperature at which safety measures are needed is more difficult. The current heat rules are applied starting at 80 degrees with a minimal approach to cool-off periods and breaks.

Simplicity is key

During the heat of summer, at 80 degrees, employers must ensure all outdoor employees have cool, hydrating beverages available for the duration of their shift. Shade must also be provided in a large enough space that employees can be comfortably seated in the shade with airflow.

When the temperature reaches 90 degrees, a 15-minute break every two hours is mandatory. The 15-minute cool-down break can be timed to run concurrently with regular break times. When temperatures exceed 100 degrees, there must be a 15-minute break every hour during each working shift.

Buddy system

The heat rules include a provision for a buddy system or group work observation rule. Under the heat rules, outdoor workers must keep an eye on one another for signs of heat-related illness. Putting the burden on non-supervisory employees to monitor their co-workers has the potential to create a power imbalance and liability for each worker. In the event one worker becomes seriously ill or is injured due to the heat, their co-workers may be held responsible, according to the state rule.

Gray areas in smoke rules

Safety for outdoor workers during wildfires is a problem throughout the West Coast. Other states have followed the air quality standards set by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency in its national Air Quality Index. The state Department of Labor and Industries has instead imposed a more arbitrary approach to measuring air quality standards.

In Washington, employers must “encourage” workers to use N-95 masks during the first two stages of poor air quality as identified by the Department of Labor and Industries. The first stage is an air quality index of 69; the second is an air quality index of 101. At an air quality index of 500 or greater, employers must require the use of N-95 respirator masks for all employees in outdoor settings.

EPA Air Quality Index (AQI)

Rather than muddy the air quality interpretations, Department of Labor and Industries officials should drop their arbitrary measures and use the long-established and widely respected air quality standards set by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency.²⁰ In addition to assigning number values to air quality standards, the federal Air Quality Index (AQI) is color coded for ease of interpretation.

Green (AQI 0-50) denotes “good” air conditions for everyone, while yellow (AQI 51-100) indicates “moderate” air conditions acceptable for everyone except those who are “unusually sensitive to air pollution.”

Orange denotes an AQI of 101-150, unhealthy for sensitive groups, and the ambient air becomes a problem for even the general population. Red, AQI of 151-200, is considered “unhealthy” for people experiencing “some health effects” and members of sensitive groups experiencing “some serious health effects.” Purple or “very unhealthy” (AQI 201-300) is the reason for a “health alert” for the public. Finally, maroon or “hazardous” (AQI 301 or higher) is considered an “emergency condition” and should be cause for concern for everyone.

The EPA Air Quality Index is easy to read and understand. The color, level of concern, and number value system has been widely available for years. It also matches the AirNow App and website, both of which are recommended to Washington state employers for use in monitoring air quality for their employees.

Conclusion

Rather than choosing temperatures and air quality ranges that seem arbitrary to set safety rules for outdoor workers in our state, Department of Labor and Industries officials should consider the problems and liabilities of their existing thresholds. By making co-workers responsible for one another in high temperature settings, officials are creating unnecessarily adversarial working conditions in circumstances that are already difficult.

Similarly, by creating confusing and unusual air quality standards that conflict with the accepted EPA index, state officials are making employers and employees interpret unnecessarily complex rules in ways that can make the outdoor workplace more dangerous.

Policy Recommendation:

6. DIETARY CHOICES SHOULD REMAIN A PERSONAL CHOICE

Americans consumed an estimated 30 billion pounds of beef in 2021, or about nine pounds per person.²¹ When people who do not consume beef are removed from the count, the average American eats approximately 57 pounds of beef a year – or just over one pound a week.²²

Considering how much beef is eaten annually in the United States, it is odd to think about the level of vitriol and hatred political activists aim at cattle producers. Whether it is negative media coverage about the greenhouse gas emissions of cattle, the misunderstanding of the science of animal breeding and care, or the imaginary anthropomorphism of animals by activists, healthy beef production and consumption are regularly under attack at every turn.

The worst attacks are launched by radical animal rights activists. They have stolen cattle from family farms, and farmers have been stalked by activists looking for a way to steal livestock.²³ A jury in California recently found an actor and animal rights activist “not guilty” for theft after stealing, or “rescuing,” two chickens from a Foster Farms truck.²⁴

Contented cows (and other animals)

Livestock, even animals raised on a large farm run by a corporation, are raised ethically for several reasons. First, if an animal becomes ill, it could

Daily AQI Color	Levels of Concern	Values of Index	Description of Air Quality
Green	Good	0 to 50	Air quality is satisfactory, and air pollution poses little or no risk
Yellow	Moderate	51 to 100	Air quality is acceptable. However, there may be a risk for some people, particularly those who are unusually sensitive to air pollution.
Orange	Unhealthy for Sensitive Groups	101 to 150	Members of sensitive groups may experience health effects. The general public is less likely to be affected.
Red	Unhealthy	151 to 200	Some members of the general public may experience health effects; members of sensitive groups may experience more serious health effects.
Purple	Very Unhealthy	201 to 300	Health alert: The risk of health effects is increased for everyone.
Maroon	Hazardous	301 and higher	Health warning of emergency conditions: everyone is more likely to be affected.

spread disease to other animals. Second, if an animal is undernourished or does not have access to water, it will likely die, meaning a financial loss for the farmer.

Finally, the advertising tagline about “happy cows” is true for all livestock. Farm animals thrive when they are allowed to live and behave in a way that is natural to them – grazing, feeling safe from predators, avoiding risk of injury, taking naps, occasionally playing, and living in low-stress conditions.

Animals who are found to be ill are quarantined and treated until they can rejoin their herd or flock. It is illegal to introduce animals into the food supply until all withdrawal and quarantine periods have ended. That means an animal that received treatment for an illness may not be processed for human consumption until all the medication has been metabolized out of its body.

Radical activists argue that raising livestock for profit implies mistreatment. This claim is not true. Animals without access to healthy feed, clean water, and good living conditions grow at a slower rate and produce low-quality

meat. Even if livestock raisers were motivated only by money, they have every incentive to ensure each animal in their care is provided with good care. As it is, ranchers have both business and ethical reasons to treat their animals well by providing ample amounts of the necessities of life – food, water, medical care as needed, and proper space and movement.

As with all animals, their “happiness” under relaxed, safe living conditions matters. Farmers and ranchers know that caring for an animal throughout its life cycle is not in conflict with the business goal of producing healthy nutritious meat products at the end of that life cycle.

If radical activists think animals have feelings on par with those of people, they should realize that engaging in violent property destruction and seeking to steal animals makes them “predators,” not “saviors.” Livestock instinctively prefer to avoid people and be left alone in low-stress conditions. That is why livestock run away from people, even from activists who are supposedly trying to “save” them. To animals, these activists look like a threat and are a source of deep emotional stress.

No food without animal death

Extremist efforts to ban animal-based food production grossly misrepresent what it means to raise livestock for human consumption in the U.S. They also ignore two important facts. No form of food production is possible without animal death, and meat is a fundamental source of protein for a healthy diet.

Participating in animal rights activism to save *all* animals from death is to engage in ignorance with no grasp of how food is produced to fight hunger. Conventional or organic, grass fed or grain fed, the food supply depends on removing pests that cause irreparable damage to food intended for people. Killing deer, moles, insects, and other pests is necessary to ensure productive fruit and vegetable harvests.

It is also arguably more wasteful than killing livestock for meat because, except for deer, the animals killed are likely not going to be consumed but instead will be thrown away.

Meat is nutritionally necessary for human health

A study published in *Animal Frontiers* highlights the importance of meat consumption for a healthy diet, directly counteracting the push to severely limit or eliminate animal protein from the plate.²⁵

“There are potential nutritional benefits and risks associated with restricting meat, which vary by context, population, life course phase, and replacement food. In many low- and middle-income countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, meat intake is very low, and undernutrition is high (Miller et al., 2022). These populations could benefit from an increased rather than reduced meat intake (Adesogan et al., 2020).

“Thus, global efforts to moderate meat intake for environmental or other reasons should be careful not to restrict its growth in populations where consumption is already low, as this could hinder progress towards reducing undernutrition and thereby not address human suffering and the stifling of economic development (Balehegn et al., 2019).”

Conclusion

Harmful animal activism and divisive language directed against people in animal agriculture have downgraded the discussion about how to reduce hunger and increase the availability of protein-based nutrition. At-risk families, especially children, should not be harmed by being denied access to affordable, nutrient-dense foods, including affordable animal-based products.

There should be a common desire to protect low- and middle-income households by ensuring that meat is readily available as a protein source in a healthy, balanced diet. Policymakers should resist radical agendas and should make it clear to activists that there is room for every dietary choice at the dinner table. They should understand that no dietary choice is without a loss of animal life to bring essential daily meals from the farm to the dinner plate.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

“Gray wolves need full state delisting before hitting the road to another state,” by Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, June 27, 2023, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/gray-wolves-need-full-state-delisting-before-hitting-the-road-to-another-state>

“The best activism is the one that allows everyone to make their own dietary choices,” by Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, May 11, 2023, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/the-best-activism-is-the-one-that-allows-everyone-to-make-their-own-dietary-choices>

“It is time to delist gray wolves,” by Todd Myers and Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, April 25, 2023, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/it-is-time-to-delist-gray-wolves>

“Animal rights activism is not about animals,” by Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, March 30, 2023, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/animal-rights-activism-is-not-about-animals>

“Agricultural overtime law cuts farmworker income and pushes up food prices,” by Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, March 6, 2023, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/agricultural-overtime-law-cuts-farmworker-income-and-pushes-up-food-prices-2>

“SB 5476, to help avoid food shortages while increasing farmworker income,” by Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, Feb. 8, 2023, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/sb-5476-to-help-avoid-food-shortages-while-increasing-farmworker-income>

“Arbitrary smoke rules may do more harm than good,” by Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, Oct. 6, 2022, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/arbitrary-smoke-rules-may-do-more-harm-than-good>

“Radical ballot proposals in Western states would criminalize meat production, reduce healthy food sources, and harm public health,” by Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, Oct. 11, 2021, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/radical-ballot-proposals-in-western-states-would-criminalize-meat-production-reduce-healthy-food-sources-and-harm-public-health>

“If farmers work half-time, why did we need overtime legislation?” by Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, May 21, 2021, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/if-farmers-work-half-time-why-did-we-need-overtime-legislation>

“Agricultural labor: Assessing the problems and providing solutions to H-2A, overtime and wage rules,” by Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, Jan. 24, 2020, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/agricultural-labor-assessing-the-problems-and-providing-solutions-to-h-2a-overtime-and-wage-rules>

“Tough times call for open markets,” by Pam Lewison, Washington Policy Center, June 5, 2019, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/tough-times-call-for-open-markets>

“HB 1398 would add costs and reduce work opportunities for legal migrant workers,” by Pam Lewison, Legislative Memo, Washington Policy Center, February 2019, at <https://www.washingtonpolicy.org/publications/detail/hb-1398-would-add-costs-and-reduce-work-opportunities-for-legal-migrant-workers>

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