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Florence Richardson Wyckoff
Fifty Years of Grassroots Social Activism
Volume III
Watsonville Years, 1960-1985

Interviewed and Edited by
Randall Jarrell

Santa Cruz
1990

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INTRODUCTION

Watsonville Years, 1960-1985, is the third and final volume of the oral history memoirs, *Fifty Years of Grassroots Social Activism*, documenting the career of Florence Richardson Wyckoff. Since the 1930s Wyckoff has been an indefatigable advocate in behalf of migrant workers and families who follow the crops. During the Depression years her work in the California State Relief Administration and her visits to Farm Security Administration camps gave her first-hand experience of the miserable living conditions which engulfed this labor force. She continued to keep abreast of the changing agricultural economy and migrant labor force for the next fifty years, and worked at educating, lobbying, speaking, and political organizing in her attempts to overcome what the historian Cletus Daniel characterized as the "impenetrable political force field,"* sustained by agribusiness and its allies, which prevented New Dealers and politicians down to the present from achieving substantial improvements in the living and economic conditions of migrant agricultural workers. To this day, migrant workers live outside the mainstream of organized

* see Cletus E. Daniel, *Bitter Harvest: A History of California Farmworkers, 1870-1941*. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) p. 282.—Editor.

labor, deprived for the most part of the benefits and entitlements most Americans take for granted.

Wyckoff came of political age during the New Deal, and worked alongside many reform-minded citizens, including John Steinbeck, to identify and bring to light the immense social costs engendered by California's industrialized agriculture. The publication in 1939 of Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, and Carey McWilliams' *Factories in the Field*, as well as the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee's hearings* conducted in 1939-40, galvanized public outrage at the misery of migrant life, but outrage alone was no match for the economic and political power of agribusiness, the disinclination of the American labor movement to involve itself in organizing agricultural labor, and the reluctance of politicians to address the inequities burdening this powerless constituency. Notwithstanding the hopelessness of the situation, Wyckoff and her colleagues were unwavering in their quest to improve the living and public health

* Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr., was chairman of the Subcommittee on Senate Resolution 266, widely known as the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee, a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor. The subcommittee conducted extensive hearings in California, investigating violations of civil liberties, labor-management relations, and related matters in agricultural and industrial labor. Wyckoff discusses the hearings in volume II of her memoirs, *Families Who Follow the*

conditions of migrant workers across the country.

This volume continues Wyckoff's story, begun in volume of the arduous political struggle for federal and state legislation providing for health services for migrants, the California and Federal Migrant Health Acts. However, once this legislation was in place, Wyckoff was involved in a new battle to insure continuing budget appropriations for the migrant health programs. In her narration, Wyckoff provides additional chapters on her fifteen-year tenure on the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, including the involvement of the Rosenberg Foundation in funding pioneering migrant public health services in the San Joaquin Valley; the changing living and social conditions of migrant workers during the period 1948-58; and the organizing of farmworker communities through citizen education and political action. Wyckoff also discusses many individuals who were significant in different areas of the struggle—Anthony Rios and the CSO; notable growers, labor contractors, and public-spirited physicians, politicians and congressional staff members. The culmination of her varied work on the Governor's Committee was the organizing of the five Conferences on

Families Who Follow the Crops, held in California between 1959 and 1967. This continuing dialogue among conflicting parties—growers and farmworkers—built the base for legislative action and the passage of the federal and state Migrant Health Acts.

The remaining two sections in this volume focus on Wyckoff's national and local work addressing and linking the issues of poverty and citizen participation. She chronicles her membership during the Kennedy Administration on the Study Committee charged with conceptualizing policy initiatives for what later came to be known as the War on Poverty. She contributed her fundamental notions of citizen participation and grassroots activism to this working group—communicating her conviction that the means whereby citizens achieve goals count as significantly as the ends since the process itself produces empowerment, hope, and a stake in the system among previously dispossessed people. Some of the topics in this section include the concept of mainstreaming the poor; the 1960 White House Conference on Children and Youth; working with urban youth and the Watts Riots; the origins of the Headstart Program; and the function of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty.

In the volume's final section, Wyckoff discusses her philosophy of citizen participation; describes how the War on Poverty emerged in Santa Cruz County; outlines some of its political and social consequences; and indicates how the Watsonville community defined and attempted to meet the housing, educational, and health needs of the migrant families so crucial to the region's agricultural economy.

The 36 hours of taped interviews from which these volumes are transcribed were conducted with Wyckoff in her home in Corralitos, California, during the ten-year period from February 1, 1976, to May 25, 1985. Additional biographical information on Wyckoff's life is included in the first two volumes of her memoirs, *Early Years*, and *Families Who Follow the Crops*, and in the introductions to each of these volumes; and in the Chronology included in the Appendix in this volume, which enumerates many activities and interests which are not discussed in her oral history interviews.

During the interview sessions, Wyckoff frequently referred to documents and personal papers she had saved over the years; prior to the interviews she had also refreshed her memory by reading reports, memoranda, and correspondence relating to the topics under discussion. She donated a large portion of these personal papers to the

University Library, University of California, Santa Cruz, where they are organized as the Florence Richardson Wyckoff Archive.

The tape-recordings were transcribed verbatim, edited for continuity and clarity, and returned to Mrs. Wyckoff for her editing. She went over the manuscript very carefully and made a number of small changes, some of them especially helpful in deciphering inaudible portions of text. She added several clarifying phrases, corrected the spelling of the numerous proper names and amended a number of passages. She also kindly read over the laserprinted "proofs," prior to publication, to catch any remaining spelling errors of proper names. If any still remain, however, the editor is responsible. Mrs. Wyckoff also loaned us the photographs reproduced in this volume.

Copies of this manuscript are on deposit in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; and in Special Collections, McHenry Library, University of California, Santa Cruz.

This manuscript is part of a collection of interviews documenting California agricultural and labor history conducted by the Regional History Project. The Project is supported administratively by Marion Taylor, head of Collection Planning, and University Librarian Allan J.

Dyson.

Randall Jarrell

August 6, 1990

Regional History Project

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GOVERNOR'S ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON
CHILDREN AND YOUTH 1948-1969

Wyckoff: Today I'm going to have to stick to the things that I was specializing in during the period 1947 to 1957, maybe up to 1960. I cannot give you all of the other things that were going along, which I was involved in, because I sent all those papers and records off to Bancroft Library. The Governor's Advisory Committee included a big committee on juvenile delinquency; there was a committee on adoption; there was a committee on mental health; there was a committee on general financing and taxation; there were . . . oh innumerable, very broad questions, but I was regarded on the committee as a kind of a freak, really.

Presenting the Rural Point of View

I was the only rural person, the only one who had these special interests that really rather flabbergasted the other members of the committee. They would ask the most incredibly, well to me, naive questions. There were lots of old judges and people of that sort who were interested in juvenile delinquency which was the real, main reason that the committee got started you know. The Committee was based in the Youth Authority and staffed by the Youth Authority. So there

were members from law enforcement juvenile justice with a tendency toward a police mind on the committee. They would say to me, "Well we don't see that there can be any difference between the rural and the urban problems; we just can't see why there should be any difference between what happens to children in rural areas . . . the same laws cover them all." Well I had to say, "Well the same laws don't cover them all. The rural children are frequently not eligible for services because they have no residence. The laws have cut them out. They've been traded away in the legislative process in order to get laws protecting urban workers. They have been sold down the river."

Well they didn't know any of this. They found it very hard to believe for a long time. So I had to keep plugging away on this. And this is one reason why I saved a lot of the papers and the materials that I was working on to bring this new slant on life to this committee. I felt that . . . California was largely an agricultural state, that its enormous wealth lay in its agriculture. And yet the Committee really was without any representative of the Department of Agriculture, for example. There was no interest or

concern with that. And it almost had to be, well, forced in. And it was through the Public Health Director that I was able to do that.

Jarrell: Now very early on, you were the chairman of the subcommittee on Rural Health?

Wyckoff: Rural health, yes.

Jarrell: Now that was really the first little base that you took.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: From what I gather it seems as if you had a very primary educational function in the early years in order to put forth this sort of slant as you call it. The idea that there were serious problems among the migrant workers which had not even been recognized or defined as such.

Wyckoff: Well, health was a good opening door. You know, health is an interesting subject. The disease strikes everybody and it's no respecter of class or persons or any race, creed, color, wealth, or poverty. And there's a common fear of illness that makes people get together to do things. In a way that they may not face other problems. So health was a good way in which to start working on the many, myriad problems that really

confronted this group.

Jarrell: Already you've talked about quite a few people on the committee, about your initial appointment, but could you give an historical sense of the issues to be identified and explored and how the committee actually went about its investigations? You haven't talked about an overview of the committee.

History and Purpose of the Governor's Committee:

The Rosenberg Foundation's Study of the Committee

What was the approximate date of the Rosenberg Foundation's study?

Wyckoff: 1949-50. Well, I thought . . . there were some descriptions given here that I thought might be a sort of a summary of the total committee's activities because this is a study of the Governor's Advisory Committee that was funded by the Rosenberg Foundation to give them recommendations on how they could best give money to the many different kinds of things that were presented to the Rosenberg Foundation by the Governor's Advisory Committee. In the beginning, the Committee had a very narrow base . . . it was a crisis thing set up by Governor Earl Warren during the war because of the transient children and the problems of

wartime.

Jarrell: Uprootedness.

Wyckoff: Yes, all of that. And the Committee was close to the Governor through Helen MacGregor who was later its chairman and was the Governor's law secretary. The Committee made reports to him, but it wasn't originally structured to reach into the other departments, or be as broad as it became later. This was a study done by Dr. Paul T. Beisser. And it was done for the Mid-Century Study 1950 on Children and Youth by Community Research Associates. Paul T. Beisser was the family and child welfare consultant of this particular organization; he was hired by Rosenberg to come out and make this study. He recommended a reorganization of the Youth Committee into a group more fully representative of all interests. He said, 'We are informed that this is now in process. That the new name will be the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth. This committee might have among its responsibilities the following, and they did develop this:

To provide a common medium through which several state departments and statewide private agencies can

develop aspects of their programs which require advisory committees and citizen sponsorship.

To make comprehensive, periodic reports to the public through the Governor of significant developments in the whole field of services affecting children and youth and of the issues that demand priority of attention.

To organize periodic conferences which will take a central theme which is of current importance to the improvement of these services, to be based on advanced preparation of materials related to this problem, and which, through open conferences, would systematically develop a constituency of citizen groups of organized, professional, or administrative groups, such as: the probation and parole association, the recreation association, the county welfare administrator's association, and so on.

Finally we may note that certain basic problems and certain conflicting, sometimes controversial issues identified later in this report such as migratory labor need to be dealt with in small, well-planned, working conferences. In such conferences leaders in the field involved could attempt to clarify issues, resolve them as far as possible, and canvas

practical lines of action. Their content and conduct should be carefully planned. People should be selected for participation because of their key leadership or administrative relation to the problem. Well-qualified consultants should be provided to assist in the discussion.

Any such conference appropriately timed and sharply focused on an issue in respect to which constructive action is deemed necessary may well be initiated by this committee in the discharge of its overall responsibility for strategic state-wide leadership. But it also seems to us that this is a device which foundations themselves might sponsor as a means of laying the groundwork for sound action to meet needs in which they have a special interest. In these instances, however, it would be well to make plans in consultation with the Committee on Children and Youth. In any case a synthesis of the discussion and the conclusions reached should be prepared for the committee for distribution to groups interested in the subject matter of the conference.

Some Controversial Issues

This is the model followed by the Committee as they authorized me to initiate the Conferences on

Families Who Follow the Crops. We used Dr. Beisser's plan and implemented it by the publication of the Reports of the Conferences. Now some of these more controversial things were not only migratory labor but oh, planned parenthood . . . in those days. It was very controversial. Adoption was another one that was . . . there were many black-market babies and there was trouble there. So there were other important subjects to handle that way. So that gives you a fair idea of how broad it was.

Jarrell: Yes. Was there any interest in racial matters that early on, or did that come later? black-White relations, or Mexican-American relations?

Wyckoff: Oh yes, there was very definitely. Racial relations were extremely important. I'll tell you, you have to realize how this thing came about. I really think that the California Conference on Social Welfare had a great deal to do with the broadening of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth because it formed the big citizen base out of which something like that could function. I was connected with that and worked very hard in it for many, many years. And I've noticed from the old reports that the California Conference on Social Welfare, for example, was one of

the ones that took up the ball and became the principle statewide conference as a follow-up on the recommendations of the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth. They used to have enormous conferences . . . they were incredible.

Jarrell: This is dated 1956.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: When did you start having these roughly?

Wyckoff: Yes. Well, now, let me give you an earlier report here that I thought would give you an idea. This is a 1948 one of the California Conference on Social Welfare. I was asked to present the summary of one whole section and the title of my section was California's Displaced Persons . . . now you see this was right after the war. We were very interested in the fact that we'd had prisoners, we had all kinds of displaced persons from the war, from the United Nations. We had military displaced persons, and we had migrants. We had every sort and kind of unsettled population. So I was asked to be chairman of this particular section. And my goodness, we had, I think it was three days of study with innumerable papers presented. And this report now is to me just fascinating to go back over these.

Race Relations and Community Services

I'd like to give you some of these reports that show you.* You were asking about race relations. And here in this report is the following:

Our last discussion was on the topic of and the community services led by Edward Howden of the San Francisco Council for Civic Unity. Our aim is toward a community in which its central services are freely accessible to all, and participation in community life is possible for all. The first step is to get the facts and find out where we fall short. For example, in the case of integration of Negroes in San Francisco, it was found health services were not available to them. segregation in hospitals kept them out of the wards and forced them into the more expensive, private rooms. Negro physicians were not permitted to practice in any hospital. In relation to all the minority groups there is a real function for a fair-play committee to exercise vigilance.

Now you see that's before the Fair Employment Practices Act was passed—before all that.

* We cannot provide a citation for this quotation, but documents relating to the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth are included in the Florence Richardson Wyckoff Archive,

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Here are some more recommendations on race relations from this report:

In the schools, teachers need to be trained to handle situations involving racial tensions. In the courts and the law enforcement agencies, there is a need for much improvement in attitudes. A fair-play committee can check on the impartiality of judges and juries, the DA's, and impress them with the political importance of minorities. In recreation, public centers should be open to all. In the private fields such as theaters, movies, skating rinks, dance halls, etc. there is frequent violation of the civil rights statutes. Here much work remains to be done. Group work by social agencies is very important as a step towards better integration of our peoples. The attitude of public or government workers in all agencies is very important. Every effort should be made to see that impartiality and politeness is the rule. The conclusions were that integration is proceeding very slowly. And only in response to moral pressure. If your community does not have a fair-play

committee, you can form one using your good case-and-group-workers to get the information and the know-how. We must do our best to stamp out discrimination and race prejudice. As Dr. John Conliffe said at the YWCA national convention, 'The eyes of the world are on us to see if we really believe in our own Declaration of Independence in which we held that all men are created equal. The real secret of why we are the most prosperous nation on earth is not our superior, scientific knowledge because we haven't got it. Not natural resources; not our superior race because we are the descendents of the old world; but because we learned to release the enormous potential energies of men and women by giving them equal opportunities to a greater degree than any other nation. Every newcomer from the old world looks closely at us to see if we still are the land of opportunity. They look at the way we treat our minorities . . . here is where the real cold war is being fought.

And he said this in 1948. Now that's just one report. And these are really fascinating things to read again. And I don't know how to get them into the record except to just put them on the tape here.

Conditions of California Migrant Workers in 1948

Well, here's an interesting one from 1948. Continuing the reports from the California Conference on Social Welfare: and . . . the next group of California's unsettled people we studied was the agricultural migrant. This is a very large group. But as one member put it, a politically friendless group, because it does not have the vote. One Central Valley town was described with a population of 10,000, but with only 110 registered voters, most of whom were growers. Don Jensen, County Welfare Director of Fresno County, gave us a very realistic picture of the welfare problem in the central valley.

There, as you know, the fluctuations of seasonal employment are greatest. All the old programs brought into being by the federal and state governments for the assistance of the migratory, agricultural families at the time of the Dustbowl and the Depression had been abolished. There was no more Farm Security Administration with its fine system of camp's medical care and assistance for non-residents. There was no more state unemployment relief available unless the Governor and the Legislature choose to revive the old 1945 act by declaring an emergency. The Truman Administration proposed several bills which would

alleviate much of the hardship among the migrants and will perhaps eventually become law, but only if groups such as this California Association for Social Welfare continue to work for them. Another bill would extend old age and survivor's insurance to agricultural labor.

And that was the thing I was telling you about . . . Mrs. Lasker left the money to the National Consumers League for Fair Labor Standards to get that legislation adopted.*

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Don Jensen asked:

What are they doing about welfare? In the past 2 years, (1948) the majority of the Central Valley counties have set up a system of work relief programs. This work relief is given without regard to residence requirements. Its standards are far from desirable, but it provides at least a temporary stopgap, and the program does have good community acceptance. Unfortunately, objectives are still based on work relief as a deterrent, rather than a means of

* See pages 37-38, *Florence Richardson Wyckoff: Fifty Years of Grassroots Social Activism*, volume II, (Santa Cruz: 1989) for information on Lasker's bequest.—Editor.

retaining work skills, habits, and morale. The healthiest solution lay in the direction of the extension of unemployment insurance to agricultural workers. The San Joaquin Valley Supervisors Association, composed almost entirely of growers, has asked for it. They haven't got it yet. Truman, and Warren have asked for it, and it is in the platform of both parties, and we haven't got it yet. So it seems possible in the not too distant future.

Community Self-Study Experiments

Here's something else I've found; this was a sample—in order to rouse the energies of people into doing some of these things, we asked each community, under the leadership of groups like the PTA and the Conference of Social Work and the others, to study these issues and see what progress they had made. And we used the device . . . this was during Governor Goodwin Knight's term . . . we used the device of town meetings and local workshops that lasted a couple of days, but which required at least a month's hard work beforehand by all of these organizations to survey themselves and draw up a good report. Now these reports were sent in to the Governor's Advisory Committee. This was in preparation for the Mid-Century

White House Conference on Children and Youth held in Washington, D.C. in 1950. And each community sent in a report . . . now that is the report from San Mateo County . . . and I thought that it's a good little sample of how a community studied itself . . . studied juvenile delinquency.

Jarrell: Did members of the Advisory Committee ever go out to these local meetings in various communities?

Wyckoff: Oh yes. I went to the one in Santa Cruz County. I helped start it and I have . . . that incidentally, I think, is in your library . . . the Santa Cruz County Youth Committee Study. Dr. Ruth Frary was chairman of that one.

Conference of Social Welfare: Another Opportunity to
Spread the Rural Point of View

Well, let's get back to this whole question of the migratory labor thing, because I thought today, we'd probably better get through all this basic contribution that I was trying to make. Well, here I am trying to approach it through this . . . this is the point, there are so many approaches . . . my life wasn't just, you know, one of those direct-thread things . . .

Jarrell: I know.

Wyckoff: It had many, many sidelines, and I worked at all of them. I worked at this Conference of Social Welfare because here was an opportunity to do some of the explaining that I felt ought to be done. And it seemed to me that there are, there were good chances in many places . . . the Governor's Advisory Committee was just one of many other things that were all . . .

Jarrell: Yes. So that you could articulate these concerns . . .

Wyckoff: Yes, yes. That's right.

Jarrell: . . . in a variety of forums.

Wyckoff: Well, this is part of that same Conference of Social Welfare. I wanted to give you some excerpts out of it . . . In a way, I have to say that I had a very close relationship naturally with all of the agencies that dealt with migratory farmworkers . . . Well, in discussing what we could do about the health of migrants, we had a nostalgic view of the good old days under the Farm Security medical care program called the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association.* The tragic fact is that when the old Farm Security camps were leased to the growers, most

* Ibid, pp. 24-25.

of the FSA nice little camp clinics and their facilities were dismembered and sold.

Our speaker, Dr. Kirby Miller, former head of the program, differed from the philosophy of the others in believing that a special agency was needed both to house and give medical care to the migrants because of the inevitable necessity upon them to move along the great circuit following the crops from Texas and Imperial Valley to Idaho and Washington. Our other speakers were oriented in the direction of helping them to settle and to become a part of the community . . . and stressed the importance of removing the restrictions and exemptions which deprived them of the benefits available to other groups in our society. In other words, to take them out of the category of second-class citizens. This point of view was emphasized very strongly in the discussion on housing.

Migrant Worker Housing

Wyckoff: Mr. Fred Soule, formerly in the Farm Security Administration in California . . . and that's what I meant when I was saying that Farm Security was a great source of information . . . and they gave me an education . . . I went to every one of their camps and

their staff helped me learn what the problems were; I met a lot of migrants in the camps. I was given the opportunity, you know, to really learn the subject, because I never would have learned it just sitting at home, you know, 'cause I wasn't on a farm. Anyway, Fred Soule, formerly with Farm Security, said that the war, with its high production goals and the intense competition for labor, stimulated the farmers to build more than 25,000 housing units on the farms, most of which had to be fairly adequate or they couldn't get the workers. Thus the housing for year-round workers is now not bad. He pointed out that a number of factors have changed since before the war. The greatly increased use of labor contractors to hire, transport, and feed the workers enables the worker to maintain his own home, usually on the outskirts of some fair-sized community; second, the tremendous technological advancement in mechanical, labor-saving, farm equipment has tended to make the farmer cautious about building any more housing on his land for fear he won't need it for long; and third, there is better understanding of the need for proper housing for agricultural families in the rural communities now. All these factors plus the fact that the average

migrant wants to have his own independent home, means that the old housing problem has moved off the farm and belongs as part of the general public housing program.

The slum clearance program should include the rural slums on the fringes of the valley towns along the path of the labor migrations. Here is a big step toward integration into the community. This is an interesting thing at this point because I was put on the Governor's Advisory Committee on Housing for Farm Labor. And this was a challenge. Because what really happened was that when they brought in the Bracero Program, the family people moved into those fringe slums as they were displaced by the single-man braceros. And the farmers wanted to sell off their family housing because they were told that if they built single-man housing, they could have these single man workers which were a great luxury, they wanted them. And they sold off their old, rundown cabins for a couple of dollars to these families that moved them into these slum, fringe areas where there were no zoning laws or anything. The result was we had slums on the edge of the cities in the valley there that were incredible they were so bad . . . just awful . .

. full of children . . . just full of children. So one of the things I did was to go up and down and look at those communities and try to figure out what on earth we were going to do. After all this fine talk, we were brought up with a round turn by a very, practical, brass-tacks person who was asked to discuss the large question, "How do we integrate the migrant into the community." The answer was, he said, "We don't." He was the principal of the elementary school in Firebaugh . . . population 700. In his school the enrollment jumps 40% during the season. In Mendota, it jumps 120%. He said:

It is like planning for twins and getting quadruplets. The best thing you do is to try to give them the 3 R's and only a small percentage ever get to high school. Yet in high school are all the practical courses they need in order to get a job outside of the unskilled field work. So the process of integration is defeated.

These are interesting sidelights, I think, that we might put into the record if you think it's all right to do that.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: One last observation I would like to make about this section meeting. There were none of the victims present. In almost every other discussion group at least some of the ones whose fate was being decided on, were present . . . but not here. There were young people at the youth section, but there were no migrants at the migrant section.

Jarrell: Very telling.

Wyckoff: That was the first time in 1948 that I mentioned this, because I was determined that when we got down to the time of the Conferences on Families who Follow the Crops that we were going to have the farmworkers present. And it was that meeting that sort of made me think that that's what I wanted to do.

Jarrell: Then that was a goal.

Wyckoff: Yes, that was my goal. And that we should not talk about people behind their backs.

Infant Deaths in the West Side Migrant Camps, 1948

Winifred Erskine was one of the people who really taught me that. I think you have to realize that that whole infant death situation was a tremendous educational opportunity for all of us that were

working in it. It was the winter of 1948 . . . and it was . . . you know cotton is the last crop of the season. And when the workers come in to pick the cotton, they know that that is going to be the last, and they try to settle down and stay and wait until the new spring jobs open up. The growers on the West Side knew this, and some of them made a practice of letting the farmworkers stay, rent-free, of course, in these very dilapidated and primitive houses that were not built for winter . . . they were built just for the season. They were just dirt-floor cabins, this kind of thing . . . totally unsuitable for winter. Anyway, they had no place to go, so they stayed there.

You have to realize that most of these camps were at least 50 miles outside of Fresno, and were in an area that was a total desert and had no communities whatever on it until the Central Valley Water Project brought water onto the land and the farms out there are many thousands of acres; they're not small farms, the camps are large, and of course the only contact might be a little crossroads store, or some little tiny community that was very limited. The school was a pretty important center. But the main life was in

those camps. Well this winter of 1948 was a very wet winter. It lasted a very long time. And there was a lot of hunger and hardship. The jobs didn't open up. Some newspapers got hold of the story of the deaths of these infants . . . it became a national scandal. and the investigation went on and of course there was a lot of talk about its being malnutrition and the fact that we hadn't sent any food in. And the welfare didn't work, and somehow . . . everybody began examining what could have gone wrong.

Jarrell: And trying to blame...

Wyckoff: Trying to blame everybody else, and the growers were terribly upset because they thought they had been kind to let the people stay on, but they were blamed for not feeding the people while they were there. And they were angry about that. And so everybody was in a very bad humor. Well the scandal was enough of a political storm that Governor Warren decided that he must do something. So he asked the Health Department to take the lead and go into the communities of the valley and try to find out what was going on. To do that they went in and set up interagency committees of local people who dealt with farmworkers in their local

setting . . . there was the Red Cross naturally; there was the Agricultural Extension there was the Health Department; there was the Welfare Department; there was the County Hospital, and there was the Council of Home Missions. The Council of Home Missions had been working in the field of the migrant families and camps for, oh 20 or 30 years . . . a long time. They didn't do very much; they sent little layettes in and went around with a little bookmobile and counseled people about where to get help if they needed it . . . this sort of thing . . . It was called the National Council of Churches Division of Home Missions which later became the Migrant Ministry.

Jarrell: And a whole separate chapter in the history of this.

Wyckoff: Yes, that's a whole separate chapter, but it was moving in that direction. And they tried to do more when this crisis came and they got their church members who were doctors to serve in clinics. They tried very hard to become much more action-minded than they had been. They were a part of this inter-agency committee.

The Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and

Youth set up a Rural Health Committee . . . I had just come on board, you know . . . I was just new as could be. And didn't know where to lay hold of all this. But I thought the best thing to do was to go over to Fresno. I lived in a little farm house up the road from here and I drove over to Fresno once a week to meet with the Fresno interagency committee because they were struggling to get organized. The State Health Department encouraged me to do this, of course, since Dr. Halverson, the Director of Public Health asked me to look at the health of the rural child.

Rosenberg Foundation Support

Wyckoff: Well there was a lot of good cooperative effort on the part of the agencies in Fresno to try to solve this health crisis as much as they could by themselves. But it was too big for them. So where I was able to put in my ten cents' worth was, "Why don't you people make a plan and put together what you have in the way of resources. And then where you find a gap and you can't make the grade with local funds, why don't you make an application to the Rosenberg Foundation for funds to get started, and see whether or not you can make a break-through with this." Well it was very interesting. Just the thought of there being some funds available this way . . . not government money . . . but money of this sort . . . seemed to galvanize the whole group and get them to work hard. I found their first efforts documented here in these reports from 1950-52 of the citizens' committee . . . it was called the Fresno Rural Health and Education Committee .. and they were thinking out loud, you might say. They were putting together all their ideas to present to the Rosenberg Foundation and . . . see, they were describing what they were doing, and I am sure that this report was enough to sell Rosenberg on the idea.

Because they gave them finally \$22,000 for the first staffing of a series of clinics. And that's what got this thing off the ground.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: It's very interesting to see who were the most lively workers in this group. There was Rabbi David L. Greenberg of the Temple Beth-Israel in Fresno. He contributed a paper on "Early Attempts to Solve the Problems of the Growers and the Agricultural Workers in the Fresno Area." He did a little historic study of it. Very plainly he was urging his members there in the community to contribute toward what he thought they should be doing. His paper is very well organized and a very good statement of what they were doing. I think maybe I'll give you some of this. It tells his story of what was going on during that . . . what was called the Diarrhea Survey for they discovered that the infants died not of malnutrition from lack of food, but from diarrhea dehydration . . . they lost water so much that they dehydrated and died from dehydration more than anything else, because of the infection which was caused by the shigella that they finally, finally found.

Jarrell: Which was a bacteria?

Wyckoff: It's a bacteria they found, an intestinal bacteria that attacked the babies and they could not withstand it.

United States Public Health Service
and the San Joaquin County Diarrheal Survey

Fresno County, located in the center of the San Joaquin Valley, has a unique farm situation characterized by having a number of ranches each of which comprises several thousand acres of rich farmland. Each ranch owner in order to operate employs hundreds of workers. The workers are housed in small cabins or tents on the ranch, and the only community these workers know is the camp. Many workers stay the entire year while others move from one area to the other. Each year many babies in these camps died from diarrhea. But until the summer of 1950 no definite study was made of the conditions causing this illness. At the time the California State Department of Public Health requested assistance for a diarrheal study from the United States Public Health Service. Dr. James Watt, a national authority on diarrhea from the U.S.P.H.S. Center for Communicable Diseases, Atlanta,

was assigned to assist the San Joaquin County Health Departments in a research project to determine the causes and carriers of the illness. They studied 7,000 babies. (Now that's a big study.)

Labor Camp Public Health Committees—Developing a Client-Based Study

In order that the study be started, the Fresno County Health Department, under the direction of Dr. William F. Stein, Fresno County Health Officer, and the corps of public health nurses under the leadership of Miss Winifred Erskine, began surveys in the various camps. The public health nurses serving in the area gathered together a few of the camp mothers at each camp and presented the problems entailed in making the survey. The mothers became a working committee and soon were known as the public health committee of the camp in which they lived. The process of committee formation followed in 26 camps and there was a huge central public health committee of representatives of all those camp committees. So there was a big consumer-base for this entire survey operation.

This is where the workers themselves were involved in their own salvation, you might say. They really took part in it. The public health committees then received instructions from Dr. Watt for helping in the diarrheal survey and the history-taking program for their particular camp. A cabin in each camp was set up as a temporary clinic headquarters, and each family was assigned a time for testing study. Dr. Watt was present at each clinic and did rectal cultures on each child under ten years of age. As the families appeared, the public health committee helped list cases needing medical attention, such as crippled children, pregnancy, apparent malnutrition, etc. The committee also helped in the cabin-cabin visitation to get health history and history of family illnesses . . . especially diarrhea . . . for Dr. Watt's research. As the diarrhea survey progressed, it became apparent that finding the solution to the agricultural worker's problems would entail educational and social changes as well as medical help.

In viewing the progress reports made by the public health committees in the various camps, the public health nurses indicated that unusual interest

and enthusiasm was being shown by the committee at Frank Coit's camp in Mendota . . . with the result that this group was chosen as a pilot committee to further study the needs of their own and other farm communities. The Coit Public Health Committee continued on an active basis through the summer of 1950. In the fall much concern was expressed by the Public Health Committee members and by Mr. Frank Coit over children being taken into the harvest. These children ranging from 14-day old babies to 8 and 10-yearold children would be locked in the family car, or put down under scant shade in flies and filth to stay the entire day. Often no liquids and little food were given the children. Dehydration and diarrhea resulted and often death followed fast upon these conditions.

Coit Public Health Committee

Then the Public Health Committee and Mr. Coit began questioning what educational facilities there were to help alleviate these conditions. Mrs. Catherine Roney, the Public Health Nurse from the Mendota area and Miss Winifred Erskine in response to this request invited representatives from various community agencies of Fresno to meet with the Coit

Public Health Committee. One of these representatives was Miss Bernice Lynn, Consultant, State Department of Social Welfare. She came down because the mothers would say, "Well, we can't put our children in a day-care center because you won't accept anybody under two and we have a one-year-old one at home." So the question was could we get licensing for the care of younger children in the day-care center, and we never could.

Jarrell: So you couldn't do that with the younger children?

Wyckoff: We never could get permission to do it from the State Department of Social Welfare.

Jarrell: No.

Wyckoff: We never could do it. Other representatives included Mrs. Irene Brause, Director of Nursing Services, American Red Cross; Miss Gertrude Bouchet, Home Advisor, Agricultural Extension Service and Mrs. Edith Storey. Each representative described in detail the available services of her own agency, and this is how the whole thing became a team. The Red Cross was able

to immediately start the home nursing and baby-care courses and first aid classes were given to the men. And the Agricultural Extension Service provided a home-management specialist. Now she was funded by the Rosenberg Foundation to teach the kinds of things that would be relevant in the labor camp conditions and not in a \$50,000 home which is the way they were usually trained. In other words learning to cook over a kerosene stove and not over a wonderful GE range. Now let's see, this is interesting . . . Mr. Jack E. O'Neill, and Mrs. Tom O'Neill at Five Points, and Mr. Russell Giffin at Huron, all large ranch owners, (each one of them had thousands of acres, they were enormous ranches) . . . became interested in having additional health and educational facilities for their workers. The public health nurses from these areas had continued working with their public health committees and were asking for help and suggestions from the American Red Cross, UC Agricultural Extension Service [University of California], the Childcare Center, and Social Welfare.

The First Clinic Opens

I am quoting from a request to the Rosenberg Foundation for the financial aid which [could] not be

met through local resources:

The purpose of this application is to aid in the establishment of Agricultural Workers Public Centers on isolated ranch communities in Fresno County where fifty or more families live; to provide ranch workers and their children health, educational, and public services comparable to those in urban centers; to encourage the development of year-round employment for such workers; to stimulate the cooperation between growers and workers in eliminating health hazards; to help ranch workers and their families understand their rights and responsibilities as good citizens.

As a local matching share of the fund Tom O'Neill redecorated and remodeled a barracks building which had been used as an apartment. This building was to be used as the health center on the Tom O'Neill ranch. Mr. O'Neill welcomed agricultural workers from the adjacent ranch to use the health center. Early in March the first clinic was held on his ranch. The building was being used by the Agricultural Extension Service [University of California]. Mr. J. E. O'Neill has a barracks building which he planned to remodel as a childcare center, a health clinic with classrooms

for Agricultural Extension and Red Cross work.

To summarize, it is important to remember there are great distances between these ranches and many people are involved. While enthusiasm has carried each ranch public health committee forward, there is now a great need for a trained person to integrate the educational activities for all these things.

Local Support Continues the Work of the Clinics: Mrs.

I.H. Teilman's Community Organizing

Now there is a report by the National Council of Churches Women . . . Mary D. Brown who is the California state supervisor, the Division of Home Missions, telling what she did. Then there's a wonderful report by Fresno County Coordinating Council Chairman Mrs. I.H. Teilman. She was a remarkable woman. I think she did more than anybody I know to get legislation through; to get the local board of supervisors . . . for example when the Rosenberg money ran out, she was the one really who got the Fresno County Board of Supervisors to pick up the tab and carry on.

Jarrell: How did she do that?

Wyckoff: Well, she was a foreman of the Grand Jury . . . she was one of these women who took part in local politics . . . she was a PTA chairman, she was in everything. She lived in Sanger, south of Fresno City. She was a small farmer. Her husband was a water district manager or some such thing. Anyway they were deep in the whole politics of the old residents. She and her husband were both Danish. They were stubborn, and they would not give up. She had ways of just sweeping people along. For example, she hired a bus and took the whole grand jury out to see all the camps; she wanted to show them what was going on. Well, I don't think that had ever happened in the history before or since. It really moved things in that valley. It scared the board into doing things, you know.

Jarrell: Since she was a local person, she couldn't be smeared with an agitator label.

Wyckoff: No.

Jarrell: I mean she was doing something pretty radical.

Wyckoff: Oh, she was. And she was a tough cookie, and she really got things moving.

Jarrell: Took the bull by the horns.

Wyckoff: Yes, she had no fear of anybody. She was just remarkable. She lived in a wonderful house that had a grapevine, an Isabella grapevine, that must have covered an area that was a full city block. It . . . you know it was awfully hot over there . . . and this garden covered with these wonderful grapevines...

Jarrell: How cool.

Wyckoff: . . . and underneath were camellias. It was the prettiest garden you ever saw and you could stand to be outside there. I loved to visit her place.

Jarrell: But she actually got the Board of Supervisors to fund . . .

Wyckoff: Well, I give her the credit, but of course she never did those things alone. She just galvanized everybody else into coming in to do it. So she was a good community worker. She was a great believer in the coordinating council. That was her great passion in life . . . getting all the little organizations together to agree and push together to get something done.

Jarrell: Working together, yes.

Wyckoff: She just lived it and did it and it really was great.

We never could have done any of this without her.

Well, they all helped.

Problems with the County Medical Society:

Overcoming Jurisdictional Deadlocks

Now Dr. Stein was a very interesting man. He was a county health officer. And he was essentially an extremely timid man . . . very careful . . . and very gun-shy. My goodness. And above all, he was afraid of the medical society and their criticism. Yet he had a moral conviction that there was something wrong about the way that the migrants were treated and that he had a moral obligation to do something about it. He was so well convinced of it that in spite of his fear . . . and his fear was really comical because he was pulled into these two directions. And Winifred Erskine understood him perfectly because she was a New England Yankee . . . came from Maine . . . and she had that same moral approach to things that you did what was right . . . and she would stand back of Dr. Stein, and get him right down to the medical society door and push him in, and be there to receive him when he came out. He did find the first doctor willing to go out to the West Side at night . . . he was a missionary

doctor. He just couldn't get anybody else to even try . . . The first man was an eye doctor—not exactly the person that he wanted for a general practitioner way out there. But at least it broke the ice. And they did agree finally to rotate volunteer doctors out there. They were terrified of being paid. They did not want ever to . . . that was socialized medicine.

Jarrell: That's right. That would be the foot in the door.

Wyckoff: Oh, it would be terrible to be paid, you know.

Jarrell: Yes. So it had to be on a volunteer basis.

Wyckoff: It had to be on a volunteer basis, and that's the way it had to start. Finally they managed to persuade the old ones to let the young ones, who were starting out, be paid. And this was a big step forward when that occurred. We got a budget for them . . . it really worked well. And Dr. Walter Rolwing . . . you see there was this dichotomy in which the health officer was never supposed to do any treatment. The county hospital staff were allowed to do the treatment. So that unless you put the two of them together, you never could have a realistic program. You couldn't go out there and hold well-baby clinics when there were nothing but sick babies there. So the County Hospital had to handle the sick babies. But the well babies,

the well-baby nurses were all out there, and there were no sick-baby nurses, because they were all in the County Hospital. So there was this terrible gap between prevention and treatment. So there had to be the most tremendous amount of negotiating between the county hospital and the health department to finally get this thing into a workable program.

Jarrell: The mechanics seem formidable here.

Wyckoff: All my life, I've had the health officer say to me, "Have you any idea what you're doing? Don't you know what you're doing?" And it was as though I were destroying them, you know, because I was insisting that there be rational treatment of people who needed medical care and prevention. In the whole thing you couldn't separate them out. So we had some great times over that.

Then the Welfare Department, Mr. Granville Peoples, in Special Services . . . oh my, that was a wonderful thing. The Welfare Department was supposed to certify people in need. Well, everybody out there had an income way below what the, you know, the amount that made them eligible for welfare medical care.

Jarrell: The established level for eligibility.

Wyckoff: Yes. They were way below. They had nothing. It was 50 miles out and 50 miles back . . . and to send a welfare worker out in order to certify that these people were eligible to go into the clinic and get care . . . this was the most ridiculous hassle. So Granville Peoples, whom I had always thought was brave, went out and he trained one of the mothers out there to certify people. And he gave her a short form . . . it was about four sentences . . . so she could go and certify them by filling out a questionnaire and checklist. Then the County Welfare Department sent one worker, I think once a month, out to spotcheck and see if her work was correct. Well, if you know anything about people in a labor camp like that, they're much more vigilant towards each other. If anybody got a million dollars, they'd know it. Wouldn't be any trouble at all. So it was really a very interesting thing the way they worked that one out. Then they had the Agricultural Extension Service [University of California] . . . Ray Crouch...

Jarrell: And what was their part in this?

Wyckoff: Well, Rosenberg funded this remarkable woman, Mrs.

Anna Price Garner, and she was sent out right during the crisis to try to help. But Anna Price Garner was one of the permanent ones. She was specially trained with Rosenberg Funds . . . I don't know how they ever got a faculty together to train her, but they did. And she was trained to work with the family who had nothing but a 5¢ saucepan and a kerosene burner.

Jarrell: And to be creative . . . innovative.

Wyckoff: To fix up that cabin and make it livable, habitable . . . all the things that could be done. To use the surplus commodities that were given in the most ridiculous way in those days. I mean you'd get a great carload of grapefruit and nothing else.

Jarrell: And then you'd get butter or cheese . . .

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: But all at one time.

Wyckoff: Yes. It was really bad. Anyway, she helped them to learn how to devise coolers and do all the various things that you had to do to try to survive in those camps, and she was so good that later she trained some other workers for the United Nations. They sent her to go back to Cornell University Rural Department to teach some of the women from India some of the things

that they had learned here. They were so thrilled with her . . . to know that there was anybody in our country that had any conception of poverty. They thought that was really remarkable. In fact it was so much so that the Minister of Health of India came out and visited the camp--I think it was about 1955. Oh yes, I am reminded of a visit with the public health centers by a group of doctors from India who were sent by the World Health Organization. They looked about at the general conditions in the camps and said, "We never would have believed it . . . you too have poverty!" We hear however, they have learned many useful ideas from this project.

Winifred Erskine and the Fresno Rural Health and Education Centers

Jarrell: In our outline which we tend to every once in a while, we have included a portrait of Winifred Erskine . . . now you have talked about and around her.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: That she was from New England.

Wyckoff: Yes, she was a Yankee from New England.

Jarrell: She sounds so remarkable. If you could talk about her a bit.

Wyckoff: Well, she was my idea of an ideal public health worker because she had this tremendous respect for the patient for one thing. And taught all of her nurses that that was primary, of primary importance, no matter how poor, how dirty, how forlorn a patient was, he was to be treated with dignity and courtesy, and this is something that you don't always find, I can tell you.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: That was one thing. Another thing was she believed that people really had to learn how to help themselves. To do this, they needed to organize. They needed to learn how to make a group decision. They needed to learn how to have a committee meeting. She trained her nurses to be good group-work organizers in difficult situations . . . with families that had never been part of anything, except maybe a church. In most cases, these families, especially the Mexican families, they were just entirely enclosed within themselves. The camps, and the people in it, were really people they were afraid of. They were not

willing to become a big community at all. They were just scared to death of anybody except those that were entirely endorsed within the family. So to get the people to work together was really very difficult to do. And she not only did it, and demonstrated it, but she didn't even speak Spanish . . . She did eventually, but she didn't in the beginning. But she was able to do that on the one hand.

And then on the other hand, she was able to get the very timid health officers and staff people . . . health departments are not full of courageous and lionhearted people at all. They're apt to be the people who went into it because it was very gentle, and they didn't want to get involved in all kinds of controversy. Then she was a person who could work with all the different groups in a community to get them behind something that was a public health measure of importance. She was not very missionary and not very vocal in many ways, but she had a quiet way of working that was really fine. I think that this business of getting those growers to go along was probably the most difficult thing of all. She did use some very strong medicine on them. They were very angry . . . and they wouldn't believe they had any

responsibilities for all of these things. But she shocked them into overcoming their anger and their rage and finally succeeded in making them realize that they would get a great deal more mileage out of cooperating than they did out of fighting. And that took some real genius I think, because they were a tough bunch. But she was tough too. She never gave up. She just kept at it. And of course I think she was eminently suited for that particular job.

Jarrell: Was she there a long time afterwards working?

Wyckoff: Yes. She stayed on . . . well, we'll have to go into that much later. What happened was that I guess she moved a little too fast and when Dr. Stein finally retired, a new young man came in, and he didn't like her. Because she had built this big community relationship where she was known as quite an important leader in the community. The doctor who came in was a mousy fellow who wanted a mousy nurse and he wasn't going to have one of these strong-minded women around. So . . . that was the end of that. One thing a nurse must never do is talk back to a doctor, and she had built a relationship with Dr. Stein, so she could do

this, you know; he just worshiped her.

Jarrell: Well they probably had a very equal kind of a relationship.

Wyckoff: They did. They had a fine relationship. It was really good. They shared very much the same goals in life, except she had the lion-heart and he didn't. Anyway, she's dead now . . . she went back to New England to her home. I've heard they persecuted her pretty badly toward the end, and some ground was lost. What happened was that the supervisors took over the West Side clinics, and the East Side . . . you know about the West Side, and the East Side of the valley, I suppose? The East Side is very different, composed of small cohesive communities that are more like the rest of the country--there're villages that are closer together. This is the dominion of the small farmer . . . and the East Side is very different. You can have community organization in a way that you cannot have out on the West Side because there're aren't any communities or small farmers.*

Jarrell: Right. It's kind of a social desert as well . . .

* The classic study of these two communities is Walter Goldschmidt's *As You Sow: Three Studies in the Social Consequences of Agribusiness* (Montclair, New Jersey: Allanheld,

Wyckoff: Yes, that's right. So there was an attempt to start a different type of clinic over there on the East Side. A group grew up over there who were not wanting her . . . they wanted to be independent of the whole business of the health department. And gradually that thing became . . . well . . . it's still operating on the West Side the way it did. And of course now there's the new big Migrant Health Act Clinics that are federally run out of region IX and have nothing to do with the health department at all.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: So I mean those early days were the way you built a thing from the ground up. But now I'm afraid things are happening from the top down. And I believe that Winifred wouldn't have been part of that. She couldn't have done that. So it's good she retired, I guess, when she did, because it was just a different thing. She wrote a number of articles and a number of very fine stories describing the community based work to establish the clinics which have been used by the nursing journals and the nursing professions throughout the United States. In fact I know that they

have had profound effects in places like Florida, and Texas, and this sort of thing.

Jarrell: So that was this experiment which was in the nature of an ad hoc thing that came out of that immediate crisis. But it evolved into something quite stable and far-seeing in terms of the needs of that community.

Wyckoff: Yes. I find her report here. It repeats what the rabbi said, of course, so I won't go into that. She does say this and she was referring to the clinic:

The Fresno County Health Department did not budget for medical services of this kind. In 1951, and if the medical clinics were to be provided in the centers given by the growers, outside funds had to be obtained. Mrs. Hubert Wyckoff, member of the Governor's Youth Committee and a social worker (how do you like that?) suggested that the Fresno County Health and Education Committee, of which Mr. Tom O'Neill was chairman, approach the Rosenberg Foundation for funds. After carefully preparing its programs and those costs for clinic services, the Rosenberg Foundation granted the committee \$22,000 to carry on the medical and nursing services for one year, with the provision that the Fresno County Board

of Supervisors become acquainted with the program and consider taking this on as a permanent responsibility for the County. The funds were turned over to us in October, 1951. Our first clinics were held in November, 1951. We now have clinics at Five Points, Huron, Calflax, Firebaugh, Mendota, Vista Del Llano, and Cantua Creek. In the beginning we had very few patients at the clinics, but as the information circulated among the camps, our clinic attendance has been increasing tremendously. Fresno County Hospital tells us that only 50% of the mothers delivered in the hospital have medical supervision before delivery. We now hope to find as many of these expectant mothers as possible and see that they have medical care. In these clinics a record system has been developed which will provide the hospital with reports on each of these patients as they are seen at the clinics, so the obstetrician delivering the mother will know what care she has received.

Jarrell: From the clinic to the hospital.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: I see; that's excellent.

Wyckoff: Then there are the reports of the nurses. And these are the real, down-to-earth reports that tell exactly

what they did when they went into the camp . . . and how they dealt with the growers and how they dealt with the migrant workers . . . just a diary of what they did. For example, the first meeting, the second meeting, the third meeting, and who came, and what was explained and how everything was done. So this is like a little manual really in some parts.

Jarrell: And this was actually published by whom?

Wyckoff: This was put out by the Fresno Rural Health and Education Committee and sent to the Rosenberg Foundation.

Jarrell: I'll read the title into the tape: *Rural Health and Education Centers—A Community Project, Fresno County, California*. Mr. Tom L. O'Neill, a grower, was the chairman.

Wyckoff: Winifred Erskine became very ill in the latter years of her life and was totally bedridden. She was of course, as a public health nurse, eligible to go into the Veteran's Hospital . . . so they took her into the nearest Veteran's Hospital in Maine. Later, I visited her there. I wanted to go and see her before she died and I knew she was on the way out. So Hubert and I

took a car and my sister and her husband, and we drove up to Wiscasset, Maine, where we stayed in her house. She turned over her house to us.

Jarrell: She was in the hospital?

Wyckoff: Yes. And her house, the family house, was turned over to us. That house was simply marvelous. It was a hand-hewn house. Every board it in was whittled by hand. It was a house built long before the Revolution. Her ancestors were ship-builders, or went to sea. People in Maine just live off the ocean . . . that's all there is, you know. They lived right near the wooden shipbuilding yards of the old days. Her brother is a man who repairs hand-hewn houses by restoring them in exactly the way that they were originally built . . . working with an adze . . .

Jarrell: And the same old tools.

Wyckoff: And the same old tools in the same old way. And a most remarkable thing happened—an Englishwoman bought up about half the old, small cottages, and most houses are very small in Maine . . . that is, the ones out in the country . . . she bought these houses up, and there were a lot of little single old people living in them who were living on very modest incomes. She made

a deal that they were to live for the rest of their lives in that house provided she could be allowed to restore the house. And also that she would do some of the work while they were living in the house. The restoration was to be done by Dwight Erskine, Winifred's brother and also provided that he could hire any members of the family that could still work, to work on it. She would pay them. Isn't that a wonderful thing to do for a dead community like that?

Jarrell: Yes, yes.

Wyckoff: Well naturally her brother took us around to see all these wonderful places and we realized what a perfectly marvelous background she had. We went to see her, and she'd had a stroke and could hardly talk. But I did go and see her before she died anyway. Yes, she was a very fine woman and had a great influence on my life.

Changing Social and Living Conditions of Migrant
Workers, 1948-1958

What happened was that what evolved was a whole lot more than just these clinics and childcare centers as you can see. There was an attempt to apply our experience to the whole migratory labor population of

the state and try to see what could be done to improve their condition.

Colorado Conference of Social Work:

Talk on Health and Welfare Services to Migratory Workers and their Families at the Local Level

In 1959, I was just forever making speeches . . . and I saved all my speeches, so that it helps to at least tell you of what progress was being made along the way.* The Colorado Conference of Social Work heard what we were trying to do at the Governor's Advisory Committee in California and they knew that I was a member of the California Conference of Social Work, so I was invited to come and give a talk on Health and Welfare Services to Migratory Farmworkers and their Families at the Local Level. And this evidently took many, many pages. It's a very long talk. In those days, you gave long papers, and explained everything.

Jarrell: Don't they still?

Wyckoff: I'll read some from the paper I presented:†

The schools played a very important role in the

* Wyckoffs written talks and speeches are included in the Wyckoff Archive, Special Collections, McHenry Library, UCSC.—Editor.

† This and the following are excerpts from a paper Wyckoff presented in 1959 at a meeting of the Colorado Conference of Social Work. —Editor.

lives of these families. When the public health centers for all these activities opened, it was noted that the average I.Q. of the students in the West Side elementary school was about 87. No students went on to high school from the 8th grade. It was a 90-mile round trip to high school. After nine years of intensive, cooperative efforts to improve school lunches, health education, and skillfully-adapted teaching methods [for migrant children], with medical care within reach at last, it was found that a great change had taken place. The average I.Q. had risen from 87 to 100, and the average weight for the 8th grade child had risen 4 pounds. At the end of the last year, 55 children went on to high school. You may be interested to hear about Martin Gunderson, the genius who probably did more than any one person to bridge the gap between the growers, the migrants, and the public agencies in Fresno County. Since his death, the West Side elementary school has been named after him. He was one of the few who succeeded in gaining the confidence of the Mexican-American families through his gentleness and deep understanding, and he persuaded many of them to let the first child go on to high school. Long talks with the parents were needed to get at the

difficulty. Often it turned out to be the lunch money . . . the parents didn't have it. There were no free lunches in the high school. So he finally developed a little scholarship fund for those who needed it. He would say, 'Now the school thinks a lot of your boy. You should be proud of him. We wish to express our feeling to you by giving you this scholarship of \$90. This will pay for his lunch for one year in high school. We ask you to make the effort to keep him in school and not to take him into the fields with you, even though you want his pay. We ask you to make this sacrifice because he is such a fine boy.

These programs have been studied by people from many lands which have the same combination of poverty, migration, lack of sanitation and health education.

Jarrell: Would you say at this point then in the late 1940s and early '50s, in your experience, that the migrant agricultural work force, was predominantly Mexican . . . in Fresno, in the valley?

Wyckoff: No, not then. It was about one-third each; it was one-third Negro, one-third Okie, and one-third Mexican.

Jarrell: Still a third Okie, even way after the war?

Wyckoff: Yes, yes. This was good because it enforced a certain

amount of mixture. Now it's almost a hundred percent Mexican.

Jarrell: So there still was this ethnic diversity in that labor force.

Wyckoff: Yes. I'll continue from my paper:

It is sad to see the migrants leave Fresno in the spring and go forth from what is their winter base or the nearest thing they can call home and follow the sun north through many different health jurisdictions. When they return in the fall, the clinic doctors and nurses say, 'They went away well even after a long, hard winter of employment, but many of them have come back sick.

Now you see this was said in order . . . to explain why we needed legislation, a migrant health act, so they could all have these services everywhere, not just in Fresno County.

The Demise of the Labor Camps

Wyckoff: This idea of West Side Fresno night clinics and Health and Education services for migrants was not spreading the way we wanted it to. And I was going around trying to explain that it should be, you know, spread.

Of course we never go forward by recounting the achievements of the past, and we must face the fact that we live in a dynamic society. With our expanding population and technological improvements, we're suffering much dislocation and confusion. There appears to be a strong trend at the present on moving away from the single man bracero labor camp into the fringe area of the small town or into the unincorporated periphery of the big city.

Now you see, this is in '59 . . . that's 10 years later than that '48 thing. So the progress, the changes are apparent here:

Where formerly the migrant lived under a kind of a patron system in a labor camp, paying no rent, doing as he was told, now more and more he is establishing a small base and a plot of his own . . . often without water or sanitary facilities. From a health standpoint, he is much worse off than he was in the old labor camp . . . but this is the first step to putting his roots down and trying to drop out of the path of the migration. It is not always done voluntarily. The recent enforcement of housing standards has caused many growers to burn their bad

housing, or worse, to sell it at a \$1 a cabin to one of these families who may haul it off to a fringe area and continue to live in it, perhaps without benefit of the meager washing and sanitary facilities of the camp, sometimes going down the road to buy a bucket of water.

The Bracero Program—Public Law 78

The change has come about partly due to the replacement of so many domestic workers by Mexican nationals or braceros* as we call them. A bracero is an alien, single man who usually lives in a barrack-like camp, not suitable for family living. Coming into the USA under contract from Mexico as he does and protected by a treaty arrangement setting housing and health protection standards and job guarantees, he appears to be much better off than the domestic worker.

He is usually much preferred by the grower, because he is like a man in a military organization;

* Public Law 78, known as the Bracero Program, was established July 12, 1951, and enabled the importation of Mexican agricultural labor into the U.S. The program expired December 31, 1964, amidst criticism from church, labor, and welfare organizations that the bracero contract labor system was dehumanizing and undermined American workers' wages and working conditions.—Editor.

he can be delivered on time to a field at the moment when the crop is ripe . . . there is no worry to the grower about rounding up a lot of domestic workers in a labor market where the worker may be free to pick and choose his own job. Even though the law says that no bracero shall have a job if there is a domestic worker available for that work, it is plain that the enforcement of this law is uneven. California last year employed nearly twice as many foreign braceros as domestic workers. Colorado employed half as many.

Organizing Farmworker Communities

Through Citizen Education and Political Action

The shift from the labor camp to the fringe area by so many of our farmworker families has created a whole new set of problems for the parent community. There are now some very valuable programs supported by foundation grants and local money which have placed social workers, community organizers, and others with group-work skills into these fringe areas to try to do the kind of citizenship education that has meaning in this setting . . . such as the Migrant Ministry of the National Council of Churches . . .

By that time the Migrant Ministry, you see, had come.

It has a very effective and widespread organization in these fringe areas with fifteen staff members working throughout California alone, and many more in other parts of the nation. The American Friends Service Committee likewise supports field work in citizenship education. The Catholic Rural Life Conference is serving the bracero, the domestic worker, and the small farmer.

The Community Service Organization

There is another group which is working on the local level in some of the western states. It is the Community Service Organization. It has developed a special method geared to the culture of the Mexican-American. It has done some remarkably fine work. My understanding of their philosophy is that no gain is real, permanent, or secure if it is made by someone else for you. As applied to the Mexican-American, it is only real when he stands up and learns how to protect himself as a self-reliant man by the use of his vote. Many small neighborhood improvements gained through local action by Mexican-American citizens using the ballot have taught the lesson. There are now

about thirty chapters in California alone, and many others throughout the Southwest. The leadership of each of these is voluntary. There is not much effort made yet to join or participate in [already-established] community councils of the parent community. Because the main job seems to be for the Mexican-American to find himself in relation to society in which he lives, first of all on the neighborhood level.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: It is a low job requiring patience and takes many of the skills we used to require of the early settlement group workers like Jane Adams and Edith Abbott, at Hull House in Chicago; and others who helped the new immigrant to adjust to life in America. The strange part about this is that the Mexican was here first.

A New Strategy: The Abolition of Residency

Requirements for Migrants

Wyckoff: I was trying to make a plea at that time in 1956 for the abolition of residence requirements for health, welfare, and medical services, and the whole purpose of this speech there was to ask Colorado to join . . . to try to get the residence requirements abolished in our health and welfare laws. So I did make this

statement there:

The movement for abolition of residence requirements for health and welfare services has been going on for fifty years in various forms, usually spearheaded by private agencies who have to bear the brunt of the burden when needy persons are rejected by public agencies. The momentum towards this goal has increased greatly in the last few years under the leadership of the American Public Welfare Association, the National Travelers' Aid, and about thirty large national groups based upon the clear need of our industrial and agricultural way of life for a mobile population in the twentieth century.

A time study recently revealed that termination of settlement required 18% of the time of the staff of local welfare agencies in a western state. Added to that is the cost of transportation back to the place of settlement. Worst of all is the social cost when family has moved away from a place because of lack of employment and is seeking work in a newly-developing area only to be sent back to the place where their hopes had been abandoned. This is a senseless and destructive waste. Various methods have been advocated to pull us out of this tangle of complicated statutes

and decisions. There are those who advocate a federal comprehensive public welfare plan in which all those states who wish to participate may come in and may receive a special incentive formula upon condition that they abolish all residence requirements. This is a fair goal and is supported by the American Public Welfare Association. Then there are the gradualists, such as the National Governors Conference. According to a resolution approved by them at San Juan in Puerto Rico, August, '59, the governors urged Congress to enact legislation to provide that the four federally-funded categories of public assistance be governed by a uniform one-year ceiling on residence requirements.

That was the next step.

The governors further urged the states' legislatures to develop an interstate compact in which persons moving from one part of a state to another shall not be denied some form of aid *if* they are in need, irrespective of residence requirements. The Council of State Governments' Report indicates, and in states where general assistance is financed solely by political subdivisions of the state, some form of aid

covering assistance cases made eligible by the compact, should be provided by the state. Otherwise and undue burden might be placed upon localities through the action of the state. These troubles of expensive and socially undesirable barriers to health and welfare services will never be removed without the active and determined interest of bodies such as the Colorado Conference of Social Work, and the California one too.

So that was one of the chores. And evidently the next year, I made about ten speeches which we will get into later. Because what happened, you see, was that the clinics and the whole demonstration there in Fresno just simply stayed there. And it was fine...

Jarrell: But they didn't proliferate . . . the idea didn't spread?

CONFERENCES ON FAMILIES WHO FOLLOW THE CROPS

Breaking the Log-Jam

Wyckoff: They got a prize in Rome, but it didn't proliferate.

So the only way that I could think of breaking

the log-jam and getting a state program rolling, which would enable this program to occur in every county that had migrants, was to hold a series of conferences with all the related organizations that were hit by the problems of rural communities. So that's when I got the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth to finance the conferences on Families Who Follow the Crops; we had five conferences starting in 1959. Now by financing . . . they didn't put up any money whatever . . . they gave me a little share of the time of a secretary to send out invitations. They asked for volunteers in the departments to give me time, and the employment department gave me an enormous amount of time. They wanted jobs for farmworkers you see. And the Youth Authority, which was the administrative agency, didn't feel that they could give very much time. They gave a little. The Welfare Department gave me a lot of time. Of course the Health Department was marvelous; heavens, they published things and did all sorts of things. So there was a financial input that nobody ever added up. You never could find what the dollars were that went into that. But it was substantial. It enabled us to have the first conference but of course the first one was

very tiny, it was just a demonstration of what we were going to do . . .

But they grew bigger and bigger and more and more important, and they had more impact on a much wider basis. Now I tried to do something a little different from the usual conference because it was not an urban problem really. The organizations that represented the interests that had an impact on these issues were the growers, the Farm Bureau; then there were the school people, the housing people, the labor people, the welfare people, the county supervisors . . . all of the people that could possibly be involved in any way in any of these problems, all rural.

Planning the Conferences on Families Who Follow the
Crops: Learning to Work Together

Yes, on all these different levels—they should be invited and involved somehow. Well, it seemed that it would be a good idea to break the thing up into bite-size pieces, so that it wouldn't be a shambles, you know. We just couldn't have everybody milling around, talking about everything at once. So we broke up the conference into rather sharply-focused meetings, and

we took plenty of time. They had to come for three or four days, or a good long time. They had to get acquainted with each other, and you'd eat together, and you'd get to know each other, and we tried in every way to make it something where a group of people who had never communicated before . . . who'd never thought of communicating before . . . would sit down and try to communicate.

Then we discovered . . . yes . . . then we discovered that you couldn't suddenly come together. We discovered we had better start working together to plan the conference. This meant a new approach in setting up these planning committees for the Conferences on Families Who Follow the Crops; there would be, for example, a planning committee to plan the program on housing for a conference section on housing, and all the other sections devoted to each specific issue. All right . . . there had to be on that planning committee for a whole year in advance, or six months in advance . . . somebody who was, we'll say, a grower with a lot of houses, a small community with a lot of houses, and a farmworker who lived in some of these houses. And the state housing people,

and all of the enforcement people . . . you had to have, in other words, an involvement of all the groups involved in housing—the whole business in it. I thought, my God, I don't know if we can ever, ever, ever get them together. Because it requires a great deal of attention to get committees like that to work. You have to not only send out little postcards telling them there's going to be a meeting . . . you've got to telephone them, you've got to explain what the meeting is going to be about, you've got to schedule a time that's agreeable . . . you've got to work out all kinds of details, you've got to get pay for the ones who need it, you know, every sort and kind of thing. Well, there were some people who were willing to really work at that, and do it almost full-time. Now there was one man named Howard Frazier in the labor department. He just simply gave his whole life to labor standards . . . He really worked at it hard. He would go around and call on all the individuals to come to a committee meeting and get them to come. It was that kind of hard work. Bard McAllister of the American Friends Service Committee did that. And so did the Reverend Douglas Still of the Migrant Ministry . . . he did that. And then there was the Girl Scout

Luada Boswell who did it. My gracious, there were innumerable ones who were willing to work at that.

Getting the Farmworkers and Growers to Attend the
Conferences: Sitting Down Together

Wyckoff: The hardest part was to get the farmworkers there to the conferences; they were scared and didn't want to come. Or it was expensive. Or there were reasons . . . job, baby-sitters, innumerable reasons why they couldn't come. All this had to be overcome, and overcome with a vast amount of support. Well, we begged the money to do this from all these organizations such as the Friends Service Committee and all of us. Then when we finally got up to the time of the conference, we did go to Rosenberg for money for what we called scholarships so the farmworkers could come.

Jarrell: Because they couldn't have come otherwise?

Wyckoff: No, they couldn't have. As it was it was difficult because they might lose their job if they took a day off because somebody else would get it, and they wouldn't get it back. You know, all kinds of things occurred . . . so that just giving a man enough to make up the hours of work that he lost is not enough. It was much more difficult.

So we tried to hold the conference during the off

season, or during a time when they wouldn't be working. This was very much more successful when we did that. But the trouble is we have long, different seasons among the various crops, and they don't all coordinate, so somebody always was left out, I know. Nevertheless the attendance on the part of both growers and workers grew more and more, and we had a bigger proportion of growers and workers at the conference over the five years we held them. The first conferences we had were nearly all made up of social workers, teachers, and nurses and the state and local agency people. And the hard part was to get the people behind whose back we didn't want to talk, you know.

Jarrell: That's right.

Wyckoff: Getting them to attend . . . this was the hard part, but finally we were able to do it, but it was tough. Of course, the very first was the one where Tom O'Neill was the chairman. All the growers boycotted it because they thought Tom O'Neill was far too progressive doing all those fine things out there at his ranch. They thought, "Oh, he's terrible." And he was so hurt when they wouldn't come.

Other Conference Attendees

Jarrell But you said that the conferences were under the aegis of the Governor's Advisory Committee.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: Now you had obviously succeeded to an unforeseen degree in making your slant known.

Wyckoff: Well I had persuaded them that we needed to set up a committee on the migrant child . . . and that it had to be active; it wasn't just a committee to sit around and do nothing.

Jarrell: Yes. That's right. So all of these people on the letterhead of the conference on Families Who Follow the Crops . . .

Wyckoff: So they agreed and approved my giving the conference. The whole committee had to vote on it. One person never could have done it.

Jarrell: Okay. Now after they approved sponsoring the conferences were there any members who actually got involved in the conferences?

Wyckoff: Oh yes. A good many of the members of the committee came to the conferences.

Jarrell: I thought that was important to know.

Wyckoff: Yes, yes. The chairman of the committee nearly always attended. Donald Howard, Dean of the UCLA School of Social Work, was chairman at the first committee. And then Helen MacGregor was chairman, and she came. And Rosenberg's Ruth Chance always attended. Other members of the committee attended, particularly the top staff people; the head of the department. Dr. Robert Day, the Assistant Health Officer, State Department of Public Health, on the staff committee . . . he attended always. Lawrence Ford, of the Department of Industrial Relations, he attended always. Now the Department of Motor Vehicles man didn't come. And neither did Parks and Recreation. Oh, Department of Employment Robert Hill, heavens, he attended every single one. Lucille Kennedy, Department of Social Welfare, she attended every one. Norman Nevraumont of the Youth Authority came also. I think the lady from the Department of Justice came once. And Nathan Sloate of the Department of Mental Hygiene always came. And we did feature some speakers who were heads of departments themselves. We'd have Dr. Lester Breslow who was director of Public Health, the State Health officer. We didn't have Max Rafferty. But we had Alfred Teberg, who was Director of the State

Department of Employment. And Ernest Webb and Jack Wedemeyer, State Director of Social Welfare. I had of course, *long* letters from the Governor about them. The Governor was very thrilled . . . there was no doubt . . . he was really pleased with them. He'd write a letter and say, "I see you had another successful conference." And he'd congratulate me. I've got all these letters if you want them . . . someplace or other.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Anyway . . . oh yes, he was enormously pleased with them. And of course I took that to mean that I could go right ahead and write him a vast amount of recommendations and tell him how to run his business. Oh! You see, these didn't really start until '59. Now you see I'm getting ahead of the date. I shouldn't, I'm getting into the next stage of all this. Well, as a result, it was really funny later on that you know Governor Reagan wanted to abolish the committee. He definitely abolished me as hard as he could when he got in. He cut off the California State Board of Public Health; he shut everything . . . he shut the whole thing down. But there was always a swan song appointment of somebody that would just sort of be the

one who was going to fade the thing into the sunset. And that was Mrs. William Wood. And curiously enough Mrs. William Wood was a grower, a peach grower, from Marysville, and she had attended every conference. She was the state president of the PTA, and that's a big job (inaudible).

Jarrell: Right. And quite a constituency there.

Wyckoff: Yes. And she was hundred percent sold on the Conferences on Families who Follow the Crops, and attended every single one of them. She was just as faithful as she could be. She became chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth during Reagan's administration. And then it just went phew . . . boom . . . and died. She was a good Republican.

Jarrell: Was.

Wyckoff: Yes, Reagan appointed her thinking that that was going to be a big feather in his cap. But it was just a swan song.

Jarrell: How often were the five conferences held, starting in 1959?

Wyckoff: They were a year and a half, to two years, apart. They

weren't held every year. No, it depended on how fast the committee work went and how we mobilized people and how the foundations gave money and how things went. There wasn't any particular reason, you know, to say that they would be annual. You did it when you felt that it was time . . . and when I had the steam to do it. That's what it took.

Wyckoff: I assume we're up to Governor Brown's Administration, 1958. Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: I have my list of topics here; Conferences on Families Who Follow the Crops as a pioneering episode; the Western Interstate Conference on Migratory Labor and how the Migrant Health Act emerged. The President sets up interdepartmental group; general discussion of conferences and activities on health and social issues. Well, I sort of assumed that that's about where we were.

Jarrell: That's exactly where.

Difficulties in Organizing the Conferences on Families
Who Follow the Crops

Wyckoff: I looked over my papers and I did find some very interesting old documents on the start of the Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops because I

should give you a sense of the background on the difficulty of getting a group of very city-oriented and divergent kinds of people to agree to let me go ahead and do something so outlandish as to take on this interest in these very remote children . . . the children of seasonal farmworkers. I established the GACY subcommittee that had to let me get off the ground in 1957 and I just marvel more and more that we ever did it at all.

Jarrell: When you look back?

Wyckoff: . . . when I look back on how difficult it was to sell them on this idea. The GACY subcommittee on child health and welfare was the one under which this whole thing was hatched and had a chairman, Mrs. John Eagle, who was a prominent lady in Los Angeles, head of a Community Chest-type agency I think . . . but very much not a professional. She was a chairman-of-the-board-kind-of-person. Other subcommittee members included Judge Ben Koenig of the Youth Court, Mr. Don Fazackerly who was an automobile salesman . . . Reverend William Andersen who was, I think, a Negro minister; Mrs. Wendell Calkins, Milton Goldberg, Keith Melberg, who was a welfare director, Dr. Hartzell Ray, a medical man, and Mrs. P. D. Bevel, who was the vice

chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee and was the chairman of the California Congress of Parents and Teachers. The staff assigned to us were Nathan Sloate, who was the top social worker in the Mental Hygiene Department, and Lucille Kennedy, who was the top social worker in the Department of Social Welfare then. Other staff consultants attending were Dr. Leslie Corsa, a pediatrician, and Lawrence Ford, Department of Industrial Relations.

Preliminary Meetings and Defining the Problems of the Whole Committee

Now the priorities adopted by this committee were:

First, the implementation and interpretation of child health and welfare programs. Included under this was protective service, aid to needy children, adoption programs, point 2 programs (that was the retarded children), accidents to children, and emotionally disturbed children.

The second priority was children of seasonal laborers, the bridging of cultural gaps, economic and

educational problems, health and welfare problems, absent fathers . . . and illegitimacy was under that . . . and there was a lot of discussion in these meeting minutes I'm reading over . . . I find that we were very much pushed by the staff to go in the direction of problems that had to do with protective services . . . they were always trying to enlarge the protective services as against the treatment of children as delinquents.

The Idea of the Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops

But it said here at the very end in a very slight way . . . and this was the key to the whole thing, "A subcommittee on the children of seasonal laborers ... Mrs. Wyckoff, chairman, Keith Melberg, and Dr. Ray, will serve as a subcommittee to gather information on this subject. Others knowledgeable in the matter outside the membership of the committee may be added."

Jarrell: Well.

Wyckoff: Well, that's where the whole thing started. When I got that word, "may be added" approved, there's where we started.

Jarrell: This was 1957, this memo that you're looking at?

Wyckoff: Yes, that's right. Now let's see, the date on this is September .. . now we just moved right ahead. On November 8th I wrote a letter to a sizeable list of people that I knew were interested in this subject. I have all the names of these people here in old files someplace else. But the letter said,

The Advisory Committee on Children and Youth has formed a subcommittee on the children of season farm laborers and has authorized this group to invite a few persons who are specially knowledgeable in the field to meet with us. In view of your interest and experience, we would value your assistance in planning the work this year. We hope you will find it possible to attend our next meeting on Monday, November 18th in Los Angeles. The meeting will be held at 813 South Hill in the University [UCLA] Extension Board Room on the 6th floor, Room 617. Our subcommittee has been assigned the time from 11 a.m. through the lunch hour till 2:30 p.m. This time was set so as to permit certain members of the faculty of the University to meet with us at lunch. Will you be kind enough to indicate if you can attend.

Now Professor Don Howard, head of the Department of Social Welfare of the University of California at Los Angeles, was chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth at that time. I think he had a very good influence in helping this thing get started. Because he didn't let us be snuffed out by red tape or by being strangled in all the parliamentary procedure; he gave me much more freedom than any subcommittee chairman should have had. He allowed me to write direct to the Governor, and do things that normally you should go through channels. I was allowed to range around and do things that are not normally allowed.

The Participation of Anthony Rios and the CSO

So I found a letter of answer from a number of people, one of which is interesting. It's the Community Service Organization, which was a Mexican political organization, you know. I have here the answer to my invitation to attend. It's signed by Anthony P. Rios, president of the Community Service Organization in Los Angeles. Now that was in the heart of the East Los Angeles Mexican colony. So we started off right in the beginning by dealing directly with

the only organized Mexican groups we could get in touch with.

Jarrell: Yes. Right.

Wyckoff: And he says, "I am very grateful for the opportunity to participate in planning a program which is of such vital importance to so many members of our organization and Spanish-speaking people in general throughout the agricultural areas of California." And of course his chapters were quite widespread throughout the state. I don't know . . . do you have all the story of the CSO, do you?

Jarrell: No, we've talked about it but not in depth, in several previous interviews. Their philosophy you've described as developing self-reliance and political action.

Wyckoff: Well now, they had California chapters in Fresno, Imperial County, Kern County, Kings County, Madera County, Monterey County, San Benito County, Oakland, Sacramento, California, San Bernardino, San Fernando Valley, Santa Clara County, Selma, Alameda County, Stockton, Tulare City and Visalia. Now that's quite a widespread group to work with.

Jarrell: Yes, quite a number.

Wyckoff: Rios attended meetings and really worked on this committee.

Agenda of Subcommittee Meeting Precursor to First
Conference Program

I also found the agenda of that meeting and it's interesting to see—these are, of course, rough notes. I never threw a piece of paper away. That's why you find a lot of details. But it's very interesting to see how this meeting was conducted. For example, there's a review of what had happened in the past and everything. Then the questions proposed for discussion:

Do some statewide groups in this field wish to set up a regular means of contact with one another either through a council or an information exchange system? (Now this is on the whole problem of migratory labor)

Are both public and private agencies making plans without having a clear picture of what others are doing in this field? Could better and more effective use of staff and resources be made after a look at the

total scene?

Is it possible through consultation to locate those areas or communities whose needs have been overlooked?

Is the formation of a non-governmental council of private agencies working in this field a desirable goal? Could the public agencies act as consultants to a group when requested?

Which organizations can find sufficient areas of agreement to be able to sit down and work on plans to help these families help themselves to better living?

Participants in Early Agenda Planning

Jarrell: At this first meeting at UCLA . . . in addition to the CSO and members of your own subcommittee, who else was at this meeting? In the last interview you said there were over thirty organizations, agencies represented at the conferences. Now in the planning stages, did you have this same kind of participation?

Wyckoff: Well, I had some pretty big lists of people that were invited. Now I cannot find exactly, quickly, who attended. Let's see . . . well, here are the members of the (GACY) subcommittee on children of seasonal farm labor. Now these people actually joined and were willing to meet if we met in a place and time where they could attend. You know, this is one of those difficulties. This is a very interesting list . . .

Bard McAllister of the American Friends Service Committee...

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Now this is very early, you see, in the very beginning. Mrs. I. H. Teilman of the Fresno Community Council from Selma . . . she was also, I think, chairman of the Grand Jury of Fresno County. At least she was a member of the Grand Jury; Father Donald McDonald of the Catholic Rural Life Conference, Our Lady of Guadalupe Center in San Jose ... Father MacDonald stuck his neck really far out and he got run out of the country for doing it. He was sent to Guatemala for speaking out for farmworkers, for sticking his neck out so far. He and Father McCullough of Berkeley were both terribly punished. Reverend Douglas Still, of the Western Migrant Ministry, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches was invited. His address in Los Angeles at 3330 West Evans Street became the official address of the Conference.

Anna Price Garner, Area Home Advisor, Hanford, California, was invited. Now she was one of the women that was trained with Rosenberg funds by Irene Fagin of Agricultural Extension Service at UCB to do this

very interesting adaptation of home economics for the migratory farm worker. And she became really quite a creative and wonderful person . . . very, very good. Later, people came from the United Nations to pick her brains, you know. And Martin Gunderson, Superintendent of the West Side School at Five Points, California, and that man was just a genius.

Jarrell: Yes. After whom the school was named eventually.

Wyckoff: Yes. He died shortly after that. Anthony P. Rios, President of the Community Service Organization in Los Angeles.

Jarrell: So you had quite a broad scope here already.

Wyckoff: Yes. Winifred Erskine, Director of Nurses, Fresno County Public Health Department; Irene Fagin, State Home Adviser, Agriculture Extension Service; Roxanne Oliver, California State Department of Industrial Relations; Professor Paul Prasow, School of Business Administration, University of California at Los Angeles. Paul Prasow did a study on agricultural labor and workers; his study was commissioned by one of the governors and became quite a good handbook. Professor Walter Goldschmidt, Department of Anthropology, University of California at Los Angeles . . . he's a

wonderful man, he's one of the ones, you know, that participated in that East Side-West Side study that also was a big influence and shed a lot of light, yes, on the way.*

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Millie Benedict, Division of Home Missions, National Council of Churches, Bakersfield. Millie Benedict was one of the early participants from the Council of Churches, which had a division of home missions that was, along with the Catholics, of course, the only outside people that ever got into those big labor camps . . . for years and years and years before. Of course they went in with little recreational apparatus . . . and each one proselytizing, of course, as they went.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: But they had made a break in the horrible monotony of those camps . . . they took in music, they took in songs, they took in movies, they took in entertainment along with this, so that they were quite a ray of light in those places. They knew the camps, they knew them; they had been in them. They had to be

* See page 48, footnote *. -Editor.

frightfully dedicated to do it because it was such a dusty, hot, dirty job, you know; it was really difficult. They were there long before any of all this happened.

And then there was Fred Ross. He, of course, was training workers for the CSO in those days.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Now Mrs. Leslie Ganyard of the Rosenberg Foundation was a regular working committee member, chairman of the health and welfare section of the first Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops.

Jarrell: You said that she also had attended all of the Governor's Advisory Committee meetings?

Wyckoff: Oh, she attended all the Governor's Advisory Committee meetings until she resigned. Then Ruth Chance took her place representing the Rosenberg Foundation.

Jarrell: Yes.

Labor Union Representatives

and the Question of Organizing Agricultural Workers

Wyckoff: Now William Becker was not only the representative of organized labor really on that first group, but he

also represented minority relations; there was a special committee on minority relations that was connected with the labor movement and also the Jewish labor committee which I think was quite a stimulant to the very, very conservative labor groups. I think the Jewish Labor Committee really built a fire under the more conservative labor groups . . . made them think a little bit. Also Father Thomas MacCullough in Stockton in the same way, a very dedicated soul. He and Father MacDonald, at that time, even though I wasn't fully aware of it, were actively engaged in promoting agricultural union organizing. They were backing all the moves to hire an organizer and get all their members to try to push for a real subsidized program of labor organization.

Jarrell: But as you say, this only became clear to you later .

. .

Wyckoff: I was not fully aware of that at the time. Jarrell:

Yes.

Wyckoff: I thought they were just Catholics out doing good and all that. I wasn't very sure what they were up to. Becker, I knew was quite a militant person because it was known to me that he had been connected with a big

lettuce strike in Imperial Valley and had been down there and got into a lot of violence and had a really rough time and stuck with the group. Of course the strike failed horribly, but at least Becker went through it and had the experience of it and knew something about it.

Keith Melburg was Director of the Tulare County Welfare Department and a conservative . . . I think that was about it. Mrs. Luada Boswell was a remarkable woman. She was a staff person for the Girl Scouts for California, and she was dedicated to getting Girl Scout movement into those labor camps where these youngsters were cooped up. She was courageous enough to come out and be a sponsor, and got her organization to be a sponsor, and the Girl Scouts are not exactly all that far-out, you know.

Jarrell: Yes, it's quite remarkable, really.

Wyckoff: So it was a remarkable job. She was also responsible for getting the National Board of the Girl Scouts to go to a conference in Santa Fe, New Mexico . . . I remember I went and spent a whole week on a college campus there, after the classes were over. They had

perhaps fifty or sixty people who were key staff and board people from all over the whole United States that came. And I was supposed to work with them for a whole week on the subject of explaining the migrant labor scene to them and arousing their interest and learning how they had to train people to work in this field. It was a study session, not a regular conference; it was a training session, you might say, for staff and board members.

Then Mrs. Harvey Dye, who was a grower and was, I think, president of the Congress of Parents and Teachers at that time . . . that group has consistently stuck with us throughout everything . . . not always happily, but always determinedly. Dr. Hartzell Ray, Northern California chapter of the American Academy of Pediatrics. The pediatricians were the first group of the medical society willing to participate in this at all. They're the most courageous of the medical people usually and are far ahead of the rest of them. Dr. Corsa, whom I've already mentioned was a staff person; he was a pediatrician in the health department and I think he

was responsible for encouraging them to participate.

Last of all, we come to Mr. Tom O'Neill.

Jarrell: Oh. The lone grower.

Wyckoff: The lone grower . . . well, there was another grower, Mrs. Harvey Dye was a grower, or a grower's wife anyway. So . . .

Jarrell: But he was so liberal compared to his fraternity.

Wyckoff: Well, he was . . . he was just different; he had just a different approach. It was extraordinary how he wanted to participate.

Jarrell: Right from the start . . .

Wyckoff: It's amazing that he was willing to do this.

Our staff person was Mrs. Elizabeth Rhodes of the State Department of Social Welfare. Now Mrs. Rhodes was very soft-spoken, quiet . . . the kind of woman who had been trained to listen and not to speak. Well, she was wonderful. She did all the plugging and sending out of notices and preparing of minutes and things. She just was very good. But she didn't know anything about the field of agriculture; she had no background it at all, so it was a little difficult for

her to get on board. We did have staff that were rotated so that each year we had a different staff person. This was not too good because it meant you had to break a new person in. However, it spread the concern and the work about what a problem was around among the different departments. And that, I think, had a good effect.

Martin Gunderson and Education for Migrant Children

Now this is a clipping on the death of Martin Gunderson. His life was fascinating. I saved this obituary:

Martin Gunderson, at 59 . . . (He really worked his heart out there) In 1957, Gunderson was the winner of the Marshall Field Award for outstanding contributions to children in the field of education. The award consisted of \$2000 and an inscribed scroll. It was presented during a dinner at the school as the crowd gave him a standing ovation. The award said that with cooperation from mothers in the district, he developed for the children who move with the crops a sound educational program, practical aids for their special mode of living and a sense of belonging. When

Gunderson became the district superintendent, the school was a collection of small, wooden buildings gathered from around the district, and nailed together, old shacks. Through a state grant of \$105,000, a state loan of \$850,000, and an increase in the local district tax rate (it doubled their school tax rate), the school now has two kindergarten rooms, 13 primary rooms, and an administration building, 14 classrooms, a library building, a shop, a homemaking room, and a music room. In an article in the *California Teachers Association Journal* last February (c. 1958) he explained his philosophy for working with migrant children . . . 'Do the most you can for them while you have them.'

Jarrell: That's the essence of it right there.

Wyckoff: Yes, yes. "The turnover in his school has sometimes been as high as 600 pupils during the school year." Well, he was succeeded by his wife as the superintendent here.

Jarrell: And that was 1958 that he died, I guess.

Wyckoff: Yes. On the 23rd of June, 1958, he died.

Jarrell: Now I would like you to discuss the first conference

on Families Who Follow the Crops.

Wyckoff: All right.

Jarrell: You have discussed at some length the background planning and organization, and the difficulties that you encountered in planning the first conference . . . but you have not talked about the first conference.

Discussion of Framework for First Conference

We had a meeting on October 1, 1958, in Bakersfield, scheduled for a noon luncheon at the El Tejon across from the city hall. You see, the subcommittee and planners were meeting up and down the valley, in Fresno, and various places, to make it possible, hopefully, to get people to participate if we could. To give us a chance to work with the local people.

The enclosed list of persons were approved to be invited. It was urged that Mrs. May Stoneman of the Industrial Welfare Commission be invited and that Mrs. Margaret Anderson, Chief of the Division, be asked to send a staff person who could brief us on the present series of hearings on women minors in harvest labor. It was decided to recommend to the subcommittee that

the proposed conference on families who...

. . . we called it farm laborers and their families.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: We hadn't even decided the name yet . . .

. . . be held in Fresno during the last two weeks of February '59, and that the framework of the conference be thoroughly discussed at the Bakersfield meeting. It was suggested that the Rosenberg Foundation be asked to contribute \$1500 for the expenses of a secretary and a few consultants and a little printing for this conference.

Now, I don't think we got the money until the next one. Then, this is interesting:

The report of the Illinois Commission on Children, subcommittee on agricultural migrant workers, was carefully studied and found to contain valuable suggestions for the work of this (our) subcommittee. The idea of a self-study guide or manual for use of lay citizens in community organizations was discussed and put on the agenda of the October 1st meeting as a possible pre-conference tool; a possibility of asking the Governor's Advisory Committee to see if this might be prepared by a

combination of the departments having an interest in this topic.

Well, we did . . . we worked out a self-study plan which I have another file on so we won't go into that. But it was a way to get people to bring something to the conference. They would study their community and bring in something.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: It made people do more than just sit around and guess what the situation was. Well, we were certainly doing a lot of things at that time. Now this subcommittee was not only planning the conference, but it was also sending McAllister to Washington, D.C., to look into legislation.

Fundamental Education Project

I was sent to Colorado . . . I was working with Lyle Saunders there trying to get a project through the Ford Foundation which was a project drafted by the Fresno Rural Health and Education Committee for a special way of teaching what we called fundamental education to farmworkers. It was an attempt to do what they did in the United Nations . . . enable people to

get basic skills so that when they're just thrown out into the world, they can survive ... understanding how to do the things you do in a civilized society.

Jarrell: Such as sanitation, housing, etc.?

Wyckoff: Yes, such as not how to build an elaborate house, but how to cope with city hall about getting permits to build, how to vote, how to do a lot of things that people who had been locked up on a plantation, or in a labor camp, just never learned at all. Anyway, this was a great proposal we had, but we didn't get off the ground very far with it. However we were working on that, too, in addition to planning the conference. And there's a lot of reporting here on correspondence with the Ford Foundation, correspondence with the Rosenberg Foundation, and correspondence with Lyle Saunders who was Professor of Anthropology and a medical anthropologist connected with the University of Colorado at Denver. Before that I think he was with the Russell Sage Foundation. Then he went there and then he went back to the Ford Foundation. He was very helpful to us and a valuable consultant. He also wrote a manual for nurses working with Mexicans, and Indians and other groups in the Southwest.

First Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops,
Fresno, 1959

Let's talk about the program and what happened there, at the first conference, if I can remember things. First I want to talk about some of the people, I think, and then I'll give you some background on them and then we'll talk a little about the issues. Well, we started off the conference with Tom O'Neill welcoming us. I remember we also had an invocation by Rabbi Greenberg, of Fresno. He was an interesting man with a very deep feeling of commitment to the philosophical idea that the farmworker should be included in the community. He would push his congregation to contribute and do all kinds of things to help us. He was a member of the council in Fresno—they had a local coordinating council and he was a part of that and really was a very public-spirited citizen. Tom O'Neill opened the meeting; I gave a speech on the purpose of the conference which is probably somewhere in here among my files. I don't know how we did it so long ago.

Our main speaker that everybody wanted to hear and that really brought in the growers who attended

just to hear this . . . was Dr. Varden Fuller, the agricultural economist of the Giannini Foundation at the University of California at Berkeley. Now Varden Fuller was, of course, a person of national stature. He had been in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in Washington in the days when . . . just before it got abolished for doing such a good job, you know.

Jarrell: Yes, yes.

Wyckoff: He was really quite a heroic person and still is . . . very much alive and very active, you know. I mean he's retired, but he's still very active.

Joe Brosmer, Labor Contractor

Also present was Joe Brosmer, the head of the Agricultural Labor Bureau which was the biggest labor contracting outfit then in California. This outfit imported Mexicans and exploited them and did these things that we were all deeply concerned about. We felt that he ought to be there because we needed his participation as much as the farmworkers. Brosmer was there because he thought he was looking us over and I guess we had him there 'cause we wanted to pick his brains.

Jarrell: But you said he was not a happy man.

Wyckoff: No. He was definitely not a happy man. He had to have a great many drinks at the bar to get his courage up to go to this thing, I know. Anyway, he came and I think it's good that he came. What his motivation was for coming, I cannot say, but he came. I also think he may have come just to hear Tom O'Neill. I don't know. He was an essential part of the system of large-scale agriculture. He supplied the labor and acted as a buffer protecting the grower from having to deal directly with labor. It was a very important job because he was responsible for thousands and thousands of farmworkers moving from here to there, determining their rate of pay, their relationships, the enforcement of all the rules and regulations of the government, you know. He would decide whether to comply or not comply with regulations. He was trying to get away with what he could. Anyway he was there.

Conference Discussion Groups

The Health and Welfare section was one of the five discussion groups and was headed by Leslie

Ganyard, Executive Director of the Rosenberg Foundation. The reporter was Robert Mytinger of the Western Branch of the American Public Health Association. Now, Mytinger was a very imaginative and very good man and later on he tried very hard to do many things that made a great difference in getting through the (federal) Migrant Health Act, in pulling together the Western Conference of Governors meeting on migratory labor, and in helping to get the national office to support legislation that we asked for. He was really a good friend. He was a young man and oh, very, very good.

We had the usual consultants from various departments. Bruce Jessup was there from the Stanford Medical School. This is interesting because at that point he hadn't really caught on fire yet, as I recall it. The second discussion group was on the Education of Child and Parent. Mrs. J. C. Goble of San Jose was the coordinator for that. That woman was marvelous. She had a tremendous influence on the shaping, the change in educational techniques so that the present migrant education program was created. She was amazing. She not only demonstrated by doing herself,

as a teacher, but she worked night and day on legislation and . . . she worked through her church which was connected closely with the migrant ministry . . . and that was her principal vehicle.

Jarrell: I see.

Wyckoff: But she was a very inspired person; she did a lot of good writing; she did lobbying, and . . . she was a very active, dynamic person. Mary MacFarland of the Migrant Ministry . . . she was another quite active person, she was in that section, so was Anna Price Garner. Also there was Margaret Gunderson of the Martin Gunderson School. But the hottest session was the one on Employment, Unemployment, Child Care Centers, Child Labor. Why we lumped all those together, I'm not dead sure . . .

Jarrell: Yes, I wondered.

Wyckoff: But I think it had to do with women being able to work if they had a child care center to leave their children in. And child labor in connection with the whole business of trying to get cheap labor. Because frequently the head of the family was finally eased out of a job by too much child labor and so it got

very bad. This was an *extremely* hot session. You could hear them shouting all the way across the hotel.

Jarrell: Really.

Wyckoff: We were at El Rancho Motel in Fresno. It was a big motel there. Oh, they were shouting and people would stamp in and stamp out. The emotional tension was very high.

Jarrell: Were you at that particular one or not? Wyckoff: Yes. I went...

Jarrell: You would have had to be there.

Wyckoff: I went in there to observe that one because it was to me very, very interesting. Father MacCullough and Father . . .

Jarrell: Father McDonald?

Wyckoff: McDonald, yes. The two of them, they moved in on Joe Brosmer.

Jarrell: A little confrontation?

Wyckoff: And Farney was there, too; Farney was the Farm Placement Officer whom they accused of playing footsie-footsie with Brosmer. And it all came out. And Ralph Duncan, who knew it was going to be hot . . . he

was just wringing his hands. He said, "You really shouldn't do this . . . you girls don't know what you're doing." He said, "You're really lighting a tinderbox here." And it was true. He was trying to keep everybody calm but he couldn't do it. Now Varden Fuller was there, too. He stood up and really talked. He has a good loud voice and he could shout them down. So the decibels went up farther and farther. They could not agree on anything. It's interesting when you look at the recommendations they finally got. To arrive at recommendations you see, the theory of this group process idea was that they ought to be able to get some area of agreement on which they could do something.

Jarrell: Right. Consensus.

Wyckoff: Whew! That section made a report that really was something.

Some Legislative and Policy Recommendations of the
First Conference

I think all they could do was state goals:

Specialization has been achieved in other industries having similar patterns through organized hiring methods, such as in construction work.

Ways and means should be found to provide the fullest possible employment for local persons desiring to work in farm labor. Recommendation: The policy of public employment agencies should be revised to make this a practice in fact rather than in theory.

Employment in its best sense must yield earnings that provide the worker with a decent and healthful standard of living. The public and social expense now required to tide over the families from season to season outweighs competitive considerations. The establishment of a minimum wage (in agricultural labor) would create better management practice, better quality of work, and technological improvements. Recommendation: Minimum wage legislation should be adopted covering agricultural workers; preferably on a national level. However, if this fails, then on a state level . . . you know they were always batting it back and forth.

Lack of integration of the agricultural worker and his family with the community. Recommendation: Better utilization of resident workers plus an

adequate minimum wage would serve to integrate agricultural workers into the community and reduce the number of rootless, transient families on the move.

Low wages of parents create the pressure for child labor. Recommendation: Minimum wage and full employment would alleviate this.

Revitalization of child care center program is needed. Recommendation: Greater consideration should be given to the nature of the community and the cultural and ethnic groups in the area served. Staff should have an understanding of the mores and languages of families served.

The existence of these problems adversely affects all of California. Recommendation: Steps should be taken to establish an official State Advisory Committee on the Agricultural Worker and His Family to cooperate with the State and Federal Agencies in matters concerning agricultural workers and their families as is now being done in twenty-one other states.

So . . . we got just last year. That's how quick

we got it.*

Jarrell: Now, since I didn't have a copy of the first conference report, I want to get it straight how you organized the issues we're discussing; you had a Health and Welfare section; another on Education of Families and Children. And then . . .

Wyckoff: Employment and Unemployment.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Planning and Housing and Sanitation. That one was interesting because I became more and more deeply involved in the housing aspect of things. As you know, I was put on Governor [Edmund G.] Brown's Advisory Committee on Farm Labor Housing. And I am on the local [Santa Cruz] Housing Authority now and have really kept an interest in the subject. Now the Conference Section on Housing was headed by the Fresno Chief Sanitarian, Joe Rich; and Bard McAllister of the American Friends Service Committee. Out of this I think came the self-help housing impetus from which the American Friends Service Committee, you know, got

*Wyckoff refers to the Migrant Master Plan, a part of the War on Poverty, which coordinated federal and state agencies serving migrant farmworkers and their families in the areas of employment, education, housing, health.-

a grant from the Rosenberg Foundation to initiate. I think that has been one of their very successful programs. The coordinator of the section was Miss Helen Phelan of Watsonville, of the Catholic Social Service Organization. And the reporter for that section was Earl Rouse of the Wasco Housing Authority. He is somebody that just stayed very close. Lowell Nelson was the Director of Housing. He was a state official. The man who attended that section all the way through as a participant was Tom O'Neill. Yes, he had a big labor camp, and he was desperately trying to find out ways to make it habitable. I think he had become deeply impressed with Georgia Wrenn and the Agricultural Extension Service effort to teach good housekeeping and sanitation methods to people who were really just camping out.

Jarrell: Yes, that's right.

Wyckoff: And he was really interested in this. So . . . I was glad that Tom went to that. Also it kept him out of that other one which he didn't want to face. I know he was leaving that to Joe Brosmer.

Jarrell: Well, Brosmer, I mean he stayed throughout that whole section.

Wyckoff: Oh yes. He stuck, stuck with it.

Jarrell: Which is kind of peculiar?

Wyckoff: Oh, he was representing his clientele with the study .

. .

Jarrell: Right.

Wyckoff: Brosmer represented all the growers of the valley. In other words, you can say they weren't there, but they were there through Brosmer, definitely. Then Ed Dutton, who of course later on became quite active in the whole community development field, you know . . . that was Fred Dutton's brother . . . Ed Dutton of the Fresno Community Council was there. And that was the section on Recreation and Group Work.

Jarrell: Oh.

Wyckoff: Luada Boswell of the Girl Scouts was on that, and Reverend Douglas Still of the Migrant Ministry, Tom McGee of the California Youth Authority, and Mildred Stanley of the Youth Authority. And Mrs. Brode, represented I guess the California Congress of Parents

and Teachers; she was a member of their governing board. They always had one of their officials attend these things. Yes. Well . . . there was a dinner at the conference that night . . . the community and the families who move with the crops. They had a speaker panel—Ed Dutton, Anna Price Garner, Bard McAllister, Doug Still, and Bruce Jessup. So you could see that these people who were all of one mind about wanting to get their agencies to do something. So that one was not a balanced panel since the growers were not present; they were all in the bar. Good time of forgetting us. I don't think any of them attended that.

Building the Base for Future Legislative Action

Tuesday morning was devoted to the Fresno Westside Clinic Plan. Now you know by that time we had had the first grant from the Rosenberg Foundation for the clinics. And they were telling the story I had presented in my paper.* So what we were really trying to do here was to build a base for getting the state

* See Florence Wyckoff, *Health Projects for Migrant Farm Families: The California Experience*. (Washington, D.C.: National

legislation started. We hoped to get other health officers and other counties to come in and listen to the successful effects of this plan. It didn't work this time, but it began to work. It just set the tempo for it. The national people did not get involved until the second conference; I just think they hung back and waited to see what was going to happen. I think it was at the second conference that they really began to pick up the ball and run with it. Now at lunch that day we had a speaker from the federal government, Frank Potter, who was the Executive Director of the President's Committee on Migratory Labor. I had worked with him in Washington, D.C. during the war and had followed the development of these committees on migratory labor that the different presidential administrations had had. The Labor Department was always pushing it. Potter's was an interdepartmental committee, not a citizen's committee.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: It was really just an internal thing. But it had a lot to do with rallying support for legislation. Without

Frank Potter's help, and without the kind of knowledge that he had of the whole United States and all of the power groups that were involved in this thing, I don't think we could have got very far with our legislation. But he was very helpful and he came all the way out from Washington, D.C., to speak for us. It was nice to have him.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Anyway, he did a good job. Out of his interest in this, we were able to have information about people in the different states where the key legislators were, that we had to get to, to interest him in that first federal legislation on the Migrant Health Act through. Now Frank Potter was primarily interested in labor and labor laws, but he helped out on these other things too.

Then Don Howard, Chairman of the GACY, spoke. Now Don Howard, Head of UCLA's School of Social Work, was very interested in community organizations and in stimulating community action. The title of his talk, "The Awakening Community," was a very good one. He's a marvelous speaker and a person that I felt was by far the best chairman we ever had at the Governor's

Advisory Committee on Children and Youth. The other chairmen were pretty routine kind of chairmen. They were good chairmen in the sense that they did their job of parceling out the duties and kept the show on the road. But this man gave some real lift to the whole thing, and made it into an inspired group. I doubt if I'd ever been able to have done the things I did there, if it hadn't been for his backing; he was a great person. Curiously enough, he was almost completely deaf. He wore a very, very strong hearing aid but it is awfully hard for a man to be chairman who can't hear. It's really difficult, yet he did it. So then we published these findings in a report.* This first one is kind of interesting even though it's terribly limited in its approach.

Jarrell: I think it is too. The approach has certainly changed over the years from the first to the fifth conference reports; the entire labor situation had changed, and the politics of it.

Wyckoff: Yes. Sure. You had organized labor to deal with for one thing. And here in this first report we have so

* Five reports were issued by the Conferences on Families Who Follow the Crops, in 1959, 1960, 1962, 1964, and 1967. They are available in the Wyckoff Archive.—Editor.

few farmworkers. Towards the end, we had about half farmworker participants, you know.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: I think the first and last ones . . . especially at least the composition of that last one . . .

Jarrell: Held at University of California, Davis.

Wyckoff: At Davis, yes.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: There were a lot of aspects of that that I think were very significant. You have to bear in mind that we were just getting people's feet wet with this thing.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: It was a very, very tiny beginning. Very few people attended; it was certainly not a big thing at all.

Jarrell: About how many people would you say attended the first conference?

Wyckoff: Well, I would say there might have been 200, something like that. It wasn't a big conference.

Jarrell: That wasn't dear to me.



Attendee at the Fourth Annual Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops, was a cotton picker whose seasonal base was Farmersville, California, near Visalia, in Tulare County.

The Sponsors of the First Conference

Wyckoff: Now the sponsors of the various conferences; I think the first batch were very interesting and would be interesting to include here. I should read them into the record. The very first one.

Jarrell: The very first letterhead.

Wyckoff: Yes. It listed the following sponsors: Mrs. Teilman of the Fresno Community Council, Douglas Still of the California Migrant Ministry, Bard McAllister of the American Friends Service Committee, Mrs. James Goble of the Santa Clara County Council of Churches, Mrs. Luada Boswell of the Girl Scouts of America, the Reverend Thomas McCullough of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, Helen Phelan of the Catholic Social Service Organization, and Ruth Kaiser of the California Association for Health and Welfare . . . they were the only ones that were willing to stick their necks out and be sponsors of the first one. Now the second one had a much broader base; we began to get some real help from some of the staff people. I told you about Howard Frazier. Howard Frazier was the man who worked for the Labor Department, but he really was assigned to us. That's a federal department. He

was assigned to help us.

Jarrell: You said he devoted his entire being to your cause.

Wyckoff: Oh, he really worked hard at it. I have some letters here from John Henning, who was the head of the California Labor Department here.

Second Conference: New Sponsors Join the Discussions

Jarrell: This would be 1960 for the second conference?

Wyckoff: Yes. This is about the second conference, and by then it began to gather momentum. I guess, along in there. Roger Bartindale, Personnel Manager and Harvest Supervisor of the Coit Ranch in Mendota -- he was really a big ranch foreman, you might say. Bartindale had once been a manager of a Hawaiian pineapple operation and had made a collective bargaining agreement with Harry Bridges [and the International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union] for the workers in Hawaii. Then he left and he came over and he was working for Frank Coit in a melon ranch. We figured that he was somebody who knew what he was talking about when it came to personnel, and that we wanted him as a sponsor. He not only was a sponsor . . . now people who sponsored these things didn't stay away;

they all came and worked at the conference.

The Medical Community Starts to Come Around

Jarrell: This wasn't a figurehead list at all.

Wyckoff: No, it wasn't a figurehead list; they all showed up. Dr. Herbert Bauer was the Public Health Director of Yolo County and he had a big migrant population there, and he really believed that the health officers were derelict in not getting out and turning their well-baby clinics into sick-baby clinics if the need was great, you know.

Jarrell: Sure.

Wyckoff: They had to take the responsibility for the total health of the people and not be fussy and scared about such things. He was not terrorized by his country medical society the way so many of them were. William Becker, area representative of the Jewish Labor Committee...

Jarrell: He was lighting the fires?

Wyckoff: Yes. Thomas Bell, Director of Kern County Welfare Department. Now Dr. J. J. Bend, was Chairman of the Rural Health Committee of the California Medical

Association. Now it took quite a bit of twisting to get him on here.

Jarrell: How did you go about that?

Wyckoff: Well, as Chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, we had a doctor on the board and we'd move through him to try to get somebody. We also had Hartzell H. Ray of San Mateo, who was the representative of the Medical Society . . . it's the same man that . . .

Jarrell: Yes, you mentioned him earlier.

Wyckoff: Yes. Earlier he was invited to attend. Well, he probably maneuvered things around until the California Medical Association . . . see, they had a rural health committee. We had a friend then whom we were not fully aware of—Dr. Leopold J. Snyder, M.D., who was not yet chairman of the CMA's Rural Health Committee, but who had worked in the migrant clinics and knew about them and he was a real powerhouse. He went upstairs to the top and became National Chairman for Rural Health Committee of the American Medical Association. So he really was quite a man. This is Dr. Snyder of Fresno.

Then Luada Boswell of the Girl Scouts. Milton Chernin, Professor of Social Welfare at the University of California. And Milton took an active part in this thing, really active. Judge Winslow Christian, Chairman of the Welfare Study Commission. Now I testified before that Welfare Study Commission;. That was one reason why I think he came because he knew that I was willing to come and testify and that I was sufficiently interested to really lay it on the line. Mrs. A. J. Cliff, Chairman, region V, California Farm Bureau Women, past state chairman. Now that was an achievement.

Jarrell: That's a coup, right there.

Wyckoff: Well, we later had the president of the farm Bureau . . . in fact I'm not sure but what he's on there now. We almost always ask the Farm Bureau and the Grange . . . Allan Grant, First Vice-President of the California Farm Bureau Federation . . . yes, here we have two of them, you see. Allan Grant was a man who could be reached through his church. He tried to present a very responsible aspect. He didn't want to seem like anybody that was exploiting labor, you know, out in front at all. So he was quite helpful to Bard

McAllister with his American Friends Service Committee, you know, with projects for things like the self-help-housing and various other things. He even was helpful in the beginning when Bard became the Farm Labor Secretary [of the AFSC] who started out organizing labor.

Jarrell: He could be reached?

Wyckoff: He could be reached, yes. He could be talked to. He didn't have a closed mind. R. D. Dewirst, the Chairman of the Tulare County Housing Authority. Lela Mae Duke—here's an interesting one. She was a member and the steward of the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee AFL-CIO... one of the very first ones. She was a cutie. My goodness she was so outspoken. She was not afraid to get up and say something. We always loved her, 'cause you couldn't drown her out. She really was in there pitching. She didn't care how intellectual the argument was or anything; she just pinned them right back to the wall; she was very funny. Charlotte Elmott, Director of the California Branch of the Devereux Research and Training Institute. Charlotte Elmott was on the Governor's Advisory Committee for a long time—she was really a professor of social work and wrote a number of the

Rosenberg publications on juvenile delinquency among girls. I think she wrote the great detention study. Let's see if she was on . . . yes, Dr. Charlotte Elmott. She was always enormously sympathetic and curious about what I was doing. Not too well informed about the agricultural situation, but very sympathetic and always helpful. Then Eyvinde M. Faye, farmer, President of the Sunsweet Growers, Inc.

Jarrell: Really.

Wyckoff: I went to the first grade with him in Berkeley at Emerson School. And I had known Eyvinde Faye for many, many years. My sister was a very close friend of his sister, Isabel Faye, who's a professor at the University of California. And I guess Eyvinde decided that he really ought to come and try to find out what I was doing. He came to a number of the conferences with his wife. Every time they said, "Well, we never suffered so much in all our lives as we have during these conferences, but we guess that it was worth it."

Jarrell: Really.

Wyckoff: He was very undemonstrative, not a person to talk a lot . . . so just to say that much was quite a bit.

But what amazed me was that he came back, you know, again and again and took part and did his best to try to be civilized through this whole thing. Being president of the Sunsweet Growers . . . that's that big prune outfit.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: And you know in those days children picked up the prunes. That was a usual child labor operation. So, we got him there anyway.

Joe Freitas, Youth Chairman of the State Junior Chamber of Commerce. He didn't last long. I think he lasted through one session, and blew up. Mrs. J. P. Goble of San Jose; Allan Grant, First Vice-President of the California Farm Bureau Federation. And the Reverend Wayne Hartmire who succeeded Doug Still as . . . this must be a little bit later, Doug Still as Director, Professional Director of the California Migrant Ministry. They were both ministers of Protestant churches. Brent D. Haus was a farmer from Patterson who attended. I've forgotten how he happened to come. He might have been a friend of Eyvinde's, I'm not sure. Mrs. Phyllis Kellogg of the Sutter County Farm Bureau. She came and she really made a very good

contribution. I was surprised. Her . . . she's quoted in a number of the reports. I think she's the one who said, "Well, I have found out what my workers want," she said. Mrs. Phyllis Kellogg, grower and member of the Sutter County Farm Bureau said, "I think this is an extremely complex subject. There is not easy solution. It will take a lot of discussion between workers, employers, government agencies, and other interested people to come to any reasonable solution. This problem did not come about over a short period of time. Three or four or even six conferences may not be able to solve it. However, through amicable discussions, we can hope to lighten the problems by possibly eliminating them one by one." Now that's pretty good from a grower.

Another said, "I have learned that the grower isn't a monster. He has learned that I am not a wino."

Jarrell: You read some of the early characterizations by either side and it doesn't seem that both sides could ever get together.

Wyckoff: Yes. Dr. Eric Thor, economist at the Giannini Foundation said, "Ten years ago the growers and the farmworkers would not even sit down in the same room.

Five years ago they could sit in the same room, but on opposite sides. Today I have seen them mix around and chat quietly with each other. So we are finally making progress in communication."

Daniel Koshland of San Francisco attended. He is on the board of a good many foundations. He was one of our sponsors, and a very public-spirited man. He came to the conferences out of curiosity, I think, more than anything else and wanted to know what Rosenberg was funding and what was going on. He attended religiously. I think he didn't miss a single conference.

Planning the Second Conference: More Sponsors and a Broader Base

George Krell was the Executive Director of the California Association for Health and Welfare succeeding Ruth Kaiser. Bard McAllister, the American Friends Service Committee. Davis McEntire, Professor of Social Welfare and lecturer on agricultural economics at the University of California, Berkeley. He was very helpful to us. He worked with the Governor's Advisory Committee too. And here was an interesting one—William R. MacDougal, Manager of the

County Supervisor's Association of California. Well it took quite a bit of arm twisting to get him to come. But there was sufficient interest in this whole question of welfare and residency requirements so he finally said he would attend, and he did. They were sponsors of one of the conferences.

Sponsors, of course, didn't necessarily accept all the recommendations. It simply meant that they issued the invitation to come and fight it out. That's all. We never made them feel that there was any sort of compulsory consensus; we never double crossed them. That's why they would stay and come back, 'cause we never used their names without their permission. Never. We were very, very religious about that.

Gordon Monfort, Secretary-Manager of the Central California Farmers Committee, was a sponsor as well. Well, that was another one of those committees similar to Joe Brosmer's—it was an employers association for employing farmworkers, in the Tulare area.

Robert Mytinger of the American Public Health Association. And William T. O'Rear, Secretary of the Central Labor Council of Fresno and Madera counties.

This same O'Rear, I think, finally got on the Governor's Advisory Committee as I recall it. And I don't think he ever opened his mouth. He didn't say much. Helen Phelan of the Catholic Social Service Agency in Watsonville. We had Thomas L. Pitts, Executive Secretary-Treasurer of the California Labor Federation AFL-CIO. Gomer Powers, citrus and olive grower from Strathmore. He was wild. He really spoke out saying that growers were being treated badly; but he kept coming back. He was willing to serve on planning committees and come to meetings then. So no matter how he was, we kept him. He brought to the conferences a point of view we absolutely had to have. Reverend Bruno Pischel, Minister of the First Congregational Church of Wasco; Earl Rouse of the city of Waco Housing Authority. Jerome Sampson, Executive Secretary of the Welfare Study Commission. Both Sampson and Winslow Christian, Chairman of the Board of Social Welfare, were quite high up in the Governor Brown Administration, making an analysis and recommendations for welfare problems and so were valuable people. Reverend Paul Shelford, Executive Director of the Northern California Council of Churches; Reverend John G. Simmons, Chairman of the

Emergency Committee to Aid Farmworkers . . . that didn't last very long. It was a crisis committee that was set up during a particularly bad season to collect money. Sidney Smith, Chairman of the California Migrant Ministry Committee.

Another sponsor was Carlos M. Teran, Honorable Judge of the Superior Court of Los Angeles County. He was on there representing the Spanish-speaking establishment, you might say. But if you notice here, we've lost Anthony Rios; he's no longer on the list.

Jarrell: Yes. What happened with that?

Wyckoff: Well, I think the CSO elected a new board. CSO was represented by Louis Zarate, president of their board, who was from San Jose. He was a chief probation officer and president of the board of the Community Service Organization, a sponsor. He was also on the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth. And finally Mrs. Hubert Wyckoff.

Jarrell: Well I see here on this list that by 1960 you have so many sponsors that you could no longer put it on the front page, so you continued on the back page as well.

Wyckoff: Yes, that was a great, neat trick I learned from the National Consumers League. We decided to put them on the back. And we got more each year, and didn't want to lose them for lack of space.

Jarrell: The fifth and last Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops was in 1967.

Wyckoff: And '64 was the fourth one. Jarrell: Yes.

Pushing for the Migrant Health Act:

The Second Conference on Families Who Follow the
Crops, San Jose, California, 1960

Wyckoff: Now the second conference was held at San Jose October 24-25, 1960. About 350 people came to that conference. That second conference was really perhaps the most important one in terms of its impetus because it was out of that conference that the Migrant Health Act really came. We beamed the whole conference on getting that one piece of health legislation. We focused on it. We designed it, we did everything we could to push it in that direction. The way we did it was to have a major conference program on the *whole* health problem. The opening session was a luncheon program. We had Dr. Paul Martin, President of the Santa Clara County Medical Society presiding. We had introductory remarks by Dr. Malcolm Merrill, Director of Public Health of the State of California. Then we had the main address by Dr. James K. Schaefer, Chief of the Division of General Health Services of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Washington, D.C. Now he was a very important person in HEW. His address was

"Constructive Steps to Improve the Health of Farmworkers." We then had U.S. Senator Harrison Williams who was chairman of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Migratory Labor, speak on new perspectives for 1961 in which he described the role of his committee of the U.S. Senate, the kinds of bills that he was trying to pass. We supported him by having a good big television show exploring this issue of migrant health, Doctors Meet the Press, with David Perlman of the San Francisco Chronicle, John Allen of the San Francisco Examiner, Carl Heitze of the San Jose News interviewing Dr. Bruce Jessup, Dr. Paul O'Rourke, and Dr. Robb Smith. Dr. Bruce Jessup was a pediatrician at Stanford Medical School. Dr. Paul O'Rourke was the Imperial County health officer, and Dr. Robb Smith was chairman of the Rural Health Committee of the California Medical Association.

Now this TV program and the conference itself created enough follow-up articles in the papers, radio and television programs, to have an impact. Publicity is what counts in these things.

The Ball Starts to Roll: State Migrant Health
Legislation—SB282

Wyckoff: Well, we were getting a little bit smarter about how to do things in those days. We had decided that we just couldn't go on demonstrating the nice little clinics over in Fresno, but we had to do something more. This was how we really launched it at the second conference. We had a discussion section on the health of farmworkers with very interested, competent people running it, and a big participation. Then quickly after that Dr. Malcolm Merrill asked the Governor to introduce some legislation. The way he did this was to ask Dr. Bruce Jessup of Stanford Medical School to make a survey of the conditions of migratory labor in the state; it would form the basis for the legislation. You have to have supporting documents accompanying any proposed legislation. So . . . here is the report.

Jarrell: Now let's see this. Okay. The title is: Health Conditions and Services for Domestic, Seasonal Agricultural Workers and Their Families in California, 1960: Report and Recommendations to Governor Brown,

from Malcolm H. Merrill, State Director of Public Health. So this was the accompanying document for the proposed bill?

Wyckoff: It was the basic document upon which the legislation was founded. The bill was drafted based on that report. The bill is in there [in the Archive].

SB282: State Public Health Program for Migrant Workers

Anyway, the first bill was SB282, and as a result, in 1941, the California State Legislature at the request of the Governor, with the support of growers, physicians, local health officers, the California Congress of Parents and Teachers, the California Farm Bureau Federation, the California Federation of Labor, and many others, passed authorizing that:

The State Department of Public Health may maintain a program for seasonal, agricultural workers and their families, including, but not limited to, studies of the health and health services for seasonal, agricultural workers and their families throughout the State; technical and financial assistance to local agencies concerned with the health

of seasonal agricultural workers and their families; and coordination with similar programs in the Federal government, other states, and voluntary agencies. The Department may contract and cooperate with local governmental agencies and voluntary non-profit organizations in connection with the development of local health programs for seasonal agricultural workers and their families.

And the munificent sum of \$108,270 was appropriated by the California Legislature for the state program, of which \$75,000 was earmarked for services (not just studies) which was one thing that did make a difference.

THE FEDERAL MIGRANT HEALTH ACT (Public Law 87-692)

The Meaning of the Migrant Health Act Legislation

Wyckoff: Well . . . then came the next thing which was to try to get legislation on the federal level. I didn't give you this, did I, which is the really basic statement on the meaning of the Migrant Health Act? Maybe I

could read that into the record now, if you don't mind.

The Migrant Health Act passed by Congress (and I would say also by the State of California) was an effort to design a health and medical care service which would reach out to the farthest and most neglected rural population, using to the maximum any existing rural health resources. This meant for the most part that service was originally offered through local health departments where they existed or where they were willing to undertake the responsibility beyond the traditional preventive services and give the kind of health care most needed. For example, where a family had no access to a local physician the traditional well-baby clinic became a sick-baby clinic if necessary. The old artificial jurisdictional disputes have no . . .

By jurisdictional disputes I mean the conflict which existed traditionally between the treatment people and the prevention people . . .

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: . . . the old artificial jurisdictional disputes have no meaning in a crisis situation today. There is a valid reason for designing a migrant health service to be offered by the local health departments. The health of a rural population depends much more upon proper management of environmental factors such as clean water, proper sewage and garbage disposal and safe and sanitary housing than it does upon available emergency medical care. The local health departments, having a capacity to initiate a team approach to all these factors affecting the health of our rural citizens, seem far more appropriate than a medical society or an HMO (that's a health maintenance organization) . . . or a private non-profit clinic, or a hospital. We have been led up the garden path of health insurance in the fond illusion that by inventing a payment mechanism for medical care we will solve our rural health problems. Meantime we are shortchanging the basic public health services which offer the best protection from illness, disease, injury, and damage to the health of our rural people. Even our health planning agencies tend to overlook the value of the multitude of enforceable local health ordinances on the book. Rural health should be regarded as a team effort on

the part of a whole community involving health officers, sanitarians, physicians, nurses, hospital administrators, agricultural extension, home and farm advisors, Red Cross, voluntary health agencies, schools, colleges, universities, medical schools, housing administrators, city and county officials with the active participation of the local residents.

So that's it. That gives a little background for it. You see we got into terrible fights over whether the health department should run it, whether the medical society should run it, or whether consumers should run it.

Jarrell: Oh, I can imagine.

Wyckoff: And it's still going on, but I sometimes think that perhaps I've been a little too narrow in focusing on health because there are a great many other very good aspects to this story that need to be told. And I'm not sure that anybody else is going to tell them. The educational aspects, the creation of the book by Helen Cowan Wood on teaching children who follow the crops*

* Helen Cowan Wood, The Handbook on Teaching Children Who Move with the Crops (Fresno Superintendent of Schools, Fresno,

... and the work of Helen Heffernan in trying to shape the state Department of Education to be more responsive to the needs of the migrant children.

The Problems of Educating Migrant Children: The Experiment in Gridley

This document by Emma Gunterman on an educational experiment in Gridley I rather would like to say something about. I think one of the most thrilling site-visits I ever made was to a labor camp in Gridley; I went with Helen Heffernan and some other people . . . Emma Gunterman and some others . . . Dorothy Goble, I think . . . up to see this place. It was a summer daycare center. Only it had been staffed by Chico State College students who were perhaps working toward their degrees, I don't know. But they were supervised by somebody who had a very great understanding of how to work with children who were not only deprived of continuity in education; they simply had lost motivation because they never seemed to have any follow-through, you know . . . the family would move and would drop everything, and then the child had to pick up and go on. There was no

continuity. S o there was a lot of vandalism and a lot of anger among these children. On this particular day that I was up there I saw a marvelous thing. A little boy who had been a really bad little boy, guilty of very violent destruction in the labor camp and the facilities around there, here he was explaining and teaching . . . he was about I would say, oh, maybe 14, 13, something like that . . . he was the teacher. He was teaching a six-year old how to make a pinhole camera. Well, he was the most thrilled child you ever saw; he was the teacher and he had this little guy completely, you know, adoring him. The whole thing was set up with a series of everybody helping everybody else down to the littlest. And the total change in attitude was almost instantaneous. It was so quick. Just like that . . .

Jarrell: The whole tone had been shifted.

Wyckoff: The whole tone changed entirely. Those children, they just about died when that summer camp was over. They were so eager to go on; it was cruel that it all had to end. It was up there in the peach country and that's a short season, so they had to move on, and there was no follow-through for them, you know. That's the trouble. So I went up to see this thing, and I

really was very deeply impressed with it.

Helen Cowan Wood's book was also a thing that really is a classic now. It's an attempt to make every day count for these children on the move following the crops . . . what Gunderson said.

William Reidy

Jarrell: Could you tell me who were some of the key people you worked with for the passage of the federal Migrant Health Act?

Wyckoff: Well, first of all I'd like to give the biography . . . and relationship to William G. Reidy, known as Bill Reidy. I first met Bill when I was working as head of the community relations division of the State Relief Administration during the Depression. Bill was out of a job and we got him to work with us in the community organization work necessary to get cooperation of rural counties, boards of supervisors. In 1939, Bill Reidy came to work for the State Relief Administration as my assistant in the Community Relations Division. And he and I both had to go up and down the state to get rural counties to commit money to match the State

money for work relief projects. And we had a great deal to do with the unemployed migratory farmworkers in the State and their needs which were building up in the dust bowl days of course—places like Visalia and in Tulare County, Bakersfield and Kern County which were the end lines of migrations of people from the dust bowl. And we had to go and try to set up work projects and relief projects for the men and women who were destitute. WPA projects had not yet reached those areas and it was a state responsibility for us to be doing it. Well, from there, Bill went to Farm Security Administration where he became head of the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association which was probably the best service to farmworkers that was ever set up. It was the most efficient, the most . . . the design was so good because it was flexible enough to take care of the health needs of migrants as they traveled up and down the streams. It was a non-profit corporation, outside of government red tape. It was the kind of design that could be adapted to meet the needs of the traveling, the migrant, the itinerant farmworker. And a lot of genius went into the design of that program. It was really a pioneer effort. And the people who were in that had a

background that enabled them to be extremely helpful later on in the design of the Migrant Health Act. Bill then went to Washington . . . no, he served for two years, during the war as head of the health and medical program in the public housing authorities.

Jarrell: For war workers?

Wyckoff: Yes. For war workers in California. And this . . . well it was the whole western region, it was California and Utah. This enabled him to get more experience in the whole payment mechanism, the insurance, the kinds of structure that you needed to handle the health and medical care of workers during the war who lived in public housing projects. Then he moved to Washington, D.C. after the war. He was enlisted in the war, he was in the Navy. After his war service, then he went to the United States Senate as a specialist in health legislation, working for Senator Lister Hill of Alabama. Lister Hill was an extraordinary man. He was an old-fashioned southern gentleman who had a limited but firm social conscience. And some perfectly remarkable legislation was enacted during his time of serving as chairman of that committee. He was there for a long, long time.

And Bill Reidy was his right-hand man on many of the important pieces of legislation. The Hill-Burton Act, the National Defense Education Act, so many of these remarkable pieces of legislation that have . . . the creation of the National Institutes of Health on Arthritis and Rheumatism, dental research and metabolic diseases and the establishment of the National Library of Medicine . . . this kind of thing . . . Bill worked on all of these things. And he was a remarkably modest man in that he deliberately accepted the role of being anonymous. No one ever was supposed to know that he did the reports, the in-depth studies. The reports on the bills of course give the general background on the bill and all of the people who support a bill. And this is a very important piece of information to get a bill through. And his job was to do that. Well, I was just very fortunate to have been in on the beginning of the career of a man like that. He remained a close friend until he died. We corresponded constantly, and we saw each other whenever our paths crossed . . . but we kept in touch always. He had a fascinating wife who was the best cook in Washington, D.C., by far the best.

Jarrell: Now that's really saying something!

Wyckoff: And I'm a very food-centered person. Therefore I loved to go and stay at their place.

Jarrell: What was her name?

Wyckoff: She was known as Slim Reidy. She was very stout and she was of Jewish background and she was a student at the University of Wisconsin when Bill Reidy was at the Meiklejohn School at Madison. They met there. She became a psychiatric social worker, and then when they moved to Washington, she retired from social work and decided to maintain a social center for him. Because most of the action in Washington happens in social settings rather than offices. Her home, which was one block from the Capitol, enabled Bill to come home for lunch every day, bring anybody he wanted—anybody who wanted to come and meet him could come there and do this. It was a very important center of activity. She entertained in small groups very strategic people and did a wonderful job of it. So Bill and Slim together were a very important part of my life. They had a daughter, Jane, who is now another anonymous person.

She's a lawyer who writes opinions for the State Supreme Court. And Bill remained in the background and was able to enjoy enormously his position. He was more able to move around because he was in the background than if he'd been out in front. But he was the perfect person to guide and help senators and congressmen through legislative entanglements that were frightful. He knew all the gossip and all the rumors and all the incredible . . . well . . . that enormous subculture that exists in the Congress that the public doesn't know anything about, but which is the place where a lot of the trading and the decision making are done. Bill had the knowledge of . . . for example, he could read [Senator] Lister Hill's mind. He knew that Lister Hill would accept only certain language and not other language. There were words that were inflammatory to him and Bill knew never to use those words in a piece of legislation. He knew how to write language in the words that would pass inspection by the big chairman Lister Hill. [Senator] Harrison Williams was chairman of the subcommittee on migratory labor. It was way down the line. He had to go through several steps to get to Lister Hill. So the important thing . . . you had to draft language that was acceptable to Harrison

Williams and to the various members of the committee such as Abraham Ribicoff and Lister Hill for example. So you have to realize that nothing of this could have happened if Bill hadn't been there at the right time. We happened to know him and could turn to him for help at the right time.

And this really was a part of his life because he had devoted four years of his life working in the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association.* He had worked in Visalia where the migrants, you know, are an important part. He knew that particular population—he knew their problems, he knew what he was dealing with. This was a very important early part of his own life. So he brought to it a whole lot more than he did to some of the other pieces of legislation. Of course you have to recognize that Bill was a product of the Meiklejohn School. And that school taught people to think. A lot of people don't realize the importance of the kind of training they got there. And I think, if you look at the graduates of that school and see where they are . . . in the

* The AWHMA program, established in the migrant camps, was under the aegis of the Farm Security Administration.—Editor.

United Nations and in various . . . two of them in the United Nations in key roles . . . you realize that that was a school that turned out a remarkable product. So even though Bill came from a poor family in New York . . . I think he was the son of a policeman or something in New York, an Irish Catholic policeman and he went to the Meiklejohn school and married a brilliant Jewish girl who got disowned by her family for marrying a Gentile. And it threw them together into a situation where they were cut off from their families and they had to strike out on their own, and they did it.

After the Migrant Health Act was passed, it was very hard to get the appropriations through, get them going. That required a whole new set of relationships. We had to always work in the deep south. California, you see, was . . . even though we had taken the lead in putting through the first piece of state legislation, to get federal support for a federal program you had to get it from the deep south. Lister Hill had no migrants in Alabama, there's no such thing, everybody's static there. So they didn't even know what we were talking about really. And the

important appropriations committees were ones in which we simply had to have support and interest and strength coming from the Deep South. [Senator] Oren Harris of Arkansas was chairman of the committee that had the key role in deciding whether we got any money. And we had fine people in Arkansas who were willing to pay attention to us. We studied Oren Harris, I can tell you. And we found out that he came from something called the Piney Woods. And when you're a Piney Woods person, the really important people in the Piney Woods are the sheriffs. They are the political leaders of the Piney Woods. And without their support and backing we knew we weren't going to get anywhere. Well, this was a real problem. Fortunately, Dr. Gilbert Dunahoo who was health officer of Santa Cruz County was a brother of about five sheriffs down there.

Jarrell: In the Piney Woods?

Wyckoff: In the Piney Woods. And his mother was still alive and lived in Arkansas. And we persuaded Dr. Gilbert Dunahoo to call his mother and get the brothers together and try to get some letters going to Oren Harris from those Piney woods. This was something. We also . . .

Jarrell: This is remarkable.

Wyckoff: Yes. Well, this is the way we had to work. Now, I'll have to tell you how we found out about this. And this brings in another character. One of the oldest, closest, and deepest friends that my husband had was Arthur C. Miller who was a regional attorney for the HEW in region IX. And his boss was Fay Hunter. Fay Hunter came from the employment service and had served on high levels throughout the United States and knew people all over. I think he had served in Texas and various places like that. Texas was another very important state. Well when we finally realized that we had to mobilize something far beyond the state of California to get through this . . .

Jarrell: The appropriations.

Wyckoff: The appropriations . . . we had to start laying the groundwork in the southern states and in the key states that had key personnel on the various committees of the Congress. Well Fay Hunter and Art Miller were wonderful in pointing out where the important places were where we had to push the button to make things happen. And they helped us locate people. We found Gilbert Dunahoo ourselves but we

learned from him, from Fay Hunter and Art Miller, that Oren Harris was the Piney Woods man and that he had to hear from home or he wasn't going to do anything. And there weren't very many . . . there were no, there was no migrant program in Arkansas at all, so there was nobody there to even begin talking about it. It had to come from the real grass roots. Well, Art Miller and Fay Hunter helped all the way through this thing to give us advice and guidance in getting our end of the thing rolling. The . . . there was a woman who was a pediatrician, Belle Dale Poole, M.D., she was a public health doctor. And she knew a Rockefeller who lived in Arkansas. I think it was Lawrence. Nelson was back East and Lawrence was down there. Well, Lawrence Rockefeller was a public spirited man and he called a youth conference in Stillwater, Oklahoma. And as Chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth in California I was invited to go to that. And we were trying to mobilize some help for migrant programs at that Stillwater conference. This was one of the conferences just before the White House Conference. So we were able to go to that and get some . . . I read a paper, did something there . . .

Jarrell: Right. You made these new connections.

Wyckoff: Yes, made these new connections. And discovered that Oren Harris paid attention to Lawrence Rockefeller. So . . . we had this nice woman pediatrician who was a friend of Rockefeller. And she was able to talk to him about getting some letters going to Oren Harris. Well, this is the kind of way you move in all these circles.

Jarrell: One thing . . . I'm a little confused now. I read the text of the federal law—which is Public Law 87-692 . . .

Wyckoff: But you didn't read the report which is the key.

Jarrell: No. I didn't have the report.

Wyckoff: Well, this is the report and it's by far the most important thing.

Jarrell: But then the appropriations . . . that took place after the actual passage . . . it was a separate battle ?

Wyckoff: You have two things in Congress. You have to get an authorization which gives you no money whatever.

Jarrell: No money.

Wyckoff: You go with the authorization which was for \$3,000,000 . . . you go to the appropriations committee to get your \$3,000,000.

Jarrell: To get that \$3,000,000.

Wyckoff: And you usually get half or less. You don't ever get what the authorization . . . at least not the first time around, almost never. And we only got, I think it was about \$500,000 . . . it was very little. Very little.

Jarrell: Right. Because I saw that it was \$3,000,000 in the authorization.

Wyckoff: That's right. But we didn't get that. Now, just to give you an idea of the people that we had to have to get this thing through . . . the report gives them.

Favorable views of the legislation have been presented by numerous organizations with special knowledge of the health programs of migratory farm families. Included are the following—California State Department of Health, American Parents Association, American Public Health Association, National Education Association, National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor, National Consumers League, National Education

Association, Department of Rural Education, National Sharecroppers Fund, Workers Defense League, Departments of the Migrant Ministry-Church-and Economic Life, and the Church Women of the National Conference of Churches, National Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ, Amalgamated Meatcutters [this was the AF of L, the only ones we could get] Butcher Workmen, American Federation of Labor, Congress of Industrial Organizations.

So the administration . . .

Jarrell: So this is the kind of backing.

Wyckoff: We had to get.

Jarrell: You had to have national organizations in all these areas.

Wyckoff: We had to have that, yes. And the report had to show that. So we had to get these things.

Jarrell: Now, would you like to continue on discussing some of these other people who were so significant in addition to Bill Reidy and Lister Hill?

Wyckoff: Well, yes, I would. Well now there was Noble

Swearingen. Noble Swearingen was the American Public Health Association lobbyist in Washington, D.C. And after the conference in Phoenix which I'll get to in a little while, Noble was given the go-ahead signal to rally as much support as he could from among all the public health directors in the United States. Now that was a help. So letters could be stimulated from their mechanism. We were able to do that. And Noble kept in touch at all times. Perhaps I should tell how it was done. On September 26, 1959, Dr. Malcolm Merrill, Director of the California State Department of Public Health and also at that time president-elect of the National American Public Health Association appeared at the Western Governors Conference in Sun Valley, Idaho, to propose that a regional inter-agency conference on agricultural migrants be held in the future. In Merrill's words such a conference should include representatives of agriculture, religious, welfare, and other voluntary and community groups in addition to official agencies. It should also include the participation of Texas. You see, Texas never knew whether it was south or west . . . and we decided we're going to make it west.

We believe the recommendation of an inter-agency, voluntary as well as official interstate conference can lay a firm basis for sound, long term planning and action to give migrant families the opportunity to share the standard of living that the rest of us enjoy.

He was laying the groundwork. So . . . Governor Rossellini of Washington state, then chairman of the Western Governors Conference, called an interstate meeting in Phoenix, Arizona, early in 1960. Malcolm Merrill got an agreement from the governors that they would hold in Phoenix a conference of all the Western states concerned with migratory farmworkers and that the western branch of the American Public Health Association would hold the conference in Phoenix, Arizona, in 1961. A conference was called by the western branch of the American Public Health Association and Bob Mytinger, who is a very key person in this whole thing . . . he was Executive Secretary of the Western Branch of the American Public Health Association. He worked with Noble Swearingen. He worked with Malcolm Merrill who became, you know, the national president, but who was the State Health

Officer in California. This was a network of people that were really interested in getting this thing off the ground. So . . . at that conference in Phoenix, Arizona, was where the whole thing jelled. The speaker, principal speaker, was Harrison Williams of New Jersey who was chairman of the Migrant Health Committee. And he had about eight pieces of legislation that were for the protection of migrant workers. But there was no legislation on health. And it was at that conference that we finally persuaded him . . . that he would be willing to put a bill in if it was properly drafted. With strong leadership from California, the western branch of the American Public Health Association, a private, voluntary organization, established a committee on migratory labor. The committee invited participation by Texas since so many migrant workers and families in the west came from Texas. Staff members of the Public Health Service Migrant Health Unit participated in the regular meetings of the western branch committee. The inseparability of the migrants' family health problems from their economic and social problems led the western branch committee to seek the help of other state agencies and the support of all western

governors. Senator Harrison Williams of New Jersey, chairman of the Senate subcommittee on Migratory Labor was the keynote speaker. Senator Williams discussed the packet of bills that he had introduced, each dealing with a separate subject, including child labor, housing, crew leader registration, minimum wage, and others. Meeting informally with the senator after the conference session, around the swimming pool, some of those interested in the health care of migrants queried him about his failure to include a health proposal in his packet of bills. The recommendation of past commissions and conferences, national, regional, and state, indicated much agreement on migrants' need for health care and how the need could be met. Senator Williams asked the group's advice. Now the group is what I thought you'd be interested to have here. The group consisted of Bruce Jessup, Bill Reidy, Fred blackwell, who was Harrison's assistant, Noble Swearingen, Paul O'Rourke . . . he had been the health officer of Imperial County in California and was the head of the California State Migrant Health Program.

Jarrell: Were you there?

Wyckoff: Yes, and I was there. You bet I was there . . . I was chairman of the western branch migrant health committee, so I was pretty busy in those days.

Jarrell: Well that was quite a group out there by the swimming pool.

Wyckoff: Yes, that was quite a group. And we all had relaxed after the workshops and all those things you go through. And we just sat around the swimming pool and said, "Now, what shall we do about it?" And we did it. We agreed arrangements for the provision of medical care should be similar to those used in successful night clinics in Fresno County where services were offered at times and places convenient for migrants and where they were in fact heavily used by all family members. Experience indicated that the need of professional health workers for orientation to the migrant situation if they were to serve the people effectively to accomplish these objectives the public health service required special project grant authority. It needed to be broad enough to enable the health service to grant funds to private, voluntary,

nonprofit organizations as well as to public agencies. See, this is before the War on Poverty, before they did that kind of thing. Since the public agency in some migrant-impacted counties might not be interested and in many of the counties where there is an influx of migrants, no public health agency existed. So the primary responsibility (in the group's opinion) rested with the community where the migrants were employed. Community interest and involvement needed to be stimulated and built upon including not only the involvement of health professionals, but other segments of the community including growers and migrants themselves. The group rejected the notion of a federally financed health program serving migrants as a group of federal beneficiaries. The role of the federal public health agency, in their opinion, was to administer the grant program as a special project to provide consultation, information, and advice to grantees and others interested in the health care of migrants. Since the Bracero Program under Public Law 78 included arrangements for health coverage for single male aliens, the term "domestic" was applied to migratory farmworkers who were the intended target population. You see, this was during the Bracero

Program that we did this.

The Migrant Health Act

We were trying to get the Bracero Program ended. But we were trying to get the Migrant Health Act through too. This avoided the possibility that the proposed law might duplicate arrangements for service already made for Mexicans or other foreign workers. So when Senator Williams returned to Washington he introduced S1130, the Migrant Health Act. And an identical bill was introduced in the House by Congressman Paul Rogers of Florida I think. And we have the wording of the bill here. This was the language that finally passed muster.

Grants for improving domestic agricultural migratory workers' health services and conditions. Section 310: There are hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year, June 30, 1962, and for each of the fiscal years thereafter, such sums, not to exceed \$3,000,000 for any year, as may be necessary to enable the Surgeon General to make grants to public or other non-profit agencies, institutions

and organizations for paying part of the cost of special projects to improve health services for, and the health conditions of, domestic agricultural migratory workers and their families including training persons to provide health services for or otherwise improve the health conditions of such migratory workers and their families and to conduct studies, investigations, and demonstrations to train federal or other personnel for providing such services or otherwise improving such conditions and to encourage and cooperate in intra-state or inter-state programs for the purpose of improving health services for or otherwise improving the conditions of domestic agricultural migratory workers and their families. The Surgeon General is authorized to appoint an advisory committee to advise him in connection with the administration of this section including the development of program policies and the review of grant applications.

Jarrell: Now you were on that committee of course. Wyckoff: I was on that committee, yes.

Jarrell: What was the title of the committee?

Wyckoff: Program Review Committee for the Migrant Health Program. In the United States Public Health Service. It was called the USPHS-United States Public Health Service. Secretary Abraham Ribicoff . . . he wasn't senator then, he was secretary of the Department of HEW, head of HEW [during the Kennedy Administration] . . . and he was the administration's voice. And we had to have his backing on the thing . . . otherwise we never could do it you see. With respect to health, he reviewed the migrant situation and affirmed his strong support of the health bill and its underlying concepts. And I would like very much to have you have this. Do you want to read this or can I read it into the record?

Jarrell: Go ahead.

Wyckoff: He mentioned that the Fresno County project . . . this is what I thought was so interesting.

Jarrell: Yes. Well, then, Secretary Ribicoff . . . he had to go make the pitch. Wyckoff: He had to do it.

Jarrell: All right. And this is a document outlining his support point by point for the legislation.

Wyckoff: Right. It's pretty important. The Fresno part of it seemed to have made an impact in terms of the whole design of how it was to be administered and that's the important thing here, since it tells how it fits in. Let me just read it:

Migrant workers and their families are more vulnerable than the general population to illness and accidents as a result of their substandard living and working conditions, their own ignorance and poverty and community neglect. Meeting their health needs is an almost impossible task for many of their working communities. Some have meager health resources even for permanent residents. Many require far greater expansion and adaptation of service to the migrants special situation than is now realistically possible if they're to serve the health needs of migrant workers and their families effectively. Part of the underlying difficulty lies in the fact that the people are on the move. No single community or state feels the problem is theirs alone. Your committee wisely has acted on the assumption that the problem should be shared by government at all levels and that employers, community groups, and migrants themselves also have a role.

That's the thing that I wanted to get in.

Accordingly you propose through S1130 a much more active role for the federal government than it has hitherto played. But the basic responsibility remains in the local communities where migrant families live and work for brief periods. The bill authorizes two mechanisms for this sharing federal role. The primary one is project grants based on application outlining a plan for a particular activity and indicating who would take responsibility. The second mechanism is technical assistance by a public health service with the federal government providing aid but not taking over the whole job. Some of the areas where migrants live and work for brief periods are so isolated that even with funds a state or community would find recruitment of health workers difficult. In such situations it may be possible for the public health service to detail nurses, sanitary engineers, or other staff to meet the local need. The kind of project financed by special grants will vary widely according to the local and state circumstances. I should like to elaborate on some of the types of activities that might be undertaken.

Provide prompt and adequate medical and hospital

care for migrant workers and their families.

Extend public health nursing services to migrant workers and their families.

Establish family type outpatient services for preventive and curative care. Clinics in Fresno County, California have operated for ten years as outpatient departments of the county hospital where migrant families can reach them easily and under circumstances which make their services truly accessible. These clinics have led to a dramatic drop in diarrheal disease and infant deaths. They have provided access to care before a costly emergency develops and have proved that services adapted to migrant families' conditions will be effectively used.

Provide health education materials and instruction.

Improve housing and environmental sanitation.
Develop a sample migrant housing plan for interested employees.

Promote inter-agency and inter-state planning to ensure continuity of health services as families move from place to place.

The two mechanisms provided in this health bill—project grants coupled with technical assistance seem well suited to the migrant health situation. The problem is uneven over the nation. It may fluctuate from year to year in local areas with mechanization, changes in crops and other changing conditions.

The availability of community health resources and capacity for their support will vary from area to area. Through project grants funds can be allocated to those state and community organizations best equipped to meet need and can be pinpointed to places where need exists and special plans have been developed. Through studies, demonstrations, assignment of personnel, and other means the public health service can supplement special project activities and facilitate their interstate aspects. Although administered by the service, the program will draw heavily upon the knowledge and experience of the Children's Bureau, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, and other specialized groups.

So I think that's worth putting in.

You know the role of the American Medical

Association was very interesting in all this. The rural health council of the American Medical Association invited the public health doctors to come . . . mind you, this gingerly relationship was so funny; it just was amazing. They just were so worried each one about stepping on the other's toes. The Medical Association would only give tacit support to Senator Williams' Migrant Health Bill.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: In other words . . . the best they could bring themselves to do would be not to object to it.

Jarrell: Yes. Not to oppose it.

Wyckoff: Not to oppose it.

Jarrell: I was going to ask you...

Wyckoff: It's amazing. But the California Farm Bill was a very interesting one. Well . . . I guess I should go on more about the American Medical Association because the California Medical Association did take part in getting the thing through the State Legislature. The Rural Health Committee of the California Medical Association recommended keeping in mind these fundamentals: continuity of care is a basic concept . . . now this is so difficult with migrants, you know.

It's difficult with anybody.

Jarrell: Well, of course. How can you provide the continuity of care?

Wyckoff: And this is . . . they said we must have this provision, a) medical care 24 hours a day; b) coordination of medical care rendered in clinics when they are to be established with medical centers where definitive care is to be given; c) adequate follow-up upon discharge from center rendering definitive care; d) continuity of records that are maintained incident to the medical care rendered; e) adequate administrative coordination and direction with the lines of responsibility clearly defined to assist in ensuring this essential continuity—the provision of visiting nurses services, the convenience of facilities to patient, physician, nurses and other personnel should all be carefully weighted in drafting a plan best suited for a particular community. Periodic reviews of the service rendered of the current need should be part of a new program.

That was what the California Medical Association Rural Health Committee made as a recommendation. And

that was the most attention that was paid to the thing by the Medical Association. But the California Farm Bureau Federation, they were an exception. You see, Allan Grant was another remarkable character. He was president of the California Farm Bureau Federation . . . he became president of the National Farm Bureau Federation. Now you see those two things happened about the same time. And this was very helpful because Fresno County was . . . he was from Visalia, right over the hill. He knew what was going on. Most growers' organizations opposed the whole package of Williams proposals, expressing the opinion that the health bill would duplicate services already available. Eventually however the national spokesman, Allan Grant, publicly expressed his organization's approval of the Williams Migrant Health proposal. This made support for the health bill almost unanimous with leading grower organizations . . . almost unanimous . . . I don't think the Grange really ever came in on it though.

Jarrell: Where was the chief, the most important and influential opposition? From what quarter did that come from, or quarters?

Wyckoff: Well, actually . . .

Jarrell: I mean there were people who were not going to oppose you, but didn't feel very strongly one way or the other. Did you have serious opposition?

Wyckoff: Well . . . the opposition was mainly from people who were so ignorant of the conditions of migratory farmworkers that they thought that existing services were enough. And that we were silly to put anything special in for migrants. They believed migrant farmworkers could just pick up and come in to the center of the city . . . they could come to the places where there were services. Right over here in San Jose we had that happen. The people in Gilroy said, "Why they can go to San Jose. They can go to the County Hospital down there." All the way from Gilroy—they had no way of getting fifty miles, you know. I mean we saw it everywhere that there was just no understanding of the three things that you had to have to make a migrant health service work—it had to be available, accessible, and acceptable—those three things. And we hammered on those for ten long years. And every piece of legislation and every program was examined from those three words.

Jarrell: Those three words.

Wyckoff: Yes. Yes. Definitely.

Jarrell: So there was mostly the case of ignorance, of misunderstanding, and of not understanding those three criteria, but you didn't have real organized opposition then. I mean even the growers came around.

Wyckoff: Well, there were, there were, shall we say just . . . well, lawyers for example. Lawyers were hopeless. They just assumed well the public health department, you know, naturally they would . . . and most of the people in Congress were lawyers, so you had, you have to really explain the whole rural setting to city people.

Jarrell: Yes. It was an educational process.

Wyckoff: Yes. They couldn't, they weren't opposed to the thing because of any . . . No, [it was] just lack of understanding. It's the old business of rural versus urban.

Jarrell: Yes. So it was ignorance of rural conditions and specifically of migrant rural conditions?

Wyckoff: Yes. Noble Swearingen was the lobbyist for public health on the outside. Harrison Williams didn't do that at all. He worked within the Senate rallying

votes. Well Senator Williams came out and . . . you know the story of the second conference [on Families Who Follow the Crops in 1960] out here that really launched the whole thing.

Jarrell: Yes, that Ribicoff came from the administration and he made this very eloquent and complete pitch before Congress.

Wyckoff: Ribicoff . . . yes, he made an eloquent pitch, yes, yes. I think that he did this because Dr. James Schaeffer who came out to San Jose to the Second Annual Conference On Families Who Follow The Crops and who was put on a national radio-television, a national television show . . .

Jarrell: You talked about the program.

Wyckoff: Yes. With Harrison Williams . . . and with the three major newspapers--the Chronicle, you know, the Examiner, and all this kind of thing. And they made a big statement. And this Schaeffer went back to HEW and so did all the public health people, you know. And so I think Ribicoff felt well this is something that has enough backing so we'll go ahead and go through with it . . . at least that was enough to convince him.

Bruce Jessup

Jarrell: All right. What about Bruce Jessup?

Wyckoff: Bruce Jessup, yes, I have . . . well I told you he was the first director. He was the key . . . he was a remarkable person . . . Well, Bruce Jessup was originally hired part-time by the Rosenberg Foundation under a grant to try to broaden the view at Stanford Medical School in terms of their department of pediatrics. And Bruce came to the little clinic conference down in Gilroy I think the first time . . . then he went to one, I think he went to one of [our] conferences . . . and then, we had what we called follow-up conferences. We had a follow-up conference in Santa Clara on migratory farm work in Santa Clara County. And he happened to come to that. And farmworkers came and we listened to their struggles to get medical care, to get help, to solve their problems. He's a very impulsive person and he said, "Is this true elsewhere?" We said, "Yes. Go over to Fresno and take a look at those clinics over there, and you'll see." He was so impulsive that he picked right up and went directly over there to see those Fresno clinics. When he came back he was simply on fire. He said, "Why, this is astounding. I had no idea." He was a city boy. "I had no idea that the

situation was as bad as it is, and I think we should do something about it." And he started in to do something. I want to tell you that man has more energy and dynamics than anybody I've ever known. Within a very short time he gave an address to the American Public Health Association that was meeting out here. And it just made the welkin ring. When you make the welkin ring it's heard around the world. Well, that's what he did. He just sort of woke everybody up within the whole medical fraternity. They hadn't, nobody'd caught fire, you know.

Jarrell: He had.

Wyckoff: And he was the one that caught fire and did it. Now these are . . . it's so important when you get people like that together with others, things begin to happen. Fortunately I managed to get him to go to the White House Conference on Children and Youth in 1960. and it was there that things really began to happen. I took him . . . we left the conference at the Wardman Park [Hotel] thinking well this is a dead place, nothing's happening at all around here. So we left the hotel and went over to the Hill . . . I said everything's happening on the Hill. He'd never been on

the Hill. He knew nothing about the Congress or about any of its mechanisms of work; he knew nothing about lobbying or anything of that sort. My first step was to take him to lunch with Bill Reidy. He'd never met Bill. And right there, things began to happen because here were two people who really were talking, you know, along the same lines in that work. Bill immediately saw the value of Jessup as a doctor, a medical doctor, with this much fire in his heart about doing something for migrant health. He thought oh, oh, we don't often get that because he knew that 99% of the health officers are timid. They don't want to rock the boat; they don't want to disturb anything and above all they don't want to get into a dogfight with the medical societies. And that's why they'd never done anything more than just good sanitation and good immunization—all these things, which are fine and necessary.

But when you've got critical health care problems they're not enough. So Bill knew that with his work with the Agricultural Workers Health and Medical Association. And Jessup had been around and seen the whole thing. So when the two of them got together immediately Jessup said, "Now what can I do while I'm

here," you know. Bill said, "Well, there is one man who is very difficult on the Hill. He is the clerk, the clerk of the Senate. And he can kill anything. I suggest that you go around and have a little talk with him." So Bill set up a program of guiding us through these key spots. And at that time we went around and it was perfectly true. These old guys, you know, sitting in a little closet somewhere with a great mass of papers around them, usually with a big bunch of cigar butts all over the desk, you know, the kind of place that was a sanctum sanctorum and nobody was allowed in there really, nobody . . . we got in. And that was a rare and unusual occasion.

I remember this grumpy old boy who was the clerk . . . Once he said he'd help, why we knew that things might begin to happen. So then we went back and things began to move from then on. But this was the kind of preparation that had to be done. And Bruce Jessup was a terribly important person in that whole thing. He never lost his impetus. He became the first director of the Migrant Health Program in California. And after him came another firebrand—Dr. Paul O'Rourke. He's the only health officer I've ever known that had a real

head of steam. He'd been in Imperial County and he really knew. So there's that aspect of it.

American Public Health Association: Evaluating the
Migrant Health Act

I did want to say one thing that I thought was quite important about keeping this thing alive. You know it was always on the point of being snuffed out so that you really had to keep your momentum going. And one of the devices for doing that . . . we weren't getting the full appropriation, you know. We were only getting a little dab. We weren't getting . . .

Jarrell: You didn't get the full \$3,000,000?

Wyckoff: No. We never got the first \$3,000,000 for a long time. These are the steps ... wait a minute . . . I have a sheet of paper that gives all the appropriations . . . it's now up to \$54,000,000.

Jarrell: \$54,000,000?

Wyckoff: Yes. And I can give you the steps. The authorization is \$54,000,000 and the appropriation will probably be around \$48,000,000 or something of this sort.

Jarrell: Okay. Now what you were referring to in your previous

statement—you said we had to keep this thing going.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: Are you talking about once it was passed?

Wyckoff: Yes. Once it was passed, you could not allow the thing to just die; you had keep the thing rolling. And it seemed to us that the best . . . you see, the American Public Health Association really was interested in this although they were not really vigorous because of being composed of mainly health officers and what not . . . so we wanted to involve them, rouse them up, get them going, and we decided the best thing to do would be after about a year to have an independent evaluation of the migrant health act done by an independent body which could bring in a report to Congress.

Jarrell: On its effectiveness.

Wyckoff: Yes. And we decided that the American Public Health Association which is the one that needed to be jazzed up a little was the one that ought to do this. And so I have a huge correspondence here on how we brought about an attempt to do that. It was a study of how

effective . . . an evaluation of the Migrant Health Act. People who were . . . it could not be done by the agency themselves. Nowadays people will say, oh, you have to evaluate yourself . . . but in this case we decided that it was better to have an objective evaluation from the outside by people who knew what they were talking about. And I'll admit that I wanted very much to have Bill Reidy do that because he was just between jobs and I thought what a perfect person to do it. And I tried very hard, and the correspondence shows I tried very hard to have him assigned to do that, but I didn't succeed.

I was the chairman of the Migrant Health Project Planning Committee for the Western Branch of the American Public Health Association. And this was my memo and I think this ought to really go in perhaps. I wrote to the president of the western branch of the APHA and to Ruth Howard from Colorado—she was chairman of the Migrant Health Committee and Robert Mytinger was executive director, and I got their approval for this. But I think it's a good idea to read the whole thing.

The Western Branch American Public Health Association is the only regional volunteer organization in the west which has expressed a continuing and long-term interest in the improvement of the health of the agricultural migrant and his family through the establishment of a permanent committee on migrant health. This committee has met regularly over a period of ten years. It is composed of two delegates from each of the 11 western states and Texas, all of whom were selected because of special knowledge concerning health problems of agricultural migrants. The committee has employed staff to implement the program. Its committee . . . the committee acts as co-sponsor with the Western Conference of Governors and the Council of State Governments in a western, regional conference on Migratory labor, and has maintained an information center on public health programs of migratory farmworkers and the rural communities through which they pass or from which they come. Because of this interest, knowledge, and experience . . . and because of its unofficial non-governmental status, the committee is well-qualified to perform a special service now particularly timely. With the passage of PL 692 of the

87th Congress the Migrant Health Act regarded as a three year demonstration one year of which has elapsed without funds, it is already time to look ahead and see what questions must be answered when the question of renewal, change or termination comes up for consideration. Now is the time to plan an evaluation of the program as it gets underway. Any evaluation loses its objectivity when it is made by the same agency which operates the program to be evaluated.

An independent body probably qualified is needed to serve this capacity. It is therefore proposed that the western branch APHA offer to employ properly qualified personnel to make an independent objective skilled survey of the functioning of PL 692 through the western states and Texas. And that this survey be undertaken through contract with the surgeon general of the US Public Health Service as described in the attached memo. The survey would be conducted along the lines developed in an initial conference with APHA western branch committee on migrant health and its conclusions presented to that committee for its comments and concurrently to the Surgeon General.

[Evaluation of] content—the desirability of continuance—legislative or administrative changes—should be done to determine continuation of the program. Such evaluation should include consideration of the degrees to which programs seem to be achieving are capable of achieving the objective sought by the proponents reflected in the legislative history of the act. Such evaluation also includes consideration of factors responsible for the effectiveness of the act. Mechanics: survey staff to consist of a director, a research assistant, and a secretary employed by the western branch. Timing: survey to be concluded not more than one year from date.

And here's the budget—was to be \$40,000.

Jarrell: You see, I had no inkling . . . that after the legislation was passed that it was going to be still a constant battle or struggle...

Wyckoff: Oh, struggle! To keep it alive.

Jarrell: . . . to keep those appropriations alive year after year.

Wyckoff: Sure. Oh yes. Absolutely.

Jarrell: So I'm sure that some kind of a mechanism, a coalition of interest groups rallied around this and of course you were the . . .

Wyckoff: Yes. Well, it had to be done and I had to stay at a level outside of the state of California to do that, you see.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: And so I worked through the Public Health Association. And got them to go along with . . . we are very . . . I've been, wrote to Fred blackwell. "We are very happy to hear that you approve of this plan of the evaluation." He was the counsel, a lawyer for the subcommittee on migratory labor, Harrison Williams' subcommittee. And we kept working with him right straight through this whole thing. He was trying very hard of course to get us to . . . he also had that Public Law 78 problem, you see.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: And he says about this . . . "I wanted to have Bill Reidy do this . . . the situation you have developed with Bill Reidy fits exactly my notions what can be done to invigorate the health program. Bill and I discussed it in depth. I think it would be a real

Godsend if we could connect him with this at the end of his service with the Aging committee." 'Cause he was running out of steam there. And so on. So I thought . . . that's all part of what I did here.

WAR ON POVERTY

Jarrell: I'd like to start today with your participation in the War on Poverty ...

Wyckoff: I was looking over this article of Leon Keyserling and I disagree with Leon about the War on Poverty being designed around the idea that the poor had personal defects. This is an article in the *Washington Law Review*.

Jarrell: I see the whole issue is devoted to a symposium on the New Deal.*

Wyckoff: Yes. I worked with the President's Study Commission on several aspects of the planning for the War on Poverty.

Jarrell: This was during the Kennedy Administration?

* Mrs. Wyckoff had a reprint from the *Washington Law Review*, volume 59, 1984, A New Deal Symposium. containing an article by Leon H. Keyserling, "The New Deal and Its Current Significance in re National Economic and Social Policy," pp. 795-841.—Editor.

Wyckoff: During the Kennedy Administration. And I belonged to a group within this planning group who believed that the poor should be drawn into the decision-making process on how to design programs to eliminate poverty and ask them what were the greatest felt needs. In other words, what had the priority in their own minds—was it housing, was it health, was it medical care, was it jobs, what was it.

Jarrell: Now this whole idea, Florence, of eliciting the input of this group of people at the national level is a rather radical departure on that level. You had gained experience in state programs and regional programs in medical care and in migrant health, etc., where you had had the opportunity to work hand-in-hand with people who were struggling. So you had this idea of community input, the idea of the people themselves speaking in their own behalf.

Wyckoff: Well I worked on the national level before the War on Poverty when the National Migrant Health Act went through. And I was on the National Program Review Committee and had to go to the different parts of the country where the migrants were. I have a map here

that I wanted to show you that has the migrant streams—it's a rare and very valuable copy of the map of the migrant streams.* And following all the way from Texas up to Illinois; all the way from Florida up to Maine; all the way from Mexico up into California, Oregon, and Washington. And I had to travel those circuits in order to see how the migrant health act was being implemented and bring back . . . our job was to approve applications for funds. We were an operating part of the Public Health Service then.

Jarrell: So this had all been, was an aspect of the prototype
...

Wyckoff: You're raising the issue of a centralized program. I do not believe Washington has the magic to solve all the problems of poverty. But I believe this: when local communities fail to act, the federal government has a responsibility to move in. And I think that's quite different from the idea that a dictator at the top ought to be running all the programs. People who

* Mrs. Wyckoff donated a copy of this map, entitled "Domestic Agricultural Migrants in the United States. Counties estimated to have 100,000 or more at peak of a normal crop season, 943 counties," United States Public Health Service: 1960, Public Health Publication #540, to the Map Collection, McHenry Library.—Editor

are extremely orderly always want to have centralized administration because they think it's more economical and it's better in many respects. But if there isn't flexibility in the program so that the local community can participate in decision-making, there's likely to be a terrible failure. I think that even the WPA [during the depression years], which was very much set up from the top down because of local failures, contained the guidelines that local communities had to list their needs—did they want schools? Did they want roads? Did they want hospitals? What did they want the WPA work force put to work on. Then the federal government of course was asked to finance all of it, part of it, half of it, whatever the formula was. So I'm not a great believer in centralized federal governments operating everything. My feeling is though that . . . there has to be sometimes, whether local governments fail to do the just thing . . . I mean the Civil Rights Act is a beautiful example of the federal government having to move in to solve the whole problem of civil rights.

Jarrell: When there's a complete failure on the part of local government.

Wyckoff: Where there was a total failure . . . yes. The lack of permission for the blacks to vote in the South, all of that. It took the federal government to solve that one. It just could not be done locally; they tried a long time and they never succeeded.

Jarrell: So philosophically, your concept then is that it's the responsibility of the federal government to step in where there is a . . .

Wyckoff: Where's there's lack of justice, where there's lack of willingness to assume the responsibility for the care of the people.

Community Participation: Mainstreaming the Poor

Jarrell: In a conversation we had after our last interview, you talked about the Migrant Health Law passage as being kind of an opening wedge in this whole next phase in social policy at a larger national level dealing not just with migrant health, but with much larger, the whole large picture of social conditions and impoverishment, and you talked about mainstreaming the poor. What did you mean by that concept of

mainstreaming the poor? That was a new kind of idea.

Wyckoff: Well, instead of putting the poor off into work projects where only the poor worked, I think the conception was that the poor could participate in all the forms of services to people by becoming, for example, community aides. I was delighted to learn that I had kept the guidelines for the work of community aides in the migrant health program. And it is a beautiful example of the main contribution that I personally wanted to make to the War on Poverty. Because it was tested out and found to be that the community aide could bridge across between the professional physician, the professional public health nurse, and the Mexican farmworker who didn't speak English and who had a totally different view of medicine and health and sanitation and education. The community aide was an enormously important person in bridging that gap. I think community aides have been used in Headstart, they've been used in all forms of education and found to be very valuable to this day. That part of the War on Poverty has certainly been thoroughly integrated I think into almost every form of government service.

Jarrell: Yes. So the idea of someone who might have been considered a victim stepping out of that role and becoming a participant in the very measures designed to educate, to change ideas about hygiene or child care . . . all of these aspects .of social programs, the people learning and participating not as victims but as actual citizens.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: Also, I wanted to ask you in what other ways, when you talked about the Migrant Health Act which was such a pioneering piece of legislation as a prototype for subsequent poverty legislation . . . now the community aide is a very important ingredient in that.

Wyckoff: It was a very important ingredient.

Jarrell: And still . . . it's been completely validated up to the present time. Wyckoff: Yes, it has.

Jarrell: And in common practice in a variety of programs.

Wyckoff: Yes it has.

Jarrell: What other experiences that you had in migrant health and in the passage of that legislation do you think contributed to early thinking about the War on Poverty?

Wyckoff: Well, I think that whole concept of community organization—to identify a problem, to work on a problem, and to try to solve it through drawing in all the people concerned and not just the top echelon of political figures or the professional experts. I feel that one of the most important things we did was to bring together the, for example, in the migrant health program the growers and the farmworkers and the professionals in the local services into a cooperative group that tried to solve a problem we'll say of poisonous drinking water or lack of sanitation or some threat to health. The migrant couldn't do it alone; the public health worker couldn't do it alone. If all the elements didn't get together and agree to cooperate to make the thing happen the way they wanted it, it would drag on unsolved for a long, long time. And we certainly had plenty of evidence of that.

Jarrell: And you said in particular that...

Wyckoff: I learned this concept from Dr. Dorothy Nyswander who was a professor of health education at the University of California. I think she had a very profound influence on my life as I look back on it. Her conception was that there should be in every health department a person called a health educator who was

not a person who simply tried to teach you how to go to a clinic or something of that sort, but someone who drew the whole community together to solve a health, a common health problem. And she was very diplomatic and very . . . she was a very good operating person. She believed . . . I think she felt that Kennedy's approach to the whole question of what are our goals—the goal would be an open society. I think that's what she felt. And that these steps that we took, even though they were very small, were steps going in the right direction. The tragedy is I think we're going in the wrong direction now.

White House Conferences on Children and Youth

Wyckoff: Health made a very good topic to work on because disease threatens all levels of society from the top to the bottom. It's obvious that it's worthwhile to work together to solve we'll say the problem of a malarial swamp or something. You don't just say it's up to the government and then forget it. I think this is one reason I was drawn into it because frankly it was the easiest place to begin. I looked at a lot of other areas and that one seemed to me the one where we might possibly make the first real dent on the subject. There was a rhythm established, a long time

ago really, by the Children's Bureau in the very beginning, of having a ten-year White House Conference on Children and Youth.

Jarrell: Every decade.

Wyckoff: Every decade. Now the state took up that idea and the governors had their state conferences on children and youth. And the counties began to take part in this by making county youth surveys and doing things . . . all this was a ten-year process that you gradually assembled your . . . you did your analysis of your community, and you gradually assembled with the major desire to get input from young people. The White House Conference was just the carrot in front of the donkey . . . to get the whole process rolling. Broad assembling of data on children and youth from the standpoint of all the programs. Now this goes way before migrant health . . . this goes way back. It was dominated very heavily by important social work professionals. There was nearly always a professor of social work who was the head of the whole thing. And our chairman was a professor of social work at UCLA, Don Howard . . . and he was a wonderful man. He attended all the migrant health conferences and

encouraged me enormously in connection with the migrant work that I was doing.

But when it came to the War on Poverty, the main thrust that we used to get the state back of the legislation and really mobilized to do the kind of support, lobbying, and whatnot came through the youth, the juvenile delinquency problem and the desire of the communities to find jobs for youth, have good recreation for youth, have good probation, have good courts, have good . . . the whole, the whole sweep of government as it affected youth was the key to this. So I had to work on the different component parts of the War on Poverty on the state level—make suggestions, pull together people, and we would have county surveys on youth problems, and they would bring them to the state and we would have enormous youth conferences—six to eight thousand people would come. And they would stay for a week, usually immense conferences.

Jarrell: Now was this under the aegis of the governor's...

Wyckoff: Advisory Committee on Children and Youth.

Jarrell: Yes. Because I just want to get into the record here something you said a few minutes ago off the tape . . . which was that although we have followed the migrant children, migrant families' thread in much of our interviewing . . .

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: That once you became chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee, you said you covered the whole waterfront . . . all aspects of children and youth, not just migrant.

Wyckoff: Yes. That's right. Not just migrant. In fact I stepped out of the chairmanship of the committee on the migrant child and Mrs. Wood, a peach grower from Yuba/Sutter country, she became chairman of the committee on the migrant children. And we went on with the conference. She carried on as a grower which is very interesting, and was chairman of the [Fifth] Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops held [in 1967] at UC Davis which was the last conference. And she and I both got abolished by Reagan when he became governor. We both went out together when he just cut everything off. He cut off the Board of Public Health,

he cut off the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth . . . curiously enough the one thing he did not abolish was the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Advisory Committee which still exists. And I was on that for a number of years afterwards. That was a lowly advisory subcommittee, for the State Department of Public Health which they still had. They abolished the Board of Public Health, but they still had a Department of Public Health. Well, the input for the War on Poverty had to come from a very broad base . . . much broader than migrants. I think probably the most significant basic thing we did was at the time of the Watts riots [in 1965], there were riots incidentally all over this state. I have clippings upstairs . . . there was a San Francisco riot that was a terrible one.

Working with Urban Youth: The War on Poverty

And there were really, really very bad times. Our approach could only be through youth so we started a program before the community action program—it was, it started out as part of this participation of youth in the youth surveys—and we designed a program and got a

grant from a number of foundations, from Ford Foundation as a matter of fact . . . to try this experiment of using youth to help youth and creating a set of age levels in which the very young had a relationship of shall we say big brother . . . I don't know . . . with a little older youth. Now what would happen . . . and I remember this as a very effective thing . . . there was a dreadful vacant lot in a blighted area, just a shambles of dangerous garbage on it in Oakland. And the young people of that particular neighborhood met in an old barn somewhere and they decided that what they wanted to do was clean up that lot. That was going to be their project for the year. Well, they had all levels of age working on this thing, and it turned out to be a very rewarding thing for them because they received a vast amount of praise from their elders, and from . . . they felt like heroes in other words.

Jarrell: What year would this have been roughly?

Wyckoff: Well, this is before the War on Poverty, yes it was. I think it was when they were trying to . . . yes, it was when they were leading up to the White House Conference in 1960, on the way to '60.

Watts Riots and Community Action

Well this was followed through by . . . when the War on Poverty came, it was considered to be a successful enough activity so that it was picked up and enlarged and carried out. And the net result for example in Los Angeles I remember was that a permanent position was created on their board of public education, on the Los Angeles school board, for a student to be elected by the students to be there.

Jarrell: A student representative?

Wyckoff: A student representative. Student representatives didn't exist before that. But this was part of this involvement . . . it was called Youth Participation in Community Action. And it was very enthusiastically supported. It was one of the main thrusts of our building a broad support for the War on Poverty I remember through that thing. It was a very lucky thing that this thing started just before the Watts riots. And . . . we were able as a result of those Watts riots to use the little skills that we had learned in getting participation by youth to help to rebuild that community, but mainly to get the bigger community to

face what the cause of the riots were. And there were lots of causes. One of the most significant causes which nobody looked at because all they looked at was the shambles and the bloodshed and the agony but the cause of the anger, primary cause, one of the primary causes was the fact that the transportation system simply did not go from Watts to the County Hospital. You couldn't get there. It was just that kind of bad planning that created fury among people. So the young ones . . .

Jarrell: Isolated, cut off . . .

Wyckoff: Yes. It was a ghetto.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Just a self-contained ghetto. Well, as a result of that two things happened. They made the transportation thing responsive, but they built the Martin Luther King hospital in Watts and everybody took part in getting that. Now that was a product of the War on Poverty.

Jarrell: So that was with federal aid and the city involved in it?

Wyckoff: Oh, all kinds of aid, everything. Martin Luther King

Hospital was one of the great products I think of the War on Poverty. The neighborhood youth centers, the neighborhood centers were an outgrowth. I think they were probably the most significant outgrowth because there you had to have enormous participation by everybody to build those things. And it was done. I think it was an extremely healthy social event in our society. So . . .

Jarrell: For the other aspects of the War on Poverty that you were directly involved with in California and . . . what was your base of operations then...

Governor's Advisory Committee: Housing, Child Care, Employment

Wyckoff: The Governor's Advisory Committee was my base.

Jarrell: So you were, in terms of the Office of Economic Opportunity and all that, did you continue your reconnection with it?

Wyckoff: I would . . . yes, I would call conferences on different aspects of it. There'd be a conference we'll say on juvenile justice; there'd be a conference on child care; there'd be a conference on job corps;

there'd be innumerable ones. And it was my job to create them, to bring the lists of people together, to get the setting, get the organizing...

Jarrell: So it was policy planning . . . it was the thinking and planning stages.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: And this kind of what we call today networking—the idea that you knew key people in all of these areas...

Wyckoff: Yes, yes.

Jarrell: From the social work people to the community organizer people, so that you were ready at hand with...

Wyckoff: Well, I was on a lot of boards. Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: I was on the Governor's Advisory Committee on Farm Labor Housing. Now that housing committee was a very important one and led to a great deal of support for the improvements that occurred in the farm home loan programs in the . . . well, that was one aspect anyway which was very important. Then there was the other housing—the HUD housing—the housing authority . . . I was on the housing authority. But of course we'll discuss that later when we focus on Santa Cruz County and the War on Poverty.

Well, there was a huge movement for child care . . . you can imagine . . . and I was heavily involved in that. We did some demonstrations of child care centers over in Fresno similar to the migrant centers which at the same locations out in the camps with the kind of participation mainly there was to get participation by growers in making the thing . . . financing it, you know.

Jarrell: But now you're talking about a much enlarged constituency for child care.

Wyckoff: Oh yes, yes. Well, we had one here and we set it up. We did have the Lanham Act during the war that was a good base from which to get the funds to buy the space for childcare centers and that was during World War II

Jarrell: And this is separate and an addition to all of the impetus that emerged in headstart programs.

Wyckoff: Oh yes, yes.

Jarrell: Another whole emphasis.

The Headstart Program

Wyckoff: That was a whole other thing. The headstart program was probably the most supported idea. There was a lot

of fighting about it, but Headstart ... well, it was the first money that came into this county for example. All the other programs were churning around, but the first War on Poverty money that ever hit Watsonville and Santa Cruz County was the Headstart money. And curiously enough I was a volunteer administrator. When the money came in and there wasn't any staff . . .

Jarrell: There wasn't any staff . . . nothing in place.

Wyckoff: No staff here. Oh, it was something and you had to move right now . . . otherwise you lost the money. So you scrambled, I can tell you. One of the really bad things about the War on Poverty which we were never able to cure—it had one basic fatal defect.

Jarrell: And this is generally as a program.

Wyckoff: Yes. As a group, there was one basic fatal defect. And it had to do possibly with the desires of those of us who wanted to see participation by the poor in decision making. This requires the long, slow process of education by trial and error and learning together and doing things in such a way that you find out what the consequences are if you don't do it right. And the

basic defect in the program of the War on Poverty was that you had to meet deadlines. You had to have a program in, have the budget ready, and spend the money on time or you lost it. Where you're trying to educate democratically a group of people to participate in something they helped design it . . . the community action boards were supposed to think things through and decide what they wanted and move slowly ahead . . . it was utter madness to call them in and consult them and then say, 'Well, you've got to have an answer now. You can't talk about it, you can't do anything, you've got to vote now.'" And they haven't had time to think about it or know what. So they were forever being pushed too hard. It was the budget system of government.

It's the rhythm of government plus the political pressure of wanting to accomplish something so that you can show you did it. It does not fit with the, I think, the slow tempo of community organization, community learning, all of the joint efforts that were being made to try to get participation of the poor. So we did have several, I would say, things that were, they were a shambles, but in the long run what has happened is that in spite of all the cuts that we've

had under this Reagan administration, there is no cut in Headstart. It is one of the programs that is really solidly going to be maintained. There are quite a few of them that are when you stop to think of it.

Jarrell: It seems that the Headstart program is an exception . . . it's a fait accompli. It's part of the whole apparatus now.

Wyckoff: Now it is. Well, there are a lot of things that are part of the apparatus now. . . that still are. Migrant education—all of those things are still on. And those didn't exist of course then. Well, I would say that Headstart probably had some of the great positive effects on the whole educational system by letting in some air where things had got terribly bureaucratic and stuffy and rigid. The fact that it was separate from the schools gave it a chance to use the kind of skills and imagination and genius that were needed to make something innovative and really helpful.

Jarrell: Were you involved in the planning or thinking about youth job training programs?

National Job Corps

Wyckoff: Yes. I was forever corresponding on the youth job

corps with Bob Choate because that was his primary baby and I called innumerable meetings for him out here in California with people who wanted to discuss with him how the job corps idea was going to be implemented. Unfortunately the legislation for a national job corps never really got through the way he wanted it. When Kennedy died and Johnson took over, the thing kind of . . . well . . . began to turn into a program that was more like the old Civilian Conservation Corps. And not quite as imaginative as Bob had got it in mind.

Jarrell: When I mentioned the job corps, you hand me a brochure . . . it doesn't have a year here.

Wyckoff: No, but . . .

Jarrell: But I think it's probably about 1964.

Wyckoff: Yes. "Women ages 16 to 21. Get paid while you work, learn, and travel."

Jarrell: This is very interesting. It says, "In the job corps you can learn a job skill, learn how to care for a home and family, find out how to apply for a job, earn money, live in a center with others your age, take

part in recreation and creative arts." It says at the center you might learn to be a typist, office clerk, or secretary, a dressmaker, or a beauty operator, or a salesclerk or a practical nurse . . . but it seems more a kind of social skills program than actually job training per se.

Wyckoff: Well . . . the assumption . . . I think the assumptions were beginning to come through . . . that we were shifting from an industrial society into a service society.

Jarrell: Although that was not explicit yet.

Wyckoff: No. But it was an instinctive thing . . . that you felt that their opportunities would be greater there than they would be as a steel worker or as a miner or as . . . even as a migratory farm worker.

The assumption always was . . . that was a very curious thing that the assumption always was that everybody wanted to get out of migratory farm work and didn't want to do it. And it was a total mistake. There are some people who regard it as a dignified and worthwhile occupation and are proud of it. They know how to cope with it and find it really rewarding and exciting and wonderful. I was fascinated the other day

. . . I don't know if you want this . . . but I had to talk to a woman on welfare who wanted to apply for funds to conduct some kind of group work with 30 families on welfare and her explanation was that they all had tried to commit suicide . . . that they were all depressed, that they were all . . . these are the 30 she's working .. . she's an AFDC mother. She said these were all AFDC parents and they were all whipped. They're in despair and they mainly are upset over the fact that they are ashamed of being on welfare. And that they're, they need, they feel guilty; they have been told to feel guilty their whole lives. They have come down to welfare. The next day I went over here to Watsonville to the Headstart program. Here were two women who were just as poor in just the same level of economics and they were full of hope, they were going somewhere, they were on their way up, life was full of opportunities, and they were absolutely on top of the world . . . the morale was up, they weren't defeated at all.

Jarrell: You sound as if you're saying, they were full of themselves.

Wyckoff: It's extraordinary.

Jarrell: Of themselves and of their capacities.

Wyckoff: Well, they were not migratory farmworkers. They were, they had formerly been migratory farmworkers and they had finally got a home base. They were working, they were the working poor . . . let's put it that way. They took welfare when they had to. They had food stamps and they had to do this kind of thing. But mainly they were probably large families with incomes of four to six with income of around \$6,000. Now that's low.

Jarrell: That's low.

Wyckoff: That's low. The others were probably about the same. But one of them felt lost, despair, and discouragement, and the others were on their way up. Now Headstart was extremely helpful to them in giving them this positive approach. It encourages helping each other immensely, this route. They now are faced with the fact that they may be cut back in certain things such as incidental services and helps that they used to have may be cut off. So they're out giving rummage sales to raise money so that they can continue these things they want. And it was a . . . I was very impressed with the totally different attitude of two groups of people who are equally poor. And one in

defeat and despair and the other upward bound.

Jarrell: Yes. And how do you account for it? Wyckoff: Yes. It is curious.

Jarrell: In terms of the assumptions which led to the establishment of the Headstart program, the policy, the thinking about it, were you involved, engaged in that?

Wyckoff: Yes, as part of the Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, very definitely involved in it.

Jarrell: While you were on the Governor's Committee, had you already come to some of the same conclusions that led to the formation of Headstart about the needs of children from impoverished environments?

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: I mean there's a whole set of assumptions that went into Headstart . . .

Wyckoff: Yes. That's right. We had already done a demonstration as part of the Governor's Advisory Committee in the Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops which had many recommendations on childcare for the rural poor. And the fact that the childcare is not just a warehousing of children. It's not just a . . . but

that it has a natural component of education that is very important to foster.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: And...

Jarrell: So it's an educational stimulation . . . activity . . .

.

Wyckoff: Oh yes. Yes, definitely. And still is I'm happy to say. Headstart was over and above of course . . . the childcare centers go to a younger age than the Headstart. And the childcare centers were equally, I think, part of that whole trend which was toward giving the setting and educational component that was over and above just the custodial function of babysitting.

Childcare

Jarrell: I want to ask a question that I'm curious about. Today after we have the women's movement and the much larger participation of women in the labor force now, of mothers in the labor force . . . there is a real movement to getting funded daycare, childcare centers for working mothers, not just poor mothers . . . but at the time, in the '60s during the War on Poverty

when you had to push for childcare, was there a concomitant feeling that the childcare centers would take care of the children while these AFDC mothers were out getting job training and getting off the "dole"? Was there a linkage between job training for welfare mothers and providing daycare for their children? Was that part of the thinking?

Wyckoff: Yes, it was. There were two levels as I recall it of eligibility for childcare in the limited resources there were and the low, low fees that there were in the public ones, that is, in the non-profit ones. They would take the children of the poor and the children of teachers and the children of nurses, but I don't think they took anybody else. Essential workers they felt—nurses . .

Jarrell: Were eligible.

Wyckoff: Were eligible and for the low fees which were very low in the beginning, you know, very low. This, however didn't come about during the War on Poverty. This came out during the War. That was before.

Jarrell: Yes. During World War II.

Wyckoff: Yes, that's right. The Lanham Act.

Jarrell: When you had childcare provided for essential workers.
So there was already a kind of program.

Wyckoff: Yes. Oh yes, there was a lot going on. The War on
Poverty didn't occur in the middle of nothing, you
know.

Jarrell: No.

Wyckoff: A lot that had happened before that. Jarrell: But see
the rhetoric seems to isolate it as . . .

Wyckoff: Well, every politician wants to take the whole credit
as though he's the first time on earth.

Jarrell: I see you have a whole bunch of brochures here.

Wyckoff: I have them all. I have everything.*

Here's another program . . . listing delegates
attending the Conference of Women in the War on
Poverty, May 8th . . . oh, I'll never forget that
thing.

Jarrell: 1967.

Wyckoff: Yes, yes. That was '67.

Jarrell: This was in Washington, D.C. did you say?

Wyckoff: Yes, Washington, D.C. It was at the Marriott Motor Hotel in Virginia there.

Jarrell: Now who sponsored this conference?

Wyckoff: Oh, this was sponsored by the Office of Economic Opportunity, Sargent Shriver, Director, with the cooperation of the Departments of Labor and HEW. Now glance through that and you'll see.

Jarrell: Fascinating.

Wyckoff: Well, this is the stuff I've been hoarding thinking that someday somebody might want to see it.

Community Action Program Guide

And this of course is the . . . I'm sure everybody's seen this. This is [a brochure] on how to apply . . . for a community action program. And I definitely was part of the consultation process in creating that.

Jarrell: So this community action program guide was part of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Wyckoff: Yes. That is it. That's the handbook for the whole

*War on Poverty documents are in the Wyckoff Archive.—Editor.

thing.

Jarrell: Right. So any community that wanted to establish some kind of a program to address some social problem in its midst could fill out this application...

Wyckoff: Yes. Watsonville filled that out. They must have sent a hundred of them in. This was it.

Jarrell: Yes. And we'll talk about Watsonville later.

Wyckoff: Yes. That's later. But I mean this is the local thing—the guidelines on how to apply. Volume I—Instructions for Applicants. February, 1965. Now they had to have a lobby on the outside to keep getting appropriations for the War on Poverty, you know, because there were plenty of people who wanted to kill it off. Dick Boone stepped out of the . . . why he was in, I think he formed the thing and then he quit and stepped out and became part of this. This is the citizens' crew.

Jarrell: A lobbying group.

Wyckoff: Yes. And Elizabeth Wickenden, she was head of the National Council of Social Workers. James Patton was head of the National Farmers Union . . . Martin Luther King . . . This was a big shot bunch who joined us.

Jarrell: All right. So what we're seeing here is once the War on Poverty...

Wyckoff: It had to have a supporting...

Jarrell: . . . once it started in '64, to assure continuing funding, since there was continuous political opposition a private, non-governmental . . .

Wyckoff: And non-profit group...

Jarrell: Non-profit organization had to be established?

Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: Which came to be the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty.

Wyckoff: Yes, yes.

Jarrell: And Richard W. Boone was the Executive Director.

Wyckoff: That's right.

Jarrell: And this was a coalition of lobbying groups.

Wyckoff: Lobbying groups, yes. And I was heavily involved in that because Dick [Boone] got me into it. He . . . well of course he got me in with the thing in the first place. And . . . let's see . . . here's an interesting one from a long time ago.

Jarrell: But just looking at the Executive Committee of the

Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty, you can see that there's church . . .

Wyckoff: Oh yes.

Jarrell: Everything from Catholics, Catholic Welfare Councils, to Jewish Welfare, to labor, agricultural life, social work and social research, NAACP, National Urban League--so it was a very wide-ranging constituent group. How successful was it?

Wyckoff: Well, it was the main support of the programs under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 until the end of the administration . . . until Reagan came in, you might say.

I just wanted to show you . . . this is a working document of what I was doing going back and forth to . . . going back and forth to Washington trying to help design these various things .. oh, Paul O'Rourke . . . that's right . . . he was head of Migrant Health in the California State Department of Public Health. Paul was the one who was our main representative on the President's Study Commission as I remember it. And I went along simply as chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth. Paul was

head of Migrant Health though, you see.

Jarrell: Right. But this would be 1964, all right. These are drafts of policy stuff for discussion only.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: Of how you're going to set up these grants for community action programs.

Wyckoff: Right.

Jarrell: How you're going to determine eligibility. Wyckoff: How we drafted all those forms.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Yes, yes. Questions that had to be decided. Jarrell: So you were heavily involved in the process. Wyckoff: Oh, I certainly was.

Jarrell: What was your title?

Wyckoff: I was just called in because I was chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee and therefore was somebody that could speak for California on the subject of anything affecting children and youth. See, we were working on this too. These are all the working

documents that we had.

Jarrell: So this is all '64.

Wyckoff: Here's a great one. This is why Congressman Burt Talcott was defeated . . . he was our Congressman [here in Santa Cruz County]. . . I wrote him a letter asking him to support the bill, and he voted against it. And he got defeated. I called this conference together. This was a real tough one. I remember it wound up in a shambles almost. We were trying . . . Conference on Administrative Aspects of New Careers for the Poor, Durant Hotel. Now here's 1963 . . . this is long before.

Jarrell: A national service program.

Wyckoff: Yes. This is long before the thing went through. And we were sweating it out. It never got going.

Jarrell: The President's Study Group on a National Service Program. So you were heavily involved in the President's Study Group.

Wyckoff: Oh yes.

Jarrell: During the Kennedy and then during the Johnson Administrations ? Wyckoff: Yes, that's right.

Jarrell: Now can you tell me, since next time we're going to be

talking about the War on Poverty here at home in Watsonville, and we will be talking about. . .

Wyckoff: You do want to talk about the implementation of it here?

Jarrell: Yes, we want to talk about the housing authority, the Buena Vista labor camp, (inaudible) housing, the Salud Clinic . . .

Wyckoff: All right.

Jarrell: Can you tell me, did you continue working at the national level then or did you kind of curtail those activities, those policy activities, and just get heavily involved at the local level here in Watsonville?

Wyckoff: Well, Hubert got sick, and I could not make trips to Washington. So I simply bowed out of the commuter...

Governor Ronald Reagan

Jarrell: I'd like to pick up here by asking you this . . . since you just told me off the tape . . . that Governor Reagan of California either fired you or let your term expire, I don't know which, on the Governor's Advisory Committee.

Wyckoff: No. He abolished the Governor's Advisory Committee on

Children and Youth completely.

Jarrell: He abolished the whole thing. All right.

Wyckoff: Completely. Yes, abolished the whole committee including all the members. And I went off with the members.

Jarrell: So it wasn't a personal...

Wyckoff: Oh no, no. It was not a personal thing. Although I had a personal letter thanking me for my long service on the committee and saying they no longer needed my services because the committee was abolished. I also had the same experience on the State Board of Public Health which he abolished. And we all received our notices of dismissal from that. He proposed a reorganization of the health department in which he abolished the Board of Public Health. And at that time I went up to testify at a hearing, and I have the testimony, on my feelings of the damage that he was doing to the field of public health.

Jarrell: So it was a whole reorganization?

Wyckoff: Yes. It was a complete reorganization of government. In that reorganization, the main thrust of it was he wanted to downgrade the idea of public health, of

prevention by communities in the form of health education that I was explaining to you in which the community entered into the job of solving their problems. He wanted to change the entire concept of the Department of Public Health to a Department of Medical Care alone. And the doctors were delighted . . . they wanted it. He put a totally unqualified medical doctor . . . I mean as the Public Health Director of the state. The man had no public health background whatever . . . he was a psychiatrist or a . . . he was simply a physician. He knew nothing about public health. And neither did Reagan. And he was able to do, make this very destructive act. And the Legislature and the rest of the government seemed to have little or no control over this because of his landslide victory . . . they thought, "oh we have to do everything he wants." So he led us up the garden path. And I was very angry along with a lot of other people. But . . . and I went up and testified and made it as strong as I could . . . and I have my testimony.

Jarrell: Your statement, yes.

Wyckoff: I went to Dr. Aufranc who was head of the Western Branch of Public Health, APHA—and asked him please to mobilize as much support as he could to try to save

the public health aspects of . . .

Jarrell: For this huge state of California.

Wyckoff: Yes, the huge state of California. And he . . . I thought he ought to rouse up the health officers and they by and large were a very timid group though, and they did not want to try to do very much. They made a little testimony, but it's extraordinary how little their lobbying efforts did. And so it became an operation in paying out the rope. Unfortunately we paid out the rope and lost a lot of very good public health programs. We still have a sanitarium or two. They still care about clean water here and there, and there's still . . . but the war of the Reaganites was to win by leaving legislation on the books. We'll say that there should be camp inspection and then appropriating no money for staff. So this has happened across the board. Programs that were set up to protect the public have been undermined. OSHA . . . all of the protective services under there have been cut to the bone. They're no . . . I think there are one or two inspectors for huge areas like the whole state of California.

Jarrell: It was just leaving the laws on the -books and then

not having sufficient funding to do any kind of job at all.

Wyckoff: Yes. That's right.

Jarrell: So in terms of your participation on designated state advisory commissions, et cetera, you were no longer on these bodies . . . they'd been abolished.

Wyckoff: No. I was not. They'd been abolished. So I went with . . . I got back to the Regional Medical Program and went on the national level to do that. When that finished then I came back home because my husband was ill. And I entered into the local programs where I could be of help.

Jarrell: And it just so happened that the local programs here, which we'll talk about next time, the Salud Clinic, the Buena Vista Labor Camp...

Wyckoff: Yes. The War on Poverty here was functioning . . . definitely was functioning.

Jarrell: . . . the Housing Authority. The War on Poverty in this county you became actively involved on the local level.

Wyckoff: Yes. On the local level, that's right.

Jarrell: So we'll pick up that thread next time.



Florence Wyckoff in conversation with Congressman Leon E. Panetta and unidentified meeting participant. Circa 1977.



Wyckoff addressing group with 16th District Congressman Leon E. Panetta; Santa Cruz County Supervisor Marilyn Liddicoat; and State Senator Henry J. Mello. Circa 1977.

THE WAR ON POVERTY IN SANTA CRUZ COUNTY

Wyckoff: The War on Poverty is a chapter, but it had a great deal of roots before that had been felt in the community. For example, if you're talking about the thread of my life and how I got involved in it, you have to go way back to when I first came to Watsonville after the War, when I joined the first little group that I was introduced to which happened to be the TB (Tuberculosis) Association. From that I got into the Health Council and the Health Council became the Community Council. The Community Council applied for the OEO funds. This is how it all kind of ties together. I went from one thing to another. Of course through the Health Council I went on to the Governor's Advisory Committee and then on to all the state and national things. But I kept my roots in Watsonville the whole time. And tried to participate locally as much as I could in things like the Health Council and the Community Council as we went along. Even though I was commuting to Washington and to Sacramento a good bit of the time.

When the Community Council finally applied for the funds to start the Economic Opportunity Commission

it was called, Judge Brauer's wife, Georgia Brauer, was chairman of the Community Council at that time. And I saw her the other day and she said, "Oh my, do you remember when we took off with that ambitious program to try to save the world with the War on Poverty, and we were so surprised when we finally got the money." And the first thing of course was to employ a really knowledgeable administrator who could help us make the individual applications for programs such as Headstart, the setting up of the area service center, programs for housing . . . there was a housing referral agency we wanted . . . work with the migrants and general survey of poverty conditions and how we were to function. So we hired a young man named Ignacio Galindo, whom we got from San Jose who had been in their housing authority over there. And who was a brilliant, well-educated Mexican-American who had trained himself in the school of business administration and was a crackerjack . . . wonderful. We had a very small salary to pay. And he wrote all out wonderful applications for Headstart and for all these various programs.

Jarrell: Which was very technical and very (inaudible) . . .

Wyckoff: Very . . . yes . . . grantsmanship was a fine art in

those days. You received the gigantic forms . . . I showed you the things the other day.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: And all these details had to be filled out. He did all this. The staff consisted simply of Ignacio and one community worker, a graduate of the University of California named Paula Schwartz. She too, I think, came out of the school of business administration . . . and a typist. I think that was all the staff consisted of. There were lots of volunteers and lots of committee members both of the, from among the poor and among the general community.

Jarrell: Now was this in Watsonville or . . .

Wyckoff: Yes. This is Watsonville. I'm talking about the Economic Opportunity Commission here. Well, all of a sudden Ignacio Galindo received an offer doubling his salary and inviting him to come to Los Angeles and become a big-shot down there in the program. And we couldn't very well stand in his way. But he left before the money arrived from these grants. I was the vice chairman of the Economic Opportunity Commission and I was the only member that wasn't full time working at something else. I was still a volunteer,

not tied to a job. So they asked me if I would take on as a further volunteer job the business of running the Economic Opportunity Commission program until we got some permanent staff. So we started immediately advertising for a permanent staff, but it took a long time.

Area Service Center: Watsonville

In the meantime I had to make the arrangements for getting us out of the basement of City Hall where we were originally started and where we held enormous meetings of the poor consisting mainly of migratory farmworkers or of farmworkers who had settled . . . a great many Spanish-speaking . . . very few Anglo poor ever came to these meetings. Some did, but not, not too many. One or two Negroes, we had almost no Negroes in this end of the county certainly. Well this was countywide . . . I had to go over and hold meetings over in Santa Cruz, too. But somehow or other in Santa Cruz, the Community Council over there which tried to function the same way ours did, had never developed to the same extent. So we didn't have the kind of support over there that we might have had. They still had a

Health Council, but they never developed a Community Council. Well, I remember going down and renting the huge automobile agency building . . . I think it was the Cadillac, Buick/Cadillac agency . . . in Watsonville . . . which was just a gigantic, bare building . . . empty . . . for what's called the Area Service Center. And all the programs were supposed to be located there. It was a magnificent location. It was exactly where the majority of the people in need could walk in. No need to commute or trek . . . since it was right near the row houses where the farmworkers lived . . . Apple City was a dreadful little row of shacks in which the farmworkers lived. And Main Street and all of its very dilapidated housing was occupied by farmworkers. This Area Service Center was smack in the middle. So we got very good participation in all of the programs. We opened the Migrant Clinic in the building, the Farmworker's Clinic was held there . . . we had lots of E.S.L. (English as a Second Language) students there . . . the evening high school had English as a Second Language classes. We had health education programs from the health department . . . and Headstart, of course, was in the schools, but the main office started there. And we had innumerable

programs . . . we had a housing referral program, we had all kinds of things going there.

The big meetings that were held in those days . . . we were given a structured way in which we were to approach the poor and find out what they wanted, and the top of the priority at every meeting was better housing. That's what they wanted. They said it was nice to have health services, it was nice to have food and nutrition, it was nice to have all these good things. But the thing they really wanted was a decent place to live. And to hold the family together in decent circumstances. Well, we thought it through and came to the conclusion that there were three levels of housing that were needed. The first critical one was what to do when the migratory farmworkers arrived and the place became jammed with the 5,000 or more people who came at the time that the crops needed harvesting. And there was a migrant master plan that had been developed under Section 3 of the OE0. It was a statewide master planning group covering all the needs of migrants—education, health, housing, employment, and what not, and met on the state level. And we tried very hard to do the kind of same thing locally . . .

in the same pattern.

Jarrell: Paralleling that.

Wyckoff: Paralleling that, yes. And there was money for migrant education, migrant housing . . . of course, the farmworkers health program . . . and the farm labor employment service which had existed long before and was nothing new.

Migrant Housing, Watsonville:

Building Buena Vista Camp

We took advantage of the migrant housing funds that were available from the state and applied for the funds to build 100 houses for the temporary workers . . . that is, the 180-day housing which is permitted under the law . . . is a certain type of structure that is not up to code . . . it's summer camp housing is what it really is . . . doesn't have the insulation, and no requirements of the ordinances that you have for regular housing. Well we applied for that for the people that arrived from Michoacan, Mexico. They were coming to pick the strawberries and we needed homes for them. There wasn't any land though.

So we were very fortunate in having as chairman of our Economic Opportunity Commission during that period a man named Phillip Rowe who was a grower of berries, not strawberries—he grew bush berries. He was a farmer. And he used seasonal farmworkers. He had been chairman of the Board of Supervisors and he came of a family that had a real social conscience. They were people that were very good community members. They did all the kind of community service volunteering that you could hope from a family. They were a very nice family. Phil Rowe decided that the thing to do was to pass the hat among the growers and the packers and the processors and the canners and collect enough money to buy a piece of land and then . . . here's where the really critical thing came in. We wanted this to be public housing and not privately-owned housing. We did not want a housing control by the growers. This had been done before in various places and we knew the disadvantages of that from old experience. So we managed to get the money to buy the land. Then came the question of where to get the land. And that was a shocking experience. We found land in some areas and we would go and try to investigate the

possibility of it.

By the time we got to this point, we had hired Ismael Dieppa who was a Spanish-speaking Puerto Rican and could communicate with the workers here . . . but he was not a migratory worker and never had been. He was actually somebody I think that came out of a military career or some such thing. Anyway, he had administrative experience, he knew how to run things, he was a social worker really. He became eventually a professor of social work. Well, Dieppa went with some of us for example up to the County Fair Board. Because there was a large chunk of land that was unused right next to the County Fairgrounds. And we thought well that might make a very nice location for this. Well, it was the most shocking thing to us, to discover the prejudice against this by the property owners. They all thought, ho, our property is going to lose value. And they came out of the mountains. They were absolutely infuriated at the idea. And they made such a strong hysterical presentation before the County Fair Board that the Board turned down the idea and refused to cooperate with us. Well, we tried various places and finally realized that it was very important to have this in a location where our people wouldn't

be heckled and molested and bothered.

Jarrell: So there was a real fear that this would become some kind of Hispanic ghetto?

Wyckoff: No, they were afraid of farmworkers as neighbors. And the funniest thing was that the social workers in our midst who were all very tender-hearted toward the migratory farmworkers . . . they thought that the location ought to be in the middle of Watsonville near churches, stores, near the County Building where their clinic was. And my friend Helen Phelan had a piece of property back of that and we thought now maybe we should try that. Well, this created a tremendous uproar and nobody wanted them there. And we realized that it was just hopeless. So . . . Phil Rowe finally made a deal to buy the . . . as part of a County area that would be land belonging to the county . . . next to the Sheriff's facility, the county garbage dump and a whole lot of other things belonging to the county including the sewer system which was a very important aspect of this thing we had to have . . . and it was very hard to get way out far from any sewer system.

Well, we managed to finally get the McConnell property out there.

Jarrell: Now exactly where is that?

Wyckoff: It's next to the Sheriff's facility. It's on San Andreas Road. It's on Buena Vista Road and San Andreas Road. It's on the corner there. It stretches back this way from San Andreas Road. It is on top of a hill and had a breeze from the ocean that blew in such a way that the garbage dump air did not blow over the Buena Vista housing. So we were careful about that. We were also very careful about how the sewage arrangements were made.

Jarrell: What size parcel was this . . . how many acres, roughly?

Wyckoff: Oh, I couldn't tell you. But there were . . . it's very large, it's ample. There's a big baseball field in the center and there are the . . . 100, now a 110, houses. And they are built in units of four in a kind of a wheel shape so that the doors are not . . . it's not row housing, it's cluster housing they call it. It gives a great deal more privacy and at the same time it has a central core of plumbing. So they're more economical. It was architecturally very well designed.

It had a large community center. And the thing that was the most helpful of all—it had a beautiful, big childcare center and a big staff for it. It has a childcare center for 100 children. And it's always had about, anywhere from 90 to 100 children. These are the little ones. And this means that you have to have care for them from six in the morning till six at night, you know. It's a long business.

Jarrell: A long day.

Wyckoff: A long day. And therefore you have to have bunks for their, beds for their sleeping and their meals and the whole thing. It's not a short-term drop-in center kind of thing at all. It was set up properly. We worked with the State Department of Education on this. It's not just a custodial program, it's a very definitely educational program even for the very beginners. Well . . . it turned out to be a great success. But the Migrant Housing Act was set up in such a way under the OEO that the rents were to be minimal. The rents in town however . . . there's no rent control in Watsonville. And the migratory farmworkers were paying horrendous prices for their housing in town. So what happened was that they would get and line up on the road to Buena Vista when it opened on the 15th of May.

It closed on the 15th of October. It could only be open 180 days. Well, there would be 300 or 400 cars lined up trying to get . . .

Jarrell: And there were only a hundred houses...

Wyckoff: Yes. Trying to get one . . . and we finally had to develop a system of giving them numbers so they wouldn't have to stay . . . they would camp in line trying to . . . we had a dreadful time the first few times trying to figure out how to handle the business of bringing the people in and then getting them settled. Well . . . Buena Vista obviously was just, it was too big a success. We need three of them right now. And we've never had more than just one.

Jarrell: I was just going to ask you...

Wyckoff: More . . . we need more of those.

Jarrell: You were talking at a peak, at the peak of the season that you have about, at that time, 5,000 . . .

Wyckoff: Well, that's 5,000 people . . . I would say we had about maybe 2,000 workers.

Jarrell: Workers, okay.

Wyckoff: Yes. And then children. Because this is families now.

We're not dealing with braceros which was of course the earlier thing.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: That was the one reason why the camp was so necessary 'cause they shifted over from bracero to family work. And when they did that, it created the whole business of what do you do with a whole family.

Jarrell: Right. Which is what we're still dealing with today.

Wyckoff: Yes, that's right. And there are a lot of growers that want to go back to the Bracero Program 'cause they think it was so easy to have just single men in an army that they could phone for and have troops delivered to pick the squash and then send them back and not be bothered with their families, with their children going to school, with the welfare problems, with everything. They want to get rid of it. And every time this business comes up, you see it again. I think it's going to come up again in legislation this year too.

Jarrell: Yes. The Simpson Bill is already (inaudible). Wyckoff: Yes, I notice it's already starting.

Jarrell: One question I'd like to ask you about this whole, the

genesis of the Buena Vista Project to housing—it's dear that there was great opposition from some sources in this community . . . political opposition and prejudice. Could you indicate how did the Economic Opportunity Commission deal with that kind of opposition? They just went right ahead and did their thing and . . . it sounds like it was quite a struggle.

Wyckoff: It was a struggle. And of course there were groups that believed in confrontation and not compromise. And at one point we had a housing, low income housing study committee . . . I've brought some of the papers out to show that. And they were working on how to solve not only the Buena Vista temporary housing, but the bad housing, the dreadful housing that we had for the permanent workers and the ones that were trying to settle. And our efforts at negotiation and compromise didn't seem to get anywhere. We were not . . . this prejudice business . . . it wasn't race prejudice . . . it was pure greed. It had to do with the reduction of the value of their property. They thought their property values would go down if a dirty farmworker came to live next door. That's what it was. And it was just sheer money . . . nothing but that. I don't think

that the racial aspects of it were half as important if they were important at all. I really think it was just sheer money . . . just greed. Well, tackling that was difficult. Well, there was a group over in Pajaro called the Brown Berets. And they were some of the young men who were Mexican-American or Latino . . . there were some that were also Anglo I think, but also belonged to the group of the poor . . . might have been some Negroes among them. Anyway, they had a central meeting place over near the Church of the Assumption in Pajaro . . . they ran a kind of underground intelligence network in which they drew in all the members of the various War on Poverty groups that had been shall we say drawn together to try to work on some project, Headstart, housing, whatever it was . . . and they could assemble a multitude at a moment's notice.

Jarrell: At the drop of a hat.

Wyckoff: . . . with their little grapevine. Well one day they decided that they had had enough of this talk about housing. I mean they didn't object to Buena Vista . . . in fact that was considered a great achievement. They decided to march on City Hall, at Watsonville City Hall. And Mayor Murphy was .. . Bill Murphy was

mayor of the town . . . and . . . well, Bill Murphy is a very smart Irish politician who not only . . . he went right out, and the Brown Berets said he was one of them and that he agreed with everything they said and that we must all turn and march on the supervisors of the county and get a housing authority. He said this is the time to do it, then we can solve some of these housing problems. So he led the whole mob . . . not that night . . . it was at night that they marched on him . . . and he joined them and did exactly the correct political thing. And the next day and the day after and so on, the pressure built up on the board of supervisors. And at the next meeting, they, the board suddenly discovered that it had the power to just pass a resolution to create a housing authority and it would exist because the state years before had passed general enabling legislation permitting a county simply to pass a resolution and it would have a housing authority. Well this kept the housing authority out of Watsonville in the sense of its being a Watsonville authority. And spread it county-wide so it could do things in Watsonville or anywhere. But there was one thing that was absolutely necessary and that was that there had to be a referendum of the

people—any time a project was to go in. And the referendum had to agree on the specifics of the projects such as how many houses, where they would be, this sort of thing. And this turned into a situation in which we had to prepare for elections and do the hard work of campaigning. And it roused all the fears of the people just the way it had with the Buena Vista Labor Camp—oh, we don't want those poor people living next to us . . . NIMBY—not in my backyard.

Jarrell: Right.

Wyckoff: So we had a hard time getting it through, but we were able to get . .

Jarrell: Now the housing authority . . . we've talked already about the temporary 180-day housing which was for seasonal workers . . . but you also had a permanent, severe housing shortage for the permanent agricultural workers here, that lived here year round.

Wyckoff: Right.

Jarrell: And there was a great shortage.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: So this Housing Authority was to address those sorts

of things.

Wyckoff: That's right. The Buena Vista Labor Camp ran for a number of years under the Economic Opportunity Commission. And then they decided that it was proper to transfer it to the Housing Authority. And it was moved to the Housing Authority.

Jarrell: The administration of it.

Wyckoff: The administration. It now is under the administration of the Housing Authority, but they receive the migrant housing money from time to time from the state I think, still, although I haven't followed that. One of the problems that developed was that the Housing Authority felt it was not competent to run the childcare center. That the housing authority board was not made of the kinds of people that should administer something like that. So they tried to get that shifted to the schools . . . the public schools, and under the migrant education program. So there's been some shifting of gears trying to put the various kinds of programs under permanent agencies that were, well perhaps more suitable to run them. The Housing Authority . . . I served two terms I think on it . . . I think I finished my last term about 1978.

Jarrell: Generally speaking, in terms of local War on Poverty efforts, is it accurate to say that the Economic Opportunity Commission in Watsonville, in this area, was seen as an encroaching power base disrupting the status quo of the local political and economic establishment if you want to call it the establishment . . . that the way things had been run here . . . and it seems that the Economic Opportunity Commission began to address previously ignored and severe social problems engendered by the agricultural economy. How did this local political, economic establishment come to terms with this new power base, with this new arm funded from outside? You've spoken of the housing authority in terms of it could be established locally . . .

Wyckoff: I don't think . . . I think I've given you the wrong impression about . . . you have the impression that it's a confrontational kind of thing...

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: . . . because I'd told you about the Brown Berets which was just one incident. Now, a program like Headstart was just the opposite. That was a thing in

which everybody was just a 100 percent in favor of it—
there was no opposition whatever.

Jarrell: Okay. So it depended on the issue.

Wyckoff: It was not that . . . it was . . . yes, it depended on
the issue. I think that by and large the early
Economic Opportunity Commission was composed not of a
board, composed of the poor . . . it was a mixture of
the agency people, some of the poor, and some of the
very establishment people, you know. It was a mixture.
And therefore I would say . . . if there were fights,
they went on within the Economic Opportunity
Commission . . . It was the whole community in other
words. Later on, it shifted to . . . now the Community
Action Board it's called . . . is quite different and
it's much more, I think, of a confrontational type of
organization that's supposed to be dedicated to doing
a . . . of course it's been reduced to nothing now . .
. the poor thing, can hardly do anything anymore.

Jarrell: I think it was just from what you said that I wasn't
just meaning confrontational, but if you think back to
the 1930s and the depression in California, when,
because of lack of initiative at the local level, you

had many federal programs coming into California . . .

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: ... trying to help people in agriculture...

Wyckoff: That's right. That's right.

Jarrell: There was great opposition at the county levels especially in the central valley . . .

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: There is a history of that . . . of wanting to take sole local control over this population, but at the same time being unwilling to give aid and help.

Wyckoff: Yes, yes.

Jarrell: So there was that history from the 30s . . .

Wyckoff: Yes, it's always been that . . .

Jarrell: And it's always been that particularly in agriculture. I'm not talking about the whole War on Poverty.

Wyckoff: Yes, yes.

Jarrell: But what you're saying is--there were certain programs under this umbrella of the War on Poverty which were met with enthusiasm and social concern by local people, middle class people.

Wyckoff: Yes, that's right. I think that the programs such as

Headstart, which reached I think a much broader base . . . there were a whole lot more than just migrant children involved in that. I think were ones that . . . well, they're still functioning now . . . I mean that was bought by the nation as a whole as a perfectly marvelous idea for everybody's children. Now it's . . .

Jarrell: It's thriving now.

Wyckoff: It's not only thriving, but the tragedy of the people who can't get into it because they're too rich . . . because their children need it . . . is a very interesting phenomenon. It should have been made not just for the low income, but for all children.

Jarrell: Yes. Participation is based on income...

Wyckoff: I know it. It should not be on an income scale. It ought to be like the way the public school is free, free to every family. That way, there would be no discrimination of any kind. I've been appalled at José Ruiz who runs TECHO who has two little children . . . and they, the children cannot get into Headstart and they need it so badly. It's just pitiful. Very bad. Well, anyway, there were very good things that were

generated by the fresh look that the War on Poverty took at these age-old problems that everybody'd been trying to solve, and it just kind of got deadlocked and not, not . . . well, they just hadn't moved.

And I think the War on Poverty was an infusion of energy that made us face these things over again and cope with them, cope with quite a few of them. I think we're in a sort of dead period now where this shock of what Reagan has done, pulling the rug out from under everything, has created the same kind of sudden realization that we have to look at everything all over again anew and not accept anything anymore. I was shocked to go to that public school foundation luncheon yesterday and see people who had lived in a system where the public school was considered sacred, free, for everyone . . . talking about having to raise money to do things that normally twenty years ago were just accepted as naturally established as public policy.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: And here we are trying to fight for these same things all over again as though they never existed before.

Well, it's sickening in a sense, but in another sense it requires people at the local level to take a fresh look at what is, what they're doing. And there maybe some good that'll come out of it in terms of . . . well, fresh thinking . . . I do think you have to have that from time to time. You really need it.

Self-Help Housing: TECHO

Jarrell: Yes. In continuing discussing the housing authority, where did self-help housing come into this equation?

Wyckoff: Well . . . this was the thing . . . we decided that there should be three levels of housing—the first level was the Buena Vista . . . by first I mean when the first person, when a person comes into the county, the first available place for a poor person to go in would be Buena Vista, which is temporary 180-day housing. The next thing would be rental housing for a person with low income that can't afford to buy a house, rental is the next step. And that's where the housing authority made its main thrust was to have housing available for low income families. Now these are not agricultural families necessarily at all. In fact most of them weren't agricultural because most of

the agricultural people are less apt to go on welfare than the others because they're more . . . well, work-oriented. They're not welfare-oriented. And so that the housing authority found that a great many of its tenants were welfare tenants, and the rents they paid were welfare rents. And this meant . . . I mean they were housing senior citizens, crippled old people that didn't have income for one reason or another. And that would mean that you had a large majority of the . . . there were farmworkers in the housing but not as much as there were . . . I mean Buena Vista was a hundred percent farmworker (occupational housing).

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: And the housing authority was maybe I'd say thirty, forty percent, something like that. Maybe less than that because counting the whole county, probably it was less. Then the question came up of how can there be homeownership for low income people. We had the feeling that home ownership was a stabilizing force, that it was an important thing in building good neighborhoods and that it ought to be the ultimate goal in . . . or at least it . . . well, I don't know that it has to be the ultimate goal, but that it's an important thing in a community to have home owners who

are permanently located, pride in their home, taking good care of it, caring about their neighbors . . . this kind of thing we thought was an important...

Jarrell: Right. So it means another kind of stake in the community.

Wyckoff: Yes. It was the third level and it made stability in the community and we thought this was a policy that was very important. So we turned to the various programs where there were home loans. And home loans for the very poor were almost impossible except under the one program that was launched originally by the Quakers years and years ago, and finally accepted into law through the Farmers Home Administration and established as the self-help housing program. Let me show you how it works. This is a kind of good description . . . well, I can give you the whole thing here. This was drawn up by the Rural Community Assistance Corporation which was funded partly by the Labor Department and partly by the Farmers Home to help rural housing. Self-help housing is a very important aspect . . . And there are two kinds.

There are two basic ways to describe self-help

projects. Now we only do the total self-help one. There is such a thing as a partial. When self-help is total, the people are responsible for doing or getting done a majority of the construction work. Total self-help approach has been used in single and multiple family rehabilitation as well as new construction. In partial self-help, a contractor is the primary actor. Self-help labor is used only for specific small tasks. In both cases the self-help work is organized and overseen by an established group that recruits individuals and families into a mutual effort. Some groups stress communal work--everyone working on all the houses in the project. (And that's what we did. That's what TECHO does. That is our thing.) Others permit families to work on their own house only. This is the oldest and most tried approach to producing your own housing. It was the only way to do it in rural areas when the country was expanding. You staked your claim to a piece of land; you gathered your materials and you built your house. As the population grew and land became scarce, housing demands changed. Housing became more sophisticated so did building codes. Most people had jobs and occupations that did not permit the time to spend building their own place

to live, so contractors became the best way to go and are now the custom. But there are still some places where the old method exists in recognizable form. And there are some programs and organizations that support it. The Farmers Home Administration encourages self-help home building through a special financing program. The program offers money for a construction supervisor. (That's what TECHO does with the contract from Farmers Home.) Land acquisition and construction financing at very low interest. It offers permanent financing with the interest rate on a sliding scale beginning at one percent. The program generally applies to mutual self-help efforts those in which a number of families work together under the umbrella of a sponsoring organization.

And that's what TECHO is, a non-profit...

Jarrell: What does TECHO stand for?

Wyckoff: The Environmental Community Housing Organization with the first letters of each word meaning TECHO which is the Spanish word for roof.

Jarrell: The Environmental Community Housing Organization.
TECHO.

Wyckoff: Now this is the interesting thing I want to get in here.

There are a few FMHA—Farmers Home imposed requirements for organizing mutual self-help groups. However over the years some common characteristics have evolved and they include:

1. Each family must contribute a minimum of 700 hours labor (we say a 1000) Some organizations require more. This is usually broken down to a 30 hour per week requirement. Each family must sign an agreement that evidence the commitment for the work. If a family does not fulfill the requirements, it must leave the group and another family is selected. The new family picks up where the previous one left off. The typical construction is six to ten months or one month per house. The typical group is six to ten families. The preconstruction period is normally three to six months. Preconstruction means your education in how to use the techniques of building, how to cope with taxes, how to cope with insurance, how to learn the whole business from the ground up. The typical staffing for a beginning program includes a project director, a secretary-bookkeeper, a construction

supervisor, and a group worker or organizer. The Farmers Home Administration has a program to provide grants for the staff of self-help programs. The agency calculates that the staffing and administrative costs should not exceed fifteen percent of the total development of conventionally contracted construction for similar houses and lots. (In other words, you see, you have to prove that you're doing something that increases the value of the house and saves the money.) The net cost savings between mutual self-help, development costs plus administrative overhead and conventional construction by a contractor must be at least \$500 per unit. In 1982 the average staff administrative cost was \$4,400 per unit. The range was from \$2500 to \$10,000 per unit.

Jarrell: Now when you established self-help housing about what year did this component of the program get started here?

Wyckoff: Ten years ago. We're having our tenth reunion this year.

Jarrell: 1975.

Wyckoff: Yes.

There are many benefits to self-help but as a housing program the key measure is the production of

houses. Having a good construction supervisor is essential to production. But as a self-help program much of the success in self-help depends on the personality and competence of the organizer. New programs should expect to face difficulties initially in attracting families because they have no self-help housing to point to as proof of the program work.

We had no difficulty whatever. Every time we just say the word housing, a line forms in front of the office.

Jarrell: Still forms.

Wyckoff: Yes. Well, the first effort was of course to form the board of self-help housing which we did with the help of the housing authority. I was elected as the representative or the delegate you might say, from the Housing Authority on the board of TECHO to get it off the ground. I wasn't chairman of the board or anything like that, but I was a member—I think I was secretary, or something like that on the board of TECHO. We had a board of people that were community-wide representatives. One or two . . . I think there were only one or two Latinos, there was a Filipino, we had various representatives . . . we have had . . . it's

changed a lot in the course. The first person we hired was Luis Campos . . . and Luis Campos stayed on the job only about a year and a half, and then he left. He was not the right person for the job. And I don't want to go into it . . . it was a tragic mistake. Luis was formerly a migratory farmworker come out of Visalia, worked his way up through the educational system, graduated from the University of California School of Public Health Administration and had received promotions along the way that I think were a tragedy for him. He's a very fine man and he's now got a very fine job as a hospital administrator in Colorado which is where he belongs and he's doing beautifully. But the housing thing was not his forte. Well, we had a man on the staff who was our land officer named José Ruiz—his job was to go around and find us sites to build on.

Jarrell: I was going to ask about that.

Wyckoff: And to try to get the front money for that was a very difficult thing. José Ruiz was made administrator for the whole housing, for the whole of TECHO after Luis left, after Luis Campos left. And he has been our administrator, our chief executive officer we call him, from then on. His primary interest having been in

the beginning acquisition of land, he went on and did that because we had one major tragedy, and that was after building our first fourteen houses at once and sixteen houses all told . . . two were contractor built and fourteen were self-help houses.

Jarrell: Were the two that were contractor built to be sort of prototypes so that there would be like . . .

Wyckoff: They were low cost for low income owners under Farmers Home Loan only they were contractor built. And the price of the self-help overhead, that sort of thing, was figured into the profit as Farmers Home did it, you know. The fourteen houses that were built were built on the edge of a community that a speculative developer from Los Angeles had built and they were pretty flimsy houses. And our houses in comparison were quite startling because they were so well built. They passed all the inspection, and they were prize little jewels compared with ones built for speculation . . . and they had cost less than the speculative housing. So we were very pleased of course with that. And this gave us a showplace where we could take people and let them see what it was like. Yes, what it was like. It was integrated housing. We had two Anglo

senior citizens that built one house in that group. We had a Filipino family that built a house. We had a Negro family and the rest were Latinos—usually Chicano farmworkers. Only one house was ever sold out of that group. And that man sold the house and moved back to Mexico and took the price of the house which was much higher than . . . and he opened up a shop and he has a career down there, he's in great shape. Well when that was discovered, Farmers Home immediately passed a regulation saying that the money that Farmers Home had put up in the form of a subsidized low interest loan had to be returned before they could sell the house. And from then on . . . he was the only one who got under the wire before they passed the regulation.

Jarrell: Nobody had envisioned that . . .

Wyckoff: That anybody would sell the houses.

Jarrell: Right.

Wyckoff: And he was the only one who did. And that was a great surprise to everybody. Nobody has sold any of the houses since then. I don't think anybody has wanted to. There have been cases where the families could not continue . . . somebody died or something happened so that they couldn't continue building and another family took over and went on and completed the house,

you know, that kind of thing does happen. You can't prevent that. But anyway, then we had a tragedy because we had a technical assistance grant that called for building 100 houses and we had built exactly 14. And we had no more land. And we could not get the land. And we struggled and struggled.

Jarrell: That was a very hard problem getting the land.

Wyckoff: Yes. Land costs went up. And we could not get the land. And for two solid years our staff of . . . consisting of two people, TECHO staff . . . Nellie was the stenographer and José the administrator didn't draw any salary. They worked without salary. Their husbands and wives supported them. The board had no money. Nothing had happened. It was really very bad. And then we managed finally to get the land over in Hollister and get it developed and get it arranged so we could start building. We could not get land here. We couldn't get land quick enough to start building. Then we went to the state and we went to the county here and they each agreed to pay for, to loan the money rather, to buy 27 acres out on Green Valley Road which we named Project Alborada and that is still there waiting. And we're hoping by next Christmas to start on it. Project Alborada. It means the dawn or

some such thing. The other one was called Los Arboles . . . that's why I was mixed up . . . meaning the trees 'cause we had two trees on the place. Los Arboles. Anyway the ones in Hollister . . . we had a situation in Hollister where the city of Hollister was eager to have us come in and do this. They wanted it, they cooperated with us, they did everything to smooth the way. They have a curious system whereby the mayor's job rotates among the councilmen. And there were Chicanos, there were quite a few Chicanos on their council off and on. They're not poor Chicanos, but they're Chicanos, and they're people that sympathized and they want their agricultural workers well housed. They want these things to happen. And so they simply cooperated in a way that was quite surprising. They were also under the wire, the community of Hollister was under 20,000 and they were classified as rural. Therefore Farmers Home Loans could go right in there whereas the city of Watsonville isn't rural. So we had to stay outside the city limits here. Farmers Home may not serve "urban" areas.

Jarrell: I see.

Wyckoff: That was the problem.

Jarrell: And the jurisdiction of the Housing Authority extended all the way over to Hollister?

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: Isn't TECHO under the arm of . . .

Wyckoff: No. TECHO is totally independent of the Housing Authority.

Jarrell: I see.

Wyckoff: It was launched by the Housing Authority, but it was . . . Jarrell: But it's autonomous.

Wyckoff: It's totally autonomous. No, it has no relation whatever to the Housing Authority.

Jarrell: So it has the authority to . . .

Wyckoff: It floated off. It's a non-profit private (501c3) charitable and educational organization.

Jarrell: Okay. So . . . I find it remarkable though that the land acquisition problem was continuous and really a major obstacle in the progress.

Wyckoff: Terrible, yes. The land costs were much too high and we had an awfully difficult time.

Jarrell: In those years, prices just went through the roof. I

mean all that inflation.

Wyckoff: Oh, I know it. Yes. Well the Housing Authority couldn't help us with that. We went back and asked several times and they simply couldn't do it. So we had to do it on our own. Now we got the State Community Housing and Development Department to loan us the money for half of the costs of the land, the 27 acres, out on Green Valley Road. And the county put up the other half of the money for the 27 acres. So they are jointly our financiers for that thing. Over in Hollister the land there was financed by the state in an agreement with Farmers Home that that would be the way we would work. Now there are about, there were 80 houses, 88 houses in the first unit over there called Amistad. And that was really a great success. It went very fast and was really very . . . we had a few crisis over things like drainage and a mud puddle that got in the road and things like that had to be solved. But they were minor disasters of one kind or another that would hold up the progress. They wouldn't let people move in until the puddle was drained. Oh, it was the dumbest thing. We've had things that . . . things that were kind of foolish. So we've sweated it out. And I've stayed with them all the way through it.

And I tell you it's been a royal education to me. And I knew nothing about real estate or about financing, and I have certainly learned a lot about the ins and outs of that. We've been lucky in having good construction supervisors and the families have been remarkable. I think one of the most interesting things about the housing has been the role of women. We never thought that women would be construction workers so enthusiastically. They are. There is no job that they won't do. It's really astonishing. They dig the footings, they make the frames, they put up the studs . . . the one thing we forbid them to do is to handle putting the great big beams that . . . there are stretcher beams that go across in the center of the houses that we will not permit them to put up.

Jarrell: Like the roof beams? Wyckoff: Yes. Trusses.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Those we will not. That's the one thing where we sort of draw the line. Mind you these . . . let me explain a little more . . . these groups . . . ten families . . . become a little housing association. And they are autonomous... they elect their officers, they buy their lumber, they make the deals, they do all the,

they learn this whole process with the help . . .

Jarrell: But they work in a collaborative effort . . . I mean they're all working on these ten houses.

Wyckoff: Yes. They are working on all ten houses. They dig all the footings at the same time. They help each other dig the footings. They pour the cement at the same time. And they help each other do that. They don't just do their own house. They want technical supervision experts. They want to share the supervision for doing the cement work. So they have a special expert come in so that all the cement work is perfect. And the same thing is true with every phase of it, you know. Well, the women wanted to learn, they wanted to do everything. They are the most ardent nestbuilders. The men like to stand around, supervise and drink beer.

Jarrell: But each family is committed you said in our program to a thousand hours of labor.

Wyckoff: A thousand hours, yes. They are committed to that. Now they can divide it between the husband, the wife, they can bring in a brother, they can do whatever they want you know in the way of doing that. And that is the way they can afford to do this. And they save about, well,

I think they save around \$15,000, sometimes \$20,000 on a house. There are very few things that they contract out. And each group, I think, makes the decision as to what they want to contract out and they might do that.

Jarrell: I mean do they do their own electrical . . .

Wyckoff: If they have . . . sometimes they have certain skills within their group. They might have a man who's previously been an electrician or something like that. Or somebody who was a plumber, somebody who was an expert. They can work that out among themselves. But where they feel they aren't competent, they can contract it out, and this is part of their way of doing it. It's a very nice system because it's flexible and it winds up with families knowing each other . . . neighbors know each other. They are work side by side, they've solved a lot of problems together. And it makes a good neighborhood to have that. It really does.

Jarrell: I would think it also would foster a kind of self confidence in people to accomplish such a major thing as building a house from beginning to end.

Wyckoff: They're proud of it.

Jarrell: That they would have confidence that would flow into other parts of their community involvement.

Wyckoff: Yes. I think it does.

Jarrell: If they could tackle something like building a house.

Wyckoff: Yes. That's right. It does, it does. Well, along came Reagan and decided to cut the money out from this program, so we realized that we were going to have to shift gears and move into the private sector. And try to do low-income housing which we're committed to do . . .

Jarrell: From private banking institutions.

Wyckoff: From private banking institutions. And it's . . . it's a great difficulty, it's a dilemma to manage to do this. We're trying different methods of solving the low-income problems. There's a Community Reinvestment Act which permits banks to loan to local communities and give them a better rate of interest if they invest money in the local community. We're trying to take advantage of that wherever we can, but it doesn't, isn't very much. We have found one group called SAMCO which is a group of thirty building and loan associations . . . savings and loan associations . . .

that have been willing to finance one of our attempts—that's one in which we are trying a new idea—one family will build a duplex house as part of a group. There will be ten families; they will each build duplex houses. One is their own house to live in, the other is a rental unit for them. They become small businessmen. And they have this rental unit.

Jarrell: They become landlords.

Wyckoff: They become landlords. So it's a little business. And this enables them to have some income to do this. It also, the rental is tied to the housing authority which agrees to put a Section 8 tenant in . . .

Jarrell: Oh, a low-income...

Wyckoff: Yes, a low-income tenant.

Jarrell: And there's some kind of rent control?

Wyckoff: There's rent control and there's rent subsidy. So the landlord is guaranteed an income and is guaranteed a tenant which is a subsidized tenant. So . . . we're doing this one down in Greenfield.

Jarrell: Where is Greenfield?

Wyckoff: It's down below Salinas . . . near King City, in that

area. It's strictly an agricultural community and very small, smaller than any of the others we've done. And this seems to be very successful. It's going along quite well. There are other devices we're trying to think of to use, to be able to use—private money. In the Victorian village in Watsonville where we can't use Farmer's Home money at all there because that's in a . . . Watsonville is too big, it's not rural, therefore it doesn't qualify. So we've had to use banking there. And in this case the families decided that they would build three extra houses and sell them as their own subsidy for the teaching for the technical assistance and for the whole...

Jarrell: To pay off the costs.

Wyckoff: To pay off all the cost. So they're doing that . . .
Isn't that interesting?

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Yes. They've decided they're going to build three extra houses and sell them in order to have . . . and they can build a deluxe house . . . those don't have to be low-income at all.

Jarrell: They're building three spec houses in order to

subsidize their own houses.

Wyckoff: Yes. That's right. That's right. That's kind of neat, isn't it?

Jarrell: Yes, it is.

Wyckoff: So we're trying to skin the cat in several ways. Okay. Well, that's the story of TECHO.

Jarrell: Well I think that is fascinating.

Wyckoff's Philosophy of Citizen Participation in
Political Activism

Jarrell: Florence, you've indicated that you were worried perhaps that you gave me the wrong impression during our last interview on the War on Poverty about the confrontational nature of the whole set of issues that confronted this community here and how those issues were put into practice. And how they were made real for the people here. And I didn't get that impression that it was all confrontational and black and white. I didn't get that. But would you talk . . .

Wyckoff: Well, I had a difference of opinion with a large group of very supposedly progressive social workers who believed in confrontation and that that was the only

way . . . in fact the War on Poverty was largely guided by a group of people who believed in confrontation and that the only way that the poor would survive was by getting up and fighting.

Jarrell: Like (inaudible) the community organization movement...

Wyckoff: Yes. That's right. I was a highly political animal and I believed that it was perfectly true that the people, the general citizenry if you want to call them, had to want something to be done or it would not happen. It would not become a permanent solution of a problem or whatever you want to call it. And that the kind of action you got from a general citizen base was much better than the kind of spoon-fed, expert opinions that came from the top. And all the way through I never became a professional social worker or a professional medical person. I was always a layman throughout the entire career I had. And I felt very strongly though that there was a valuable insight that came to us from professionals and that they should be respected. But I felt they should not be off in an ivory tower giving us very high sounding solutions to problems when the major problem in a democracy is to

get citizenship responsibility. And you've only got that when the citizens are understood.

Jarrell: Right.

Wyckoff: I think it's one of the great dangers we're faced with right now . . . is the terrible decisions, political decisions that have to be made about such things as the uses of DNA...

Jarrell: Genetic research.

Wyckoff: Genetic research. And the enormous importance of making wise decisions on how to use this incredible jump in knowledge. Same thing's true of nuclear, uses of nuclear power, I think. This is a thing in which the lowly citizen has to make the final decision and it has to be done responsibly and to do that they need to be educated. And our educational system is being reduced. We're not educating through citizen participation that way we used to. And I feel that that is dangerous.

Jarrell: I see that over the years, if I look at your role historically, starting with the New Deal and going up all the way through the Kennedy years when the War on Poverty was being thought about . . . in the Johnson

years . . . that there's been an increasing tendency over the years for specialists and experts in social work and in these ancillary fields to become part of the government so that the special interests for implementing these policies becomes a part of the government itself and so if you have this kind of expert flank in the government, then you indeed get a kind of top down approach as opposed to your approach which has always been that you have to have the citizen education, citizen participation.

Wyckoff: Right.

Jarrell: It's always been a problem I think.

Wyckoff: Well, the thing about the Migrant Health Act that I worked on and gave so much of my attention to was built in such a way that there was citizen participation. After it became part of the government there was a large program review committee composed of citizens. And they were not just advisory. They were a part of the operating decision-making apparatus of the program. They were the ones that went out and looked to see how the money was spent. They approved the grants. They explored the whole country to see. They understood the program and what it was all about. And

they formed a very strong base for the growth and continuation of the program.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Now they were, they were government, but they were not working in the sense from the top down because they belonged to the communities that received this program.

Jarrell: Right.

Wyckoff: I thought that was a very healthy way to behave. The War on Poverty I think believed the same thing. Now I think they picked up that idea. And they had innumerable community action boards all over this country in which the poor were supposed to participate in government in making decisions about how these things should be done. On the other hand when Nixon came along that whole thing was changed—it was reversed. And a strange thing happened. In the name of decentralization, he did the most extraordinary thing. For example, to the migrant program he abolished the program review committee, he decentralized the entire program to the regional offices where there were staff supposed to be closer to the people, but they had no citizen input. And there was a small staff . . .

instead of the big staff that worked with the program review committee before, after Nixon came in the whole thing was reversed and there was only and to this day there's only a staff of four or five . . . at the top.

Jarrell: At the very top.

Wyckoff: At the top. It's a tiny little . . . and they have enormous responsibility—for drafting legislation, for following through all the major critical developments that occurred in the program. Yet they're starved at the top for funds and staff. The regional offices are full of people that are . . . well, they're not the kind of people that had the expertise that they had at the top before in working with the program review committee. Instead they're sort of like mechanical people who work with a book of rules and do what's in the book of rules. They're very...

Jarrell: Civil service?

Wyckoff: Exactly. Civil Service. Well, it may be that this is getting closer to the people, I don't know, but . . . there was a big change at that point.

Jarrell: But it would change the responsiveness of the programs?

Wyckoff: It did. Well I guess that pretty well explains the ideas I was trying to get across.

Jarrell: That the whole mechanism has been reversed now?

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: The citizen participation and the lay person component...

Wyckoff: It is going down. It is not . . . there seems to be a kind of change in attitude on the part of everyone. There's a lack of commitment to . . . everywhere I see. It's a strange kind of miasma that goes through the society today. There isn't the feeling of responsibility or . . . citizenship responsibility has dwindled to the point now where everybody is out to take care of himself.

Jarrell: Yes. It seems that there has been a continuing privatization of what was formerly understood as public responsibility.

Wyckoff: That's right. I just talked to a minister a few minutes ago, and he said, "I cannot find anyone willing to serve on the chairman of my board of trustees. Nobody wants the responsibility. There is no commitment." This is in the church. Well, he says it's

strange, but it's been getting more and more that way.
So, that...

Jarrell: Well, we can pick up the thread from last time when we were talking of local implementation of OE0.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Salud Clinic

Jarrell: I'd like to start today with the Salud Clinic, the migrant clinic. And how it began and what part you played and other people played in its establishment.

Wyckoff: Well, the Salud Migrant Clinic here was rather a latecomer. I was very busy working over in the San Joaquin Valley and did not try to do very much here because actually conditions were not so bad here as they were over there.

Jarrell: In the Central Valley?

Wyckoff: In the Central Valley. However, when the pattern was established here, we tried to set up a clinic . . . and I gave you the dippings and the stories so you have all of that.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: There was a board of citizens . . . that was one of the strong recommendations that was made out of the series of Conferences on Families Who Follow the Crops . . . that there ought to be a local advisory board, community board, anything you want to call it in which you had . . . the people who were going to be served plus the people who were going to do the service plus the general community—a sort of tripartite board—and that's the way it was set up. It had farmworkers, it had professional workers, and it had doctors, and it had . . . well, some people who represented you might say the community growers and this sort of thing. The clinic started out here in the old hospital and there were political fights about the neighbors saying oh we don't want those dirty people. Very funny . . . they had one episode in which there was a great uprising over the dangers to the resident population around the migrant clinic which was in a rather high-powered residential area 'cause they said the migrants had been rooting in their garbage cans like dogs and doing all . . . well, it turned out that the migrants were not doing it at all, but there was an old people's rest home with old people whose minds were wandering

and they were going out and doing this. And it wasn't until they discovered...

Jarrell: It wasn't the farmworkers.

Wyckoff: It wasn't the farmworkers at all. But it was so quick to blame the farmworkers 'cause those people are different you know. And so there was always this battle with the cultural differences that caused . . . wherever we went. Training the staff all over the country was a problem. And it's a problem everywhere where you bring in Anglo doctors, Anglo medically trained people who have the expertise in medicine, but know nothing about the cultural thing. Probably one of the best jobs that was done towards producing a training handbook for health workers curiously enough was done by the Hogg Foundation in Texas who did a study on mental health and cultural differences. And that handbook became a very valuable training tool and was used nationally by the migrant health program throughout the country to try to bridge across the big cultural difference. Because we were really dealing more and more with just Hispanics rather than with...

Jarrell: The population that you'd seen during the depression,

yes.

Wyckoff: . . . Okies and Negroes and all the variety of people that were there in the depression. We were dealing with an enormous migration from Mexico and this was the main cultural thing that we had to cope with. And we're still struggling with it right now. And our clinic at the present time has a Mexican woman, Barbara Garcia who's the head of it. She is not a doctor. She's health administrator. And the doctors have been, for the most part . . . we try very hard to get Spanish-speaking doctors, but it is very difficult to find the ones particularly the ones that are willing to devote the time and the effort to doing this kind of work. Those who have the great missionary spirit and are willing to come and do this low pay kind of job are not necessarily those who speak Spanish at all. So that is a thing that has created a need for lots of Spanish-speaking aides, this kind of thing.

Jarrell: Now when the Salud Clinic was established, what was its primary mission?

Wyckoff: Well, it was just like all the other night clinics—it was a primary level, walk-in place where supposedly

you got free care . . . originally always the care was free . . . and then in 1970 they changed it to a fee program, but the fees were variable. It was a sliding scale fee system. And also the Medicaid program which was one in which they could be hospitalized was used. And this increased the service. Also another thing happened. Instead of just migrants, they took in seasonal workers, and this meant that the population served by the migrant clinics really went from . . . oh, it went from about a 1,000,000 to about 3,000,000 people right off the bat. And then from then on . . . they realized it was very hard to separate out the rural poor from the migrants. At a clinic that's a free clinic, you take . . . you know, bugs are no respecters of persons.

Jarrell: Yes. How can you discriminate?

Wyckoff: And the public health philosophy always was you care for people. You use the best skills you can for preventive medicine. That was the whole thing. Later on the medical societies got very anxious about the bread being taken out of their mouths because the public health people were doing treatment which they felt was their prerogative. And that . . . well that fight, I think, has finally dwindled down so it isn't

now a major battle any more. The tragedy is that it has resulted in a kind of diminution of the strength of the Public Health Service. Its budgets have been cut, it's dwindled, and its importance . . . the community has been brainwashed by the idea that medical treatment is the most important thing you must have. And all the money that goes into hospitals and into doctor bills is considered of more social importance than the great health subjects, I don't know quite the word to use, the great health problems which lie in the field of environment, housing, water, sanitation, all those things which we took for granted. We took for granted. And it's . . . those have been, shall we say, played down and not supported. Sanitarians, and . . . a particularly dangerous move was made when a lot of power was moved over to OSHA . . . Occupational Health . . . and then the budget was cut for that. So that Public Health in general has suffered a great deal as a result. And the hospital, as you know, the budgets for hospitals have gone up, up, up . . . and the budgets for Medicare and Medicaid have gone way up.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: So I think there's been a sort of warping of the whole

concept of public health and I find that very, very deplorable actually.

Jarrell: And it's again a changing definition...

Wyckoff: It is.

Jarrell: . . . what comprises the public good in that sense.

Wyckoff: Yes, that's right. That's right. Yes. And now of course the doctors are crying and saying, "Oh, people ought to learn how to take care of themselves better. They shouldn't all come rushing to us. You don't need a health examination every year at all. This is foolishness." You know . . . I mean we used to be told just the opposite.

Jarrell: Yes. So there's a changing public . . . in public policy terms, there's a change in understanding...

Wyckoff: Yes, there is.

Jarrell: . . . of responsibility so that all of the responsibility increasingly seems to be foisted onto individuals.

Wyckoff: Yes. Well, things are changing. There's no question.

Jarrell: Yes. But in terms of the Salud Clinic . . .

Wyckoff: Well, the Salud Clinic is functioning . . . now another thing has happened which is very interesting.

There have been these emergecare, emergency care outposts—private—really they are modeled on the original migrant health clinics because they are simple medicine . . . not your hospital medicine, but sort of first-aid simple medicine that can be brought out of what I call a little black bag.

Jarrell: Right.

Wyckoff: It's the early . . . they can give . . . prescribe medication... Jarrell: Anything that is not acute.

Wyckoff: That's right. Anything that's not required to go to a hospital for.

Jarrell: Right. So I just want to make clear . . . you're talking about these proliferating emergency rooms. Outpatient clinics that are opening up as alternatives to hospital emergency rooms. And since they don't have to have a very high investment relative to a hospital, then they can provide fairly cheap outpatient service.

Wyckoff: Yes. Well now we have three places where a migrant can go, Chicano farmworkers can go for medical care. They can go to the Salud Clinic, and that is a sliding scale, and they can get free medical care. And the question of their citizenship or their language or

anything of that sort is not bothered with. Their condition is looked at and they're treated. And they are given a feeling of being welcome. That is the . . . they feel at home there. That's the thing that is . . . it's extremely crowded, it is extremely . . . well, shall we say, it is not the top quality medical care. It's the best that can be done with limited facilities, limited equipment. It isn't . . . the budgets have been cut to the point where it barely, barely makes the grade between the fees and the amount that comes from the state to this place. Very little federal money comes, and if it does, it comes from the feds to the state and then down here. There is a lot more migrant money that goes to the clinics over in the valley. They get straight federal money through the regions. Salud does not deal with U.S. Region IX.

The state started first. And the state has been the closest to the various areas. The clinics over in the valley formed a coalition and became strong politically and they were able to control, get most of the federal money that way.

Jarrell: I see.

Wyckoff: This group here never joined the federation over

there. They came a little later and they never joined it. They were struggling with their own problems here. We also had a remarkable doctor here, Mike Alcalay who came in and decided that he didn't feel that the clinic, which at one time was in the health department, was doing enough. So he opened up a clinic in an apple shed down here. He financed it with his own money until finally the state offered him some money. And it was his clinic that turned into Salud and became a state . . . he doesn't want any more part of it now because he thinks it's too much red tape . . . too many papers to file. He is against papers. And he likes to give the care free. And he comes in as a sort of extra doctor whenever there's a crisis. And he still supports it. But now it has a regular paid physician who is the medical director. But as I was saying, these outlying emergency care places now take migrants. And there are two that were founded by doctors who are Spanish-speaking and they're Chicanos. And they have a very good clinic right on Main Street. But that is a for profit, but very simple, you know, cheap...

Jarrell: The way it's run . . .

Wyckoff: Yes. It's not expensive. It costs about one-quarter what it would cost to go to the emergency room at the hospital.

Jarrell: At Watsonville Community say.

Wyckoff: Yes. Now of course they can go to Watsonville Community Hospital which is very expensive and gives very good care, but is out of the means of most of them. However, their waiting room is full of migrants and when you go down you see it, they're there. So there are these different levels of care. Anyway, Salud Clinic is one that is now moving to newer, better quarters . . . and I just talked this morning to the doctor about the traffic pattern. And we learned how to work a traffic pattern in a clinic like that over in the San Joaquin Valley. But the nurses here didn't fully understand how you do the traffic pattern. The patient comes in, goes into the waiting room, is examined, has an appointment with a doctor, goes to the doctor and is given instructions for whatever ails them. Then they go to another room where there's a nurse that plans the follow-up. It's a sort of discharge planning moment. And they're told where to get the medicine, how to get the medicine...

Jarrell: How to take it.

Wyckoff: How to take it . . . and all the instructions are made very clear to the patient. Then the patient should be allowed to go home. They can pay if they can there, and then they go home. Instead of going back and sitting with the already crowded waiting room. And so we were trying to work that out so that they could not have to congest the waiting room anymore, 'cause those waiting rooms get so jammed. And it's difficult.

Jarrell: Now, in addition to the outpatient medical care that's provided, has there ever been, was there provided also an education preventive medicine component such as maternal, prenatal nutrition or . . .

Wyckoff: Oh yes. All of that is part . . . you see the health department now runs a series of clinics on prenatal care, on maternal and child health, on tuberculosis, on VD, on everything . . . whatever the usual public health programs are. And migrants were included in those. However, Salud Clinic does that in addition . . . they also have a public health nurse who'll come in and do work in special fields if there's a need for it. There's very good cooperation . . . we're lucky to have a County Health Officer who is very supportive of

the Salud Clinic and helps with his staff whenever he can. So it's a good working . . . His name is Dr. Wolfe, he's a very good person.

Migrant Children

One of the great outgrowths of the War on Poverty here in California was the . . . you see, when the War on Poverty started, I was Chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth and my reason for being in there was largely because of my interest in the migrant child, that was the thing. So Governor [Edmund G.] Brown was very supportive of the idea which we would propose from time to time of bringing together people here in this state to coordinate the efforts on the different War on Poverty programs—the job opportunity programs, the education programs, the headstart programs, the childcare programs . . . there were just innumerable ones.

Jarrell: Right. The delinquency problem, and all of that.

Wyckoff: All these things. Everything that the War on Poverty was concerned about. Well, after . . . he put . . .

and I have the letters here . . . if you want some of these letters, you can have them all and examine them because they do show where and when things happened if you need dates and this kind of thing. It really might help you to have them.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Governor Brown took the recommendations of the Advisory Committee on Children and Youth and one of the recommendations which was an outgrowth of the Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops you know . . . was to set up a migrant master plan council of all the agencies that had anything to do with migrants . . . all of them, all the ones . . . the ones that had to do with housing, with education, with childcare, with social welfare, with health, the whole bit. And they would form a central council that could coordinate what they were doing so they wouldn't duplicate. They would also do something which was very good and that was in the field of health alone was a sample of it. The little migrant clinics were very spotty . . . they weren't throughout the whole society. They were just a little here and a little there. But the Headstart program was everywhere and it included migrant children. So a special effort was made in the

Headstart program to make sure that the migrant children were getting the kind of care that they needed. And there was a good coordination between the . . . if there was a local clinic, it would refer to the Headstart health programs. And the education program had a health component in it too. So all these things were . . . some of them were funded much better than others. For example, there was more money for health in some of the Headstart and some of the education programs than there was in the health program. So all this was a strange thing that would occur when you'd try to budget all these great programs. And the workers had to learn how to refer and coordinate and work together so that the thing wouldn't become the kind of a situation where you immunized a child four times in a day . . . a different agency doing it. Ridiculous things that could happen. Well, there were three major things I think that I was pushing on. One was health of course, you've known about that. One was housing because housing had a much higher priority among migrants' minds than either health or education. To them . . . they didn't see that education was the way out, they thought housing was. And they were . . . at the bottom

level they were crying for housing more than any other single thing. So I worked very hard on that, as you know. But education was one that a few of their leaders realized was very important. But there was such a difference of opinion about how it should go. The Chicano education to this day consists of sitting in a room and reciting by rote what you're given. It's more like a response from a church...

Jarrell: It's very passive.

Wyckoff: It's very passive. And yet there's very strict discipline. And the parents of many of the Chicanos were very unhappy at the progressive education that they found in this country because they thought their children were being raised like wild horses and they...

Jarrell: It kind of flies in the face of a whole set of cultural values.

Wyckoff: Exactly. There was a war between the parents and the school system over how these children should be treated.

Jarrell: I think that's been experienced also in certain portions of the black community...

Wyckoff: Yes, it has.

Jarrell: . . . where this progressive laissez-faire kind of education was seen as a terrible influence.

Wyckoff: Exactly. It is a very difficult thing. On the other hand they were delighted of course to have their children taken care of the way they were in the Childcare Center in Buena Vista camp. Because there the Childcare Center which was for the very young ones fed them and gave them their naps, gave them toys, educational toys, to play with, and was a . . . to them a very satisfactory arrangement.

Jarrell: And it was a stimulating environment (inaudible) childcare.

Wyckoff: Yes. A very stimulating environment. Yes. Very stimulating. And they, as far as I know, they were fairly . . . approved of it. They also took care of all the children after school that came back there. So that was good. However, there are schools here in the valley to this day have a very high percentage of . . . Freedom School is one . . . it has 87 percent of the children in that school come from families in which Spanish is spoken in the home. And it makes a very difficult teaching problem. They also have a school

year set up to meet the migrant families coming in on the 15th of May and leaving on the 15th of October. The whole school year is shifted. They have a much longer winter vacation than the other schools.

Jarrell: But they go through the summer?

Wyckoff: Yes, they run . . . not all the way through the summer, but some part of the way through the summer. So it's an attempt of the regular school system to try to make a system that will adapt to the life of the migrant worker because they have the most of them there in Freedom School. And a lot of the children from Buena Vista camp went to Freedom School although Calabasas and Salsipuedes . . . well, I don't think Salsipuedes has had very many . . . no, Calabasas I think and Freedom with it too . . . Amesti got some of them too. So they weren't all in one school. However, the principal, Mario Chacon, who is Spanish-speaking and I would say a man born and raised in the culture of the Spanish, tried very hard to make the migrant education effective in his school. And I was trying to do a movie and tell a story of the migrant child coming through. And certainly in that school I got the best response from a principal and also an attempt to get a picture of what the children were like and what

they were doing speaking as they are half Spanish and half English. Using words that are English . . . it's all jumbled up and coming through. One of my efforts there was to work as a member of what they call the Friends of the Freedom Library. They have a public library in the school. And that public library is set up so that there are books in Spanish. It also has a liaison with the Headstart home visitor who tries to help mothers to learn to read to their children. Because there are so many illiterate mothers . . . many parents are illiterate for the most part. And this is something that we were trying to stimulate, the children.

Jarrell: And how long have you been involved in this project?

Wyckoff: Well, it's been going on for ten years. The children bring their parents into the library. The parents particularly never wanted to let little girls out alone so they always come with their little girls. And if the little girls are strong-minded enough they can get their parents into the library. So little by little contact's been made with the parents and we try to have books in Spanish for them. I would say that the library is a very exciting thing to the children. It's not very exciting yet to the parents. But the

children show a great excitement. Now in addition to that we have a thing called the Reading is Fundamental program which is a program of giving books to children. It's particularly effective where there isn't a book in the home. And a child receives a book as his own possession with his name in it and he can keep it. It's not like a textbook in the school they have to give back. The Reading is Fundamental program is one that is matched on a, was matched on a three to one basis of money by the Smithsonian Institution. It was started by Mrs. MacNamara about twenty years ago I guess . . . a long time ago in the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C.

Jarrell: I've heard of the RIF program . . . it's a national program.

Wyckoff: Yes, it's a national program. And Freedom School and Salsipuedes School are the only ones in the county that use it. And as a gesture of support for it, I had a fund set up in the Greater Santa Cruz Community Foundation in honor of my sister-in-law when she died—Jean Wyckoff—which is the Reading is Fundamental program fund. And people have contributed to it. It's an endowment and it will produce money for contributions for the book purchase every year to any

of the schools that apply. And so far there are only two—Salsipuedes and Freedom that use it. It should be . . . there should be one in Santa Cruz. Curiously enough there used to be one in Santa Cruz run by the YWCA I think and then it collapsed. (Telephone rings)

Jarrell: Now we were just talking about RIF.

Wyckoff: Yes. Well, we were talking about migrant education and RIF. Yes, 'cause it fitted in together. I think that migrant education is probably . . . that plus Headstart . . . are the two strongest survivors of the War on Poverty in California at least. The funds are so deeply imbedded in the budgets (chuckle) that they haven't been cut as much as some of the other programs. Because there is a strong popular support for them there. I was happy to see that even though Reagan vetoed the continuation of the Migrant Health Act in 1985 and left it in a situation where it is frozen at the present level and will go along to the end of this fiscal year when its fate is . . . next October its fate will be decided whether it's to be continued. There has been a bill introduced which should, would carry it on. In that respect there have been ever since Nixon I guess came in . . . I've

forgotten just when it started . . . there was this attempt to try to lump migrant health into what they call the block grant program. A block grant program is a lump sum given to a state and the state can decide what it wants to do with the money. Well, you have to realize that migrants are politically nonexistent.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: They cannot vote because they're always moving. They can't stay home long enough to vote. They don't have residence where they work. And voting . . . they're a voiceless group of people who simply don't have any political way to express themselves. On the other hand everybody knows that they're an essential part of the work force. They're very valuable to the growers. Therefore they exist as an economic thing that has to be considered. Well, those who wanted to cut budgets as you well know have tried to use the device of block grants in order to make all the good guys start fighting among themselves.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: So that they would cut each other's throats and the budgets would go to the winner of those. And they tried to throw Migrant Health into that. And I have

devoted most of my time in the last twenty years or so in relation to migrant health to try to prevent that. Ever since it was started. And so has Helen Johnston who has been the leader. She's the one that has written this history that I have here of the migrant health.* So far Congress has been willing to keep migrant health as a separately identifiable program and not put it into another program. Last year they tried to make it a block grant putting it in with the black lung disease. Well, if you think of black lung disease . . . a sum of money coming in to any state in the deep south . . . black lung disease is a disease of the miners. Miners are stationary and they vote. Miners have a political clout that's very strong in the south.

Jarrell: Absolutely.

Wyckoff: And they would get every penny of that money. Jarrell: And nothing would go to the migrant health program.

Wyckoff: Nothing would go to the migrant health program. So we knew that. It seemed terrible to be against black

* *Health for the Nation's Harvesters: A History of the Migrant Health Program in its Economic and Social Setting*. Helen L. Johnston. National Migrant Worker Council, Inc. Farmington Hills, Michigan, 1985.—Editor.

lung, but this was a beautiful example of the strategy of trying to get good guys to kill each other in order to . . . it's a rotten thing, but it's going on all the time. There's some Machiavellian brain that's doing this thing somewhere and it's something that I think we have to guard against anyway. So the bill that has gone in as I say was, is a separately identifiable health program. It does contain the community health centers too. And whether or not that's going to cause difficulties, I don't know. So we'll see what happens.

Jarrell: I have one question I'd still like to ask about migrant education here. Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: And also in the rest of the states where migrant children are educated. You discovered very early on in your experiences in the thirties that the actual circumstances under which migrant children lived required that the actual educational techniques or methodologies that they required to accommodate them did not exist at that time originally. And over the years no doubt there has been a great proliferation I suppose in education schools and among specialists and teachers of ways of most effectively helping and

working with migrant children.

Wyckoff: Yes.

Jarrell: Because of their schedule, because of the nature of their parents' work?

Wyckoff: Right.

Jarrell: And could you talk a little bit about how this has affected their curriculum and their school day or any other pertinent points.

Wyckoff: Well, there was a very brilliant woman way back in the '50s . . . Helen Cowan Wood who wrote *Teaching Children Who Move with the Crops*, a handbook that everybody has used. It is in most libraries and is a very valuable handbook. The principle message of the book is that you must make each day worthwhile. And that you cannot count on a long range of subjects that hang all together. Because each day is the primary unit and you try to make that worth as much as possible. There is a highly structured incentive program now to try to give migrant children a knowledge that there is something more than the 8th grade. That you do, you can go on to high school and that beyond that there are field trips for migrant children to come and see a high school,

see a university, and get the idea that there is a stream that is there as an opportunity for them.

Not all of them get into it and there is still a tremendously high dropout rate among migrants simply because of the economic pressure. The families feel that education is not as important as eating and therefore they take their children out and put them into the fields. And you cannot stop it unless you raise wages or make it possible for the family to support themselves without the work of that child. And this is the key to the whole thing. All the rest is frills.

Jarrell: It's an important I think often overlooked point among public school programs. . . the cultural power of the family.

Wyckoff: The family is enormously important. When the family says if you don't work, you don't eat, that is basic. The migrant families are at the bottom of the totem pole for the most part. In California they're better off than they are in the rest of the country I think. But they are still . . . the illegal alien now is

taking the place of the man at the very bottom of the scale.

Illegal Aliens

The illegal alien is always willing to work for less, he's scared to death for fear he'll be deported, and he's very much resented and hated by the migrant who's come in and got a citizenship and got a home base here. And who finds that his wages are being undercut by an illegal alien coming in. The result is you have murders, you have fights, you have killings, you have bloodshed. And it's a nasty situation. It seems to be greater now than ever before because of the distressing situations in Mexico and there is no work for them there and their economic condition is worse than it's ever been down there. Their big plans for oil and industry and everything fell through. And the result is we are having an influx of illegal aliens greater than we've ever had before now in the 1980s.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: Our community is full of them. There's no question. There are a lot of efforts . . . there's a big fight as you probably . . . did you see the paper last night about the Panetta hearing on . . .

Jarrell: No, I didn't.

Wyckoff: Well, Congressman Panetta was holding a hearing in Santa Cruz on the brutality of the Immigration Service [Immigration and Naturalization Service] . . .

Jarrell: Yes. There've been several hearings that I've kept abreast of.

Wyckoff: Yes. Because it's perfectly true that the Immigration Service feels that they've got to deport all the illegal aliens and there's just no, there's no possibility of their doing that because it's an overwhelming tide and the immigration service budget is cut . . . The growers are always very careful to see that the immigration service budget is as low as possible.

Jarrell: I never actually made that particular connection.

Wyckoff: Oh . . . well, who wants the cheap labor?

Jarrell: Oh of course. But I just never thought that through...

Wyckoff: They don't want them deported at all.

Jarrell: Of course it's self evident.

Wyckoff: Yes. They don't want them deported. This *is* capitalist society. You just have to accept that. Well, we're still the land of opportunity and we've got to absorb a huge amount of people now that are coming in and suffering great . . . I recommend highly that you read the May series of articles on immigration in the Wall Street Journal. Have you seen them?

Jarrell: No, I haven't.

Wyckoff: They are magnificent articles.

Jarrell: Okay. Here are some photocopied Wall *Street Journals*—Wednesday, May 1st, is the first article on illegal immigration from Mexico and it continues May 1, May 3, May 7, May 9. . . up through May 15, 1985.

Bilingual Education

Jarrell: One other aspect that we haven't talked about . . . primarily now the migrant labor in this area is Spanish-speaking and we talked just briefly about bilingual education. Has the school district here and the three schools you've mentioned, do they have bilingual education?

Wyckoff: Yes. There are various levels of bilingual education, various amounts of time devoted to it. And it's still quite controversial.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: There is . . . I think . . . that is a subject I don't think I should go into. I don't feel confident to deal with it.

Jarrell: It's become an issue.

Wyckoff: It's an issue and I don't want to get into it. I feel that my nephew Bruce fought very hard . . . he was on the school board for twelve years, and they fought very hard to get bilingual education in the schools. The primary difficulty seems to have been that it was almost impossible to get bilingual teachers. The standards were very high for them. And they found they simply couldn't cope with it. It was very difficult. And so there was a lot of resentment on account of that. The bilingual aide has been of course too successful and has taken away from the master teacher a lot of the . . . I mean the child would turn to the . . .

Jarrell: To the . . . of course . . . to the person who spoke

his or her language.

Wyckoff: . . . to the person who spoke his language. So the use of the aides has created a lot of controversy there. And it is not an easy subject. We're making a huge effort to help these children adapt to our society. And they are adapting very remarkably I think. They're the only group of immigrants to this country who can go back to their country every year or as often as they want. In other words their cultural wellsprings are always being refreshed by going back home. Whereas the Vietnamese can't go back home, the Lithuanians can't and Polish can't go back . . .

Jarrell: So they have to in a sense turn their back on their mother country. Wyckoff: That's right.

Jarrell: And come to terms with life in America.

Wyckoff: Exactly.

Jarrell: In a way that the migrants from Mexico do not have to.

Wyckoff: No, they don't have to. There's a lot of resentment on the part of the Yugoslays in this community who say, "Why shouldn't they have to learn to speak English

just the way we did?" Well, the Yugoslav can't go home every winter for Christmas and all this business the way a Mexican can. And the Mexican isn't at all sure he wants to give up his culture. I think the role of women [in the Mexican family] is very interesting. The non-importance of the daughter as a person who should be educated is something of course that I think the school system has never fully realized that the oldest daughter has to stay home and baby-sit and can't go to school so that the parents can be in the field and work. The children . . . the boys get out and they get to work and they go to school and they're the ones, the favored ones, to go to school. But the girls are frequently kept at home. Of course they have an old cultural thing that a girl ought to be protected at all times. And they have had a very hard time getting their parents to accept the idea of their education and especially of their ever going into an upward-bound profession. I have had friends who were nurses who have told of the struggle they had to prove to their father that they still loved them and still cared about them...

Jarrell: And hadn't betrayed them.

Wyckoff: . . . and hadn't betrayed them by going into a nursing school. And it's very pitiful. It's a terrible stress for them. And it's a thing that you have to cope with in the field of migrant education that is a very big factor. Very big.

Jarrell: Well, I'm glad you brought that up because I was not aware of what kind of an impediment it is.

Wyckoff: Oh, it's enormous.

Jarrell: There is a program at UCSC this summer where a group of perhaps 60 young migrant adolescents, young people, are going to be living at the University, orienting for about 6 weeks.

Wyckoff: It's the Tel Congress, a very interesting thing. The Foundation's paying for the Chicano one. Did you know that?

Jarrell: No, I didn't know that.

Wyckoff: Yes. We're paying the scholarships for that.

Jarrell: But this is an unprecedented kind of new kind of program that's taking place.

Wyckoff: Yes. It's good too. But I do feel that the establishment of the school system is not fully aware

of the huge handicap that the girl student, the girl Chicano student, is working under in relation to her family. The pressures are terrific.

President Lyndon B. Johnson

Jarrell: I'd like to move on to what I have here on my outline as LBJ. You mentioned to me earlier that you had some recollections that you would like to share about that administration and that remarkable president. And I see in your correspondence you have a letter that you've written to Lady Bird Johnson which surprised me.

Wyckoff: Well, I had one to LBJ here too somewhere. Jarrell: And one to LBJ.

Wyckoff: My relation to President Johnson came about through Bill Reidy, who was an old, old friend who worked for me in the State Relief Administration in the '30s. He went to Washington and became the chief of staff of the Senate committee on Health, Education, and Welfare. Anyway, it was the Senate committee that had to do with all the bills on education, welfare, Medicare, social security, that whole business. And Bill . . . I never lost touch with him . . . every time there'd be a White House Conference on Children

and Youth I would go back and with any legislation at all I would work with him and he would guide me through the halls of Congress to wherever I should go learning how to lobby. And Bruce Jessup and I, as you know, went and he helped us find out how to lobby the bill and who the key critical people were who could press a button and make things move in the Congress. And he was the one who . . . well, he helped us anyway to get into . . . one of his dosest friends was a man named George Reedy with the same name but spelled differently. Bill Reidy was R-E-I-D-Y . . . George Reedy was R-E-E-D-Y. And Reedy was Lyndon Johnson's public relations man. And I'd met him frequently for dinner at Reidy's house and there used to be . . . we used to have a lot of conversations about everything. So I learned mainly about Johnson of course through the bills that I was trying to get through. Johnson was a consummate master of getting bills through Congress. He really understood Congress thoroughly. He knew how to twist arms and he knew exactly when to sing a siren's song and get things going. He was a champion at relations with Congress. I felt that he had a sincere political desire to improve education in the South. He had been a teacher there. He had a huge

inferiority complex about Texas and the South. And he wanted to make them not the hicks that they were known as throughout the world, but as an intellectual society that really knew what was going on in the world . . .

Jarrell: And no one could look down on him.

Wyckoff: No. That no one could. He was a proud man and he wanted to build his state into a great thing. And he never lost that. I only knew the side of him that had to do with this education, welfare, and health. I never knew anything about the military or his dealing with the war [in Vietnam] and I was totally out of that whole picture. It was just entirely out of my line.

Jarrell: You're talking about your first-hand experience.

Wyckoff: I knew Johnson as . . . I felt he was a strong, sincere civil rights leader. And that to me was basically important. And that's the only half of his nature that I knew. And of course I would do everything I could to ask his help in getting things through. And there's a letter here I wrote, which I'll read now...

Dear Mr. President (this is to Johnson in 1965)

It was a rare pleasure and a great privilege to be included among those witnessing the signing of S501 [That was the Migrant Health Act Extension], and to hear you express your deep concern for the health of our people. Under your inspired leadership we are moving ahead faster than ever before. [I certainly was polishing apples.]

You spoke words close to my heart when you revealed your awareness of the plight of many of our migratory farmworkers and their families. Dollar for dollar, I believe more direct service gets through to these needy families under the tiny little Migrant Health Act than in any other way. The new amendment adding hospitalization is a big step forward because so many in desperate condition were refused care in county hospitals for lack of residence. If adequate funds are provided this will help remedy an age-old problem. Everyone was so pleased that you asked for suggestions. [Hmmm ... this is hard to resist.] May I suggest a hard look at the practical ways to overcome the anachronism of residence requirements as a barrier to services. If you are interested, I would be happy to send you background studies on this subject. You

have encouraged us to work harder and given us high hopes for the future for this. I thank you.

Jarrell: That's beautiful.

Wyckoff: Right. Well, that is a sample of . . . I was trying his own mechanism on him, you see.

Jarrell: But also it does show a kind of perception, an inclusion, when it comes from that level, from the level of the President, that is impressive indeed.

Wyckoff: Well, I was invited to come into the Rose Garden and meet with the other people who had worked to get the Migrant Health Act through and to get it extended and built into the . . . see, the first three years were an experiment and a demonstration. And until S501, it did not become a permanent part of the budget with automatic line items that just flowed right through, you know.

Jarrell: Went through without any questioning.

Wyckoff: Yes, yes. And a very interesting device was used to do that. And I credit Bill Reidy with the skill and political savvy to know how to do it. At the end of the first demonstration Bill suggested that we get an

appropriation from Congress to request the American Public Health Association to evaluate the migrant health program. And build a report that could go to Congress and that would decide the fate. And 501 was based on that report and it was a survey of the entire country. This was the American Public Health Association, and the state and territorial health officers. And they were the key. And this flattered them into, you know, making a study and looking at things and paying attention to them. And it worked like a charm. And President Johnson knew that. And so, you know, he just helped oil the wheels as it went along. So that was a very interesting relationship that I had with him. I was also, as you know, for years on the National Consumers League.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: And I became the representative of the National Consumers League on the Consumers Advisory Board of the Office of Price Administration throughout the war.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: And from then on I always remained a strong supporter of the consumer movement. I felt that it was

important. And to my delight Johnson and his wife picked it up. She was excellent in that field. She was really good. She very kindly, invited me to luncheon one day. There's a letter from, to . . . you're were reading it.

Jarrell: Oh, I've read it. It's in your file. To Lady Bird thanking her.

Wyckoff: To Lady Bird Johnson thanking her for the luncheon. And the fact that in the middle of the luncheon much to our great surprise the President came in and gave us a really strong emotional pitch to get out and fight out for the consumer, the Consumer Protection Act. And my friend Esther Peterson became the head of the Consumer Protection Agency and she's still alive and still working hard now as a senior citizen on consumer protection in the health field. And she intends to go on the air with my old friend Roger Egeberg . . . the two of them do a program for senior citizens on health protection and the consumer point of view.

Jarrell: I see in that letter . . . I think it was in '65 also, I think that Betty Furness was there and that was the beginning.

Wyckoff: Dr. Persia Campbell and Betty Furness, yes. they were there.

Jarrell: But that's when the whole consumers movement seemed to get the imprimatur of the President in a big way.

Wyckoff: Yes it did. It moved up to the level of the President.

Jarrell: Right. So the whole emphasis shifted.

Wyckoff: Yes, it shifted. Now it still has a minor interest in this whole influx of migrants who are coming in . . . the illegal aliens in the garment factories and in the many thousands of different kinds of places where they're being underpaid. Now I think they're interested in that again.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: But the primary emphasis . . . I'm still on the mailing list and I get their bulletins . . . and I notice that, I would say that they are back now maybe 25% is interest in Fair Labor Standards again. That's good?

Jarrell: Again. After this long.

Wyckoff: Yes. They're back to that. Okay.

Jarrell: One other thing you mentioned that you'd like to talk

about today and we're right in the correct chronology . . . one aspect of your relationship when you got to work during the Johnson administration was on the Migrant Health Act and its extension, but also during that time the regional medical programs emerged during the Johnson administration. And you have an article here that had to do with the local application and influence, but maybe you could talk just a little bit about your role in the Regional Medical Program.

Regional Medical Program

Wyckoff: Well, when Reagan fired me from the Board of Public Health and the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, my old friend, Roger Egeberg went back to Washington and became part of the administration. He was in the HEW and his job was the financing of health services. And he asked me to come back and serve on the Regional Medical Program for Heart, Cancer, and Stroke. That program was one which dealt with the big centers of medical excellence and their efforts to reach out and serve the communities that needed to have refresher courses and upgrade their skills in dealing with the outlying satellite communities.

Jarrell: So many times it was teaching hospitals, university teaching hospitals.

Wyckoff: It was this kind of thing . . . upgrading the quality of care throughout America. Well I enjoyed very much serving on this. It was an extraordinary experience because I was the first consumer in the sense of being a layman ever to be asked to serve on this august body. And they looked upon me as a wild animal locked in the room . . . they were trying to deal with me. It took a long time to get acquainted.

Jarrell: I can't imagine that you would engender that kind of a response.

Wyckoff: They were terrified that I was some sort of a . . . well, they thought I was infiltrating some dreadful . . . well, they thought I must be a .. was definitely a spy from the outside. And they were very worried about what I was going to do. So it took a while before they realized that I wasn't going to bite. Anyway, I did make some very interesting acquaintances there. One of them was Michael DeBakey . . . I sat next to him most of the time. And he was the heart surgeon from Texas who's become so famous. He is a brilliant medical politician. He was the one who, I think, was mainly

responsible for establishing the medical library in Washington.

Jarrell: The National Medical Library?

Wyckoff: The National Medical Library which is an incredible achievement, you know. And he was very close to the White House. He went there all the time. And he was always trying to maneuver things through Congress...

Jarrell: Being from Texas didn't hurt, did it?

Wyckoff: No. He was trying to maneuver things through Congress all the time. And through the Regional Medical Program I received an education that was marvelous. For example, I was told the committee would grant, and they voted to grant money for Vanderbilt University if I would go down to Tennessee, Nashville, Tennessee, and try to see if I could induce Meharry the black medical school to work with Vanderbilt which is probably the most elite white medical school in the country, one in which the old south attitude predominated. And the Meharry was the oldest black medical school. M-E-HA-R-R-Y. It was the first black medical school that trained the first black medical doctors. And it had its own little extension service,

refresher courses going out all over a network of blacks.

Jarrell: For black physicians.

Wyckoff: For black physicians. Because there was a race prejudice against any. Well, here we were in a society trying to do some integration and Johnson wanted to encourage it. And he wanted to get the carrot in front of the donkey here. So he said, "Now you go down and you talk to both deans and you tell them that there is this money available, but that they won't get it unless they work together." And there was a big chunk for Vanderbilt and they wanted it, but they couldn't have it unless they would work together. So I went down there and they deliberately picked me as, you know, a shorn lamb. I didn't know the medical politics of all this and I sailed down there with this little pot of money, you know. And it was comical. My little room in the motel had knocks on the door—I was receiving guests day and night . . . all the time coming in to tell me how . . . wouldn't I like to go and see Andrew Jackson's home and have a nice tour and wouldn't you like to come and have a potluck supper. And I was being entertained from here to there. Well, I didn't know how on earth to break through this

thing. I had to find a wedge somewhere. And the curious part about it was that it was the students who did it. The students thought up the idea of a series of health fairs in the Kentucky mountains. And this was to be in areas where they didn't have any health services going. This was a sort of beginning thing and something to encourage the . . . well, they had had some for example, the Hill-Burton Act -- you know, had given money for building hospitals. They had built the hospitals and they had no doctors. They had nothing, they just stood there way out in the middle of nowhere with nothing. And this was very bad. So they wanted to get things going. Well, the students decided that they would like to have these health fairs. And they knew that if they didn't have people coming in from the whole community, they wouldn't be any good. So they said we've got to work with Meharry and with the students of Meharry in order to make this thing work. So they set up the first joint committee of . . . and then once they set up the committee and they did their little work getting the network all set up, they said now we need supervision. We've got to go and get some supervision. So we need some black faculty members and we need some white faculty members. So this was the

first chance we got to fund something that would make the two of them work together. And so we gave them a little trickle of money to start that and then gradually it got bigger and bigger. But that was a very interesting experience for me in working in an attempt to bring the two aspects of that medical fraternity together.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: And it's gone on, it's gone on . . . it's better and better although not many white students go to Meharry and not many black students go to Vanderbilt, but still, it broke the ice.

Jarrell: Yes.

Wyckoff: It broke the ice, yes. So that was one thing I did with the Regional Medical. Another was a local program here that you can see.

Jarrell: We're about to run out of tape.

Wyckoff: All right. Well, I had the nice opportunity of working in my own community to help support a training—a special training of doctors to learn how to set up the new heart unit here. And our hospital has a fine heart unit as a result of the training . . .

Jarrell: Cardiac care.

Wyckoff: Cardiac care, yes. And we now have a good cardiac unit as a result of the Regional Medical Program having sent a team of our doctors up to the Presbyterian Hospital in San Francisco to take training in this. And they were paid for . . . and not only that, it was a very nice thing . . . what they would do would be when a doctor had a practice and he couldn't leave it, they would put in a locum tenens—someone to carry on the care of the patients and the practice in order that the doctor, permanent doctor, could go and get training. And we did this all over the country. And I just hated to see that program end. It was a good one. But it was abolished.

Jarrell: The tape is running out. So I thank you, Florence.

Appendix I

Florence Richardson Wyckoff Chronology

Florence Richardson Wyckoff

Chronology

Early Life

Born October 5, 1905, in Berkeley, California.

Daughter of Leon J. Richardson, University of California professor and Director of the Extension Division of the University of California.

1926 B.A. in art (sculpture), University of California, Berkeley.

1926-27 travel in Mexico.

1928-29 attended California School of Fine Arts.

1929-1930 travel and art studies in Italy, France, Germany. Studied sculpture with Hans Hoffman in Munich.

1930 sculpture and landscape design in Berkeley, including exhibits and private commissions.

1931 married Hubert C. Wyckoff, Jr. attorney/labor arbitrator; moved to San Francisco.

Depression/New Deal Era Social Activism

1932 established art/sculpture studio in S.F. which

became headquarters for San Francisco Theater Union.

1933-34 Theater Union established with Wyckoff as business manager and organizer, produced naturalist plays by Odets, Steinbeck (*Of Mice and Men*), Irwin Shaw, with actors from New York's Neighborhood Playhouse.

1933+ active in labor movement; worked with activists in garment workers union (ILGWU) including Jenny Matyas, David Dubinsky's San Francisco organizer; Annie Clo Watson, International Institute; Brownie Lee Jones, Industrial Union Dept., YWCA.

1934+ active in National Consumers League for Fair Labor Standards.

1934+ member, Board of Directors, Pacific Coast School for Workers (labor education movement) Worked with Henry Melnikow, labor theoretician/social worker.

1934+ conducted informal salon in San Francisco, brought together figures from the arts, labor movement, progressive establishment figures, Democratic party regulars, academics, New Dealers from Farm Security Administration and other federal agencies.

1934 San Francisco General Strike; Theater Union participation in strike activities.

1936 first visits to Farm Security Administration camps as board member of Pacific Coast School for Workers; involvement with San Francisco/Western Regional Office Farm Security Administration staff (Jonathan Garst, Fred Soule, Omer Mills).

1937-38 coordinated San Francisco/Northern California Democratic gubernatorial campaign of Culbert L. Olson. Initiated issue-based coalition-building during this period, joining diverse citizen/volunteers into Olson brain-trust activities; research committees for articulating public policy (including rural poverty, labor legislation, health insurance, racial minorities, state relief efforts, migrant worker conditions).

1938-1941 Olson elected governor; appointed Community Relations Director, California State Relief Administration. Travelled up and down the state investigating camps/conditions of farm labor and rural dispossessed, dramatized in Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* (published 1939). Lobbied California county governments to provide matching relief funds.

World War II Years (Washington, D.C.)

1941 moved to Washington, D.C. (husband appointed Deputy Administrator, War Shipping Administration during war years).

1941-1946 established national political connections in federal government and congress; continued the fight to preserve Farm Security Administration during war years; worked to improve public health and economic conditions of both eastern and western stream migrant families. As National Consumers League board member, testified before congressional committees on farm labor legislation, on inclusion of agricultural workers under minimum wage standards, and related issues. Worked to end Public Law 78, the Bracero (Farm Labor Supply) Program. Member, Board of Directors, National Consumers League; member, Board of Directors, Food for Freedom, Inc.; Also active in Women's Joint Congressional Committee; Office of Price Administration Consumers Advisory Committee; National Rural Housing Coalition; lobbying for UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

Post-War Santa Cruz County Activities

1947 settled in Watsonville, California.

1947 established Pajaro Valley Community Council, the first citizen's health council in Santa Cruz County, which analyzed community public health problems and lobbied to hire county's first full-time Health Officer; to establish first dental program; lobbied for first milk pasteurization ordinance; restaurant health inspections; implemented first county-wide school immunization program.

1948-1950s member (and secretary) Santa Cruz County Tuberculosis and Health Association. Also member Watsonville Coordinating Council; County Mental Health Advisory Committee; Council of Social Agencies; County Housing Authority; Visiting Nurses Association established.

1960s+ participation in Santa Cruz County Economic Opportunity Commission; president, Pajaro Valley Health Council; secretary, SC County Tuberculosis and Health Association.

1964+ involvement in local EOC implementation; Housing Authority; Buena Vista Labor Camp; Self-Help Housing; *Salud* Clinic; migrant education; SC County Head Start program; Migrant Education Council.

1970+ chairwoman, Advisory Committee on Education of

Migrant Children, Santa Cruz County; commissioner, SC County Housing Authority; member, Board of Directors, TECHO; member, RIF (Reading is Fundamental) Program, Friends of Freedom Library.

Post-War National and State Activities in Behalf of Migrant Health & Welfare & Community-Building

1947-1969 appointed by Governor Earl Warren to Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth (was reappointed by Governors Goodwin Knight and Edmund G. Brown through 1969); chairwoman, Subcommittee on Farm Families and Rural Health.

1949-1950 Fresno County/Westside Crisis: Migrant Infant Diarrheal Deaths; 1951 Rosenberg Foundation funding of prototype clinic (Fresno West Side Clinic) and community services; worked to establish Fresno Rural Health and Education Committee for investigating public health and living conditions on West Side.

1952 worked with Fresno County Rural Health and Education Committee.

1950-70 participation in White House Conferences **on** Children and Youth; continuous lobbying efforts at state and federal levels for passage of migrant health

legislation 1958-67, organizer, California Conferences on Families Who Follow the Crops.

1959, member, President's Committee on Migratory Labor (under Secretary of Labor, James P. Mitchell).

1963-69, appointed by Governor Edmund G. Brown to California State Board of Public Health (served as vice-president, 1963-69).

1963 involved in Watts Youth Participation in Community Action.

1964-66 chairwoman, Committee on Health Problems of Agricultural Workers, Western Branch, American Public Health Association.

1960s member, Board of Directors, Rural America; also member of National Conference of Social Work; California Public Health Association; California Conference of Social Work; American Public Health Association; National Committee for Agricultural Life and Labor. Continued national and state lobbying for passage of Migrant Health Act; parallel and continuing efforts to terminate Bracero Program.

Lobbying for Migrant Families & The War on Poverty

1962 passage of Public Law 87-692 , Federal Migrant

Health Act, funding family health service clinics for domestic agricultural migratory workers. California State Migrant Health Act passed. Lobbied for expansion of original legislation to include non-migrant rural population and increased funding 1963-1969.

1962-63 served on President Kennedy's Study Committee for the War on Poverty (laying the groundwork for Economic Opportunity Act); worked on the committee with Richard Boone, later administrator of Community Action Program; with Robert Choate of Upward Bound programs; with Fred Dutton and Sargent Shriver. Provided rural point of view and the need for community action boards as grassroots mechanisms for program definition; pushed for Economic Opportunity Act to include housing, childcare, and education programs for migrants.

1963-67, member, Program Review Committee for Migrant Health, Bureau of State Services, Division of Community Health Services, Migrant Health Branch, U.S. Department of Public Health, Education, and Welfare. Travelled east and west migrant streams inspecting and evaluating migrant health clinics/programs.

Publications (A partial listing of published and unpublished speeches and papers included in the Florence Richardson Wyckoff Archive, Special Collections, McHenry Library, University of California, Santa Cruz)

"Youth Pays a Subsidy to Agriculture,"
(unpublished manuscript) 1949.

"California's Unsettled People," paper for
California Conference of Social Work, 1949.

"The Citizen's Role in Planning Group Work
Services to Migrants," published by the National
Conference of Social Work, Columbia University Press,
1955.

"The Santa Cruz County Youth Survey—An Example of
Citizens in Action," California Youth Authority, pp.
16-22; 10,1 (Spring, 1957).

"The Health of Migrant Families," a paper
presented at conference of the National Council of
Catholic Women, 1960.

"Youth with Social Handicaps—Migrant Children and
Youth," paper presented at The White House Conference
on Children and Youth, 1960.

"Health Projects for Migrant Farm Families: California's Experience," published by National Consumers Committee for Research and Education, Inc., Washington, D.C. 1963.

"Migrant Children and Youth," a paper presented at the National Conference on Problems of Rural Youth in a Changing Environment, 1963, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

"Some Contributions by the Mexican-Americans to the 'Great Society': An 'Anglo Point of View,'" National Conference on Poverty in the Southwest, Tucson, Arizona, January 26, 1965.

"Health Problems of the Migrant Family," a position paper for the Task Force on a California State Health Plan for Health, Comprehensive Health Planning Program, State Department of Public Health, Berkeley, California, 1970.

Awards (incomplete listing)

Award of Merit, United States Department of Labor, February 27, 1964.

"Woman of the Year," Greater Watsonville Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture, 1963.

Santa Cruz County Board of Supervisors Citizen
Recognition, several awards in the 1970s.

Hull House Award in recognition of activities in
behalf of working women. (year unknown)

California Public Health Association, Distinguished
Member Award, 1975.

Appendix II

Reports from the First (1959) and Second (1960)

Annual Conferences on Families Who Move With the Crops

FIRST ANNUAL
CONFERENCE ON FAMILIES WHO MOVE WITH THE CROPS
March 2 and 3, 1959
Fresno, California

PROGRAMProgram Findings and Recommendations

MONDAY, March 2

1:00 - 2:30 p.m. LUNCHEON

Invocation - Rabbi David L. Greenberg

Welcome: Tom O'Neill, Grower Chairman, Fresno
Rural Health and Education Committee"Purpose of the Conference": Mrs. Hubert Wyckoff
-Chairman Subcommittee on Children of
Seasonal Farm Workers, Governor's
Advisory Committee on Children and
Youth.Panel: Changing Technology in California and
its effect on Labor Demand and SupplyJoe Brosmer: Agricultural Labor Bureau Dr.
Varden Fuller, Agricultural Economist,
Giannini Foundation, University of
California.

3:00 - 5:30 p. m. GROUP DISCUSSIONS:

a. Health and Welfare

Chairman: Mrs. Leslie Ganyard

Coordinator: Doris Davenport, Bureau of Health
Education, State Department of Public

Health Reporters: Robert Mytinger,
Western Branch, American Public Health
Assn.

Mrs. I. H. Teilman, Fresno Community
Council

Federal Emil Palmquist, M. D. -

Public Health Service Consultants: U.
S. Dept. of Health, Education & Welfare
State

Leslie Corsa, M.D. and Wm. A.

Longshore, Consultants: M.D., State
Department of Health

Mrs. Elizabeth Rhoads, State Dept. of
Social Welfare

Local

Consultants: Dr. Byron S. Allen, M. D. Fresno
Westside Clinics

Mrs. Mildred Edwards, P. H. N., school
nurse John T. Cody, Fresno County

Welfare Dept. Jeanne Blumhagen, M.D.,
Health Officer, Madera County

Robert S. Westphal, M.D., Health
Officer, Modesto

Austin W. Matthis, M. D., Health

Officer, Imperial County

R. Bruce Jessup, M.D., Stanford Medical
School

b. Education of Child and Parent

Local Host: Mr. Harold Coles, Asst. Supt. Fresno
Co. Schools

Chairman: Dr, Hubert Phillips, President
Emeritus, Fresno State College

Coordinator: Mrs. J. C. Goble, teacher, San Jose

Reporters: Miss Mary C. McFarland - Migrant
Ministry State

Consultants: Miss Pat Hill, State Department of
Education Mrs. Anna Price Garner, Home
Advisor, Agricultural Extension Service

Local

Consultants: Mrs. Margaret Gunderson, teacher,
Martin Gunderson School
Howard S. Glover, Supt. Earlimart
Elementary School District
Charles Rich, Coordinator of Science
and Conservation, Tulare Co. Schools

c. Employment, Unemployment, Child Care Centers, Child Labor

Local Host: O. W. Fahrney, Dist. Supv. Farm
Placement Officer

Chairman: Ralph Duncan, Conciliation Service

Coordinator: Mrs. Roxanne Oliver, Asst. Labor
Commissioner

Reporter: Miss Constance Pennington
State

Consultants: Miss Ruth Harrington, State Dept. of
Ind, Relations

Mrs, Frances Presley, Dept. of
Education, Child Care Center Program

Dr. Varden Fuller, University of

California Miss Margaret Bullard, State
Dept. of Social Welfare

K. W. Pabbens, Employment Service Local

Consultants: Father Thomas McCullough, Catholic
Rural Life Conference

W. W. Wilson, Farm Labor Office

Mrs. Edith B. Storey, Fresno Child Care
Center

Earl E. Henry, Kern Co. Welfare Dept.

Joe Brosmer, Agricultural Labor Bureau

d. Planning Housing and Sanitation:

Local Host: Joe Reich, Chief, Sanitation Bureau,
Fresno Health Department

Chairman: Bard McAllister, American Friends

Service Committee

Coordinator: Miss Helen Phelan, Catholic Social
Service Organization

Reporters: Earl Rouse, Wasco Housing Authority
Ferris Sherman

State

Consultants: Lowell Nelson, Dir. of Housing, Dept.
of Industrial Relations

Mrs. Georgia Wrenn, Agricultural
Extension Service

Local

Consultants: Hugo Allardt, Fresno Co. Housing
Authority
Ferris Sherman, Tulare Co. Housing
Auth.

Harry Conaway, Director of Planning,
Tulare County

Sidney Lang, Division of Housing

Tom O'Neill, Grower

e. Recreation and Groupwork:

Local Host: Mr. Ed Dutton, Fresno Community Council

Chairman: Rev. Douglas Still, Dir. Calif. Migrant
Min.

Coordinator: Miss Florence Shaw, 4-H Program, Agr.
Extension Service

Reporter: Miss Luada Boswell, Girl Scouts of
America Local

Consultants: Tom McGee, California Youth Authority
Mrs. Mildred Standlee, California Youth
Authority
Mrs. J. Stanley Brode, Calif. Congress
of Parents and Teachers

7:00 p.m. DINNER Invocation: Msgr. Dowling
Master of Ceremonies: Dr. Irwin O. Addicott, Fresno
State College
"THE COMMUNITY and THE FAMILIES WHO MOVE WITH THE
CROPS"

Edward P. Dutton, Fresno Community Council

Mrs. Anna Price Garner, Agricultural Extension Service Bard
McAllister, American Friends Service Committee

Rev. Douglas Still, Calif. Migrant Ministry, National
Council of Churches

R. Bruce Jessup, M.D., Santa Clara County Medical Society
Stanford Medical School, Pediatrics Faculty

TUESDAY

9:00 - 10:30 a.m. PANEL: "County Plans to meet the Health

Needs of Families Who Move with the
Crops.

Welcome: Garold L. Faber, M. D.,
Health Officer, Fresno County

Fresno West-side Clinic Plan: Benjamin
Packer, M. D. Imperial County Plan:
Austin W. Matthis, M. D. , Health
Officer

Gwendolyn Beckman, Social Serv. Bureau,
State Department of Public Health

10:30-10:45 Coffee Break

10:45 - 12 Noon Reports of Group Discussions

12:15 LUNCHEON honoring Mr. Frank Potter, Executive Director
President's Committee on Migratory Labor.

Invocation: Rev. Dr. John Howland
Lathrop, President National Consumers
League

(1)Address: "The A wakening Community" - Dr. Donald S.Howard,
Chairman, Governor's Adv. Comm. on Children and
Youth

(2)Address: "Various State Patterns and their effectiveness
in solving problems of families who move with the

crops" - Mr. Frank Potter

ADJOURNMENT

FINDINGS

Coordinator: Doris Davenport, Bureau of Health Education, Calif.

State Dept. of Public Health

Chairman: Mrs.

Leslie Ganyard

San Francisco

Reporters: Mrs. I. H. Teilman, Fresno Robte, Mytinger - APHA

Western Branch

SECTION ON HEALTH AND WELFARE

1. Health and Education records are not available as families move from community to community.

Recommendation: The State Department of Health and of Education should encourage wider use of cumulative health and education records to follow the child.

2. There is need for clinic facilities geared to needs of agricultural workers and their families.

Recommendation: Counties should establish child health conferences, prenatal and medical clinics near to place where agricultural families live. They should

include educational programs and follow-up in the homes. Residence should not be a requirement.

State subsidies to county health departments should be maintained at least at the present level. Federal subsidies and plans for sharing costs between counties should be explored.

3. Housing for agricultural workers and their families is a major problem. Recommendation: All counties should establish housing standards. Federal help should be sought in financing adequate housing.
4. Since most agricultural workers and their families must move with the crops, they do not have the opportunity to become part of a community. This can tend to increase family instability and disorganization.

Recommendation: There should be a family counseling available by workers who understand the culture and special problems of these families. It should be available through welfare departments, clergymen, or other groups with an interest in these families. Family life education in the eighth grade would help children in these families.

5. There is need for continuing study and action to meet the needs of the agricultural worker and his family.

Recommendation: It is recommended that the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth forward a recommendation to the Governor asking that he appoint an Advisory Committee on the Agricultural Worker and his Family, It was urged that staff and budget be available to this Committee to work with local committees in those counties using seasonal workers. This Committee should be asked to review and evaluate the Agricultural Labor Resources Committee report as a basis for further action.

Coordinator: Mrs. James Goble Chairman: Dr, Hubert Phillips,
Santa Clara Co, Council of Churches retired teacher, Fresno
Reporter: Miss Mary McFarland, California Migrant Ministry Santa
Clara

SECTION ON EDUCATION OF CHILD AND PARENT

Positive programs have been accomplished through the Fresno County schools, with the newest venture being the welding and carpentry classes for men and Riverdale's Adult Education program, and the plans laid for foundation support of Fundamental Education of adults. Volunteer leadership for summer classes in

English and make-up work for children in Santa Clara County - and the excellent work of the Agricultural Extension program in five counties of the central San Joaquin Valley - point up the various levels of participation.

A number of continuing needs are evident:

FINDINGS:

1. Children continue late enrollment in schools of "home base" areas, returning from other work areas without having enrolled for the few weeks they were there; this late enrollment is especially difficult for the first-grader.

Suggestions: We urge stricter enforcement of school attendance and child labor laws; encourage pressure brought to bear on labor contractors not to hire children; and ask that the State Department of Education stress such legal enforcements.

2. Summer school attendance for the child of seasonal farm families may be hindered by the economic necessity that he work in the fields.

Suggestions: Where appropriate publicity and individual contact

with families is utilized, children do attend summer classes.

3. Children growing up in a "double culture" often have severe problems to face.

Suggestions: Use of minority group teachers or Anglos with bilingual skills helps to bridge this gap. Additional curriculum and resource materials specially adapted for use with these families are also needed.

4. Parents' attitudes and understanding affect children's attendance and growth.

Suggestions: have not been effective enough in our direct contacts with parents, in showing them the value and worth of educational programs. It is also noted that parents can be effectively taught through their own children.

5. Local areas often are not willing to assume responsibility for planning and finding ways to meet the additional costs of short terms or specialized projects, often leaning on the excuse of non-residency.

Suggestions: The root of this problem would seem to be in a lack of understanding of the real

needs of these families, regardless of their residency. Then a community is concerned enough, a way is found.

6. Adults must have more educational opportunities if they are to find greater employment or appreciate programs of upgrading.

Suggestions: Local high school districts, who bear the responsibility for adult education, should be encouraged to find ways of reaching these people. Especially suggested that districts be encouraged to reduce the numerical requirements for initiating classes. Radio, as an educational medium, has not been adequately utilized.

7. Many persons, in key leadership roles within communities, are not sympathetic with the real needs of these families.,

Suggestions: Active recruiting programs, by school administrators and private agencies, can locate sensitive, able staff..

8. Too many persons believe that little or nothing can be accomplished with short-term residents.

Suggestions: Fresno County school projects have

demonstrated that "something can be done" in a day or a week. (See "Handbook for Teaching Children Who Move with the Crops" available free from Walter Martin, Fresno Co. Supt. of Schools)

9. Too few communities beyond the southern San Joaquin Valley counties have shown any evidence of having benefited from the significant public agency programs in these counties.

Suggestions: Give more publicity to these programs. State and Federal agencies as well as private and voluntary agencies should assist.

Strengthen technical consultant services to impoverished schools having migrant children.

10. Too many communities do not accept the seasonal farm worker as a worthy individual, whatever his level of growth.

Suggestions: Community understanding and appreciation of these valuable workers will come as community persons become involved in programming.

11. Many programs have been hindered by physical factors of location, transportation, hours, etc.

Suggestions: Ask county road commissioners to improve roads adjacent to housing for seasonal workers

Encourage programs of both public and private agencies to be made available at hours and seasons when these workers can attend without loss of work time.

An ongoing conference could provide opportunity for sharing concerns and successes, and be a medium for the education of other community leaders. "Not much can be done unless we can talk together."

Suggestions: Future conferences might include a field trip. Each one here should invite personnel who have a responsibility in these areas, to encourage them to assume a greater share.

Chairman: Ralph Duncan, Fresno

Reporter: Miss Constance

Pennington American Friends

Service, Visalia

SECTION ON EMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT, CHILD CARE CENTERS, CHILD LABOR

Needs:

1. Lack of identification of the worker with his task or

with his employer because of mobility involved in seasonal work.

Recommendation: Identification has been achieved in other industries having similar patterns through organized hiring methods - (such as construction work).

2. Ways and means should be found to provide the fullest possible employment for local persons desiring to work in farm labor.

Recommendation: The policy of public employment agencies should be revised to make this a practice in fact rather than in theory.

3. Employment in its best sense must yield earnings to provide the worker with a decent and healthful standard of living. The public and social expense now required to tide over the families from season to season outweighs competitive considerations. The establishment of minimum wage would create better management practice - better quality of work and technological improvements.

Recommendation: Minimum wage legislation should be adopted covering agricultural workers preferably on a national level however, if this

fails, then on a state level.

4. Lack of identification of the agricultural worker and his family with the community.

Recommendation: Better utilization of resident workers, plus an adequate minimum wage would serve to integrate agricultural workers into the community and reduce the number of rootless transient families on the move to sell their

5. Low wages of parents creates a pressure for child labor.

Recommendation: Minimum wage and full employment would alleviate this.

6. Revitalization of child care center program is needed.

Recommendation: Greater consideration should be given to the nature of the community and to cultural or ethnic groups in the area served. Staff should have an understanding of the mores and language of the families served.

7. The existence of these problems adversely affects all of California.

Recommendation: Steps should be taken to establish an official State Advisory Committee on

the Agricultural Worker and his family to cooperate with the State and Federal agencies in matters concerning agricultural workers and their families as is now being done in twenty-one other states.

Coordinator: Miss Helen Phelan

Chairman: Bard

Catholic Social Service Organization, McAllister, American

Watsonville

Friends Service, Visalia

Reporter: Earl Rouse, Wasco Housing Authority, Wasco

SECTION ON PLANNING, HOUSING and SANITATION

1. In many communities, housing for single men, or men away from their families, for families who follow the crops, or for agricultural families living in fringe areas is inadequate or sub-standard.

Recommendation: There is need for adequate zoning and building code in areas using agricultural workers on a seasonal basis or in fringe areas.

There is need for some subsidy to provide adequate housing. The Low Rent Housing operated by the various housing authorities is being utilized to some extent, and should

be expanded, but is not available to the true migrant or migrant family. The former Farm Labor Centers should be utilized since sewers, water and gas lines are already available.

A plan be devised to promote the stabilization of families by offering rental, or rental-purchase housing.

2. Some agricultural worker families have not had experience in living in adequate housing.

Recommendation: Provision of better housing should be accompanied by educational programs in sanitation and good housekeeping practices.

3. There is apparent lack of information on the present status of available housing for agricultural workers and their families.

Recommendation: It is recommended that the State Housing Division in the Department of Industrial Relations make a survey of housing currently available for men and their families who are engaged in seasonal farm labor. Based on this

survey, recommendations should be made for a program to meet needs for adequate housing.

4. It was recognized no one type of action would solve the problem and continuing planning was necessary.

Recommendation: It was recommended that similar conferences be held on an annual basis with studies conducted throughout the year.

Coordinator: Florence Shaw Chairman: Rev. Douglas M. Still
 Agricultural Extension Service, Director California Migrant
 4-H Clubs Ministry Los Angeles

Reporter: Miss Luada Boswell, Staff Girl Scouts of America, Los Angeles

SECTION ON RECREATION, GROUP WORK and COMMUNITY

ACCEPTANCE

FINDING:

1. Families of agricultural workers feel a lack of community acceptance and understanding, and therefore tend to isolate themselves from resources that are available.

Recommendation: There should be development of neighborhood groups working for self-improvement

through self-help.

2. Communities generally do not understand or accept responsibility for meeting the needs of agricultural workers and their families.

Recommendation: Provision of training for workers in agencies and groups working with families in understanding of cultural differences and values.

Involve community people in volunteer activities as means of increasing understanding and acceptance of agricultural families as persons.

3. There is a lack of coordination and integration of information on needs and methods being developed by various agencies and groups to meet identified needs.

Recommendation: There is need for a newsletter, clearing house etc., for exchange of information.

There is need for an annual conference with county-organized interim meetings between conferences.

4. There is need for further study and research on the goals, potentialities and condition of families who move with the crops and on effective ways of meeting needs.

Recommendation: Studies should be made to secure

facts on such things as:

Income, Value orientation of various
cultures, Case Finding, Techniques on
Community Organization.

Develop programs for meeting needs for shelter, food,
clothing, adult education, community centers,
counseling, etc., and plans for evaluation of
effectiveness of methods used.

REPORT OF THE SECOND ANNUAL
CONFERENCE ON FAMILIES WHO FOLLOW THE CROPS

October 24 and 25, 1960

Hotel Sainte Claire

San Jose, California

INTRODUCTION

The Second Annual Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops was held at San Jose, California on October 24 and 25, 1960, The Conference was called pursuant to a resolution of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth approving its co-sponsorship of the Conference with representatives and members of State-wide organizations having knowledge of and concern with the problems of the rural community, the seasonal farm worker and his family,

About 350 persons attended the conference upon invitation of Dr. Donald S. Howard, Chairman of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, and Mrs. Hubert Wyckoff, Jr., Chairman of the Subcommittee on the Migrant Child, Joining with them as conveners and sponsors of the conference were: Herbert Bauer, M. D, , Vice Chairman, Conference of Local Health Officers; J. P. Benson, Chairman, Fresno Rural Health and Education Committee; Miss Luada Boswell., Girl Scouts of the U, S.A.; Mrs. P, D, Bevil, Sacramento; Most Reverend Hugh A. Donohoe, Bishop of San Francisco; John Douglas, Hanford; Dr. Milton Chernin, Professor of Social Welfare,

University of California; Edward Dutton, Fresno
Community Council; Dr, Charlotte Elmott, Santa Barbara
City Schools; Winifred Erskine, Public Health Nurse;
O. W. Fahrney, Tulare County Farmers Association;
Herman Gallegos, President, Community Service
Organization; Allan Grant, First Vice President, Cali-
fornia Farm Bureau Federation; Mrs. Dorothy Y. Goble,
Santa Clara County Council of Churches; R. D.
Dewhirst, Chairman, Tulare County Housing Authority;
George Krell, Executive Director, California
Association for Health and Welfare; Bruce Jessup, M.
D., Pediatrics Department, Stanford Medical School;
Robert Mytinger, Executive Director, Western Branch,
American Public Health Association; Dr. Davis
McEntire, Professor of Social Welfare, University of
California; Bard McAllister, Farm Labor Project,
American Friends Service Committee, Visalia; Domer F.
Power, Tulare County Citrus and Olive Grower; T. L.
O'Neill, CaMax Ranch, Fresno County; Thomas L. Pitts,
Executive Secretary Treasurer, California Labor
Federation AFL-CIO; Rober Bartindale, Personnel Mgr.
and Harvest Supervisor, Coit Ranch; Helen Phelan,
Catholic Social Service Organization, Watsonville;
Henry Rible, Director, Kings County Welfare

Department; Earl Rouse, Director, City of Wasco Housing Authority; Robb Smith, M, D., Chairman, Rural and Community Health Committee, California Medical Association; Reverend Douglas M. Still, Director, California Migrant Ministry; Homer Detrick, President, County Welfare Directors Association; William Becker, Secretary, California Committee for Fair Employment Practices; Robert Williams, Supervisor, Kings County Board of Supervisors; Joseph McCormack, M. D., Chairman, South County Service Council, Gilroy; Mr. Tom Bell, Director, Kern County Welfare Department.

PURPOSE

Purpose of the Conference was to bring together persons having a firsthand knowledge of the living and working conditions of our farm labor families, to share information and ideas and see if together we could find some areas of agreement where cooperation is possible. Accordingly, representatives from public and voluntary agencies were invited from some 30 counties having the largest number of domestic seasonal farm workers. Included were county supervisors, welfare directors, superintendents of schools, hospital administrators, health officers,

doctors, nurses, teachers, farmers, workers, religious and civic leaders, and others who had a personal knowledge of the relationship between the rural community and the agricultural worker. An effort was made to balance the program to make sure that every side of the relevant issues was presented fairly.

BACKGROUND

The Conference opened with a brief review of the actions taken at the First Annual Conference in Fresno on March 2 and 3, 1959 in which the basic purposes were recommended and a Continuations Committee established with the following objectives:

1. To study the health, educational, welfare, spiritual and economic problems of the seasonal farm worker and his family.
2. To function as a medium through which information can be exchanged.
3. To call various types of Conferences to deal with the problem as a whole or any aspect of the problem.
4. To stimulate cooperation between the various concerned groups and agencies toward an alleviation of the

difficulties of the seasonal farm worker and his family.

At the 1959 Fresno Conference, Mrs. Hubert Wyckoff, Jr., was elected Chairman of the Steering Committee to plan the 1960 Conference and was asked to present the recommendations to the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth. Rev. Douglas Still, Director of the National Council of Churches, California Migrant Ministry was elected Secretary of the Conference Steering Committee. A request also was made of the Steering Committee to assist local groups to hold similar conferences when possible. Other members of the Steering Committee were: Bard McAllister, Luada Boswell, Earl Rouse, Helen Phelan, George Krell, D. Goble, A. Rios, William Becker and Tom O'Neill.

Rev. Douglas Still briefly reported upon the four local 1960 Conferences held in Santa Clara, Kings-Tulare, San Joaquin, and Kern Counties, in which a wide variety of community agency representatives, farmers, workers, teachers, doctors, nurses and others participated. Improved social relationships and better understanding were established in the community as a

result of these local meetings.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE GENERAL SESSIONS, SAN JOSE, 1960

- Keynote Address: "California's Services to Migrant Farm Workers and Their Families" - A Report from Members of the Committee on Farm Labor of the Governor's Council - William E. Warne, Director, California Department of Agriculture.
- Luncheon Program: Presiding, Paul Morton, President, Santa Clara County Medical Society.
- Introductory Remarks: Malcolm Merrill, M.D., Director of Public Health, State of California.
- Address: "Constructive Steps to Improve the Health of Farm Workers" - James K. Shafer, M. D., Chief, Division of General Health Services, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.
- Dinner Program: Presiding, Dr. Davis McEntire, Professor of Social Welfare, University of California,
- Address: "The Farm Workers' Way of Life" - John Wedemeyer, Director, California Department of Social Welfare.

Introductory Remarks: Don Larin, Deputy Director, Farm
Placement Service, California
Department of Employment.

Address: "New Perspectives for 1961" - Senator Harrison A.
Williams, Jr., Chairman Subcommittee on Migratory
Labor, U. S. Senate,

Morning Program: "Doctors Meet the Press" - Moderator, Rev.
Douglas M. Still, Director, California
Migrant Ministry.

Panel: David Perlman, San Francisco Chronicle John Allen, San
Francisco Examiner Carl Heintze, San Jose News

Doctors: Bruce Jessup, M. D., Pediatrics, Stanford Medical
School
Paul O'Rourke, M. D., Imperial County Health Officer
Robb Smith, M. D., Chairman, Rural Health Committee,
California Medical Association

Luncheon Program: Presiding, Dr. Donald S. Howard, Chairman,
Governor's Advisory Committee on Children
and Youth.

Closing Address: The Very Reverend Monsignor William J.
Executive Secretary, The Bishop's Committee

for Migrant Workers.

SECTION RECOMMENDATIONS

Eight discussion groups met each day for two hours to try to seek some areas of agreement from which recommendations could be brought back to the general closing session. Care was taken so that each group had representation in each discussion section. In this way, understanding and cooperation were encouraged. A particular effort was made to be sure that there was the voice of the farmer and the farm worker in each group. The level of discussion was realistic. It called for an attitude of genuine maturity on the part of each participant and contributed much to the value of the conference.

Because those who had taken part in the discussion sections were the only ones who had heard all the arguments pro and con in the drafting of the recommendations, it was decided that the general session would not be asked to approve or disapprove these section reports. They were presented for the information of the conference membership at the final session.

SECTION I HEALTH OF FARM WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

Co-Chairmen: William Allen Longshore, M.D.,
Assistant Chief, Division of Community Health Services
and George Krell, Executive Secretary, California
Association for Health and Welfare.

The Section agreed that the health needs of farm workers include basic preventive public health services, such as sanitation, health education, treatment, out-patient clinics, nutrition, safe sanitary housing, home nursing visits, and health services for the school-age child.

A proper setting should be provided in which the farm worker and his family can begin to assume responsibility for meeting their own health needs. This means making services available in the practical sense of time, place and cultural acceptance.

Barriers noted were:

1. Lack of community awareness.
2. Lack of basic health knowledge among farm workers.
3. Separate administration of treatment and preventive services.

4. Lack of subvention to county hospital for care of non-residents, and a reluctance on the part of localities to assume this burden.
5. Lack of continuity of care, lack of use and keeping of personal health records.

Recommendations:

1. Establishment of State and local health committees advisory to official agencies concerned with health of farm workers, with representation from medical societies, farmer, worker, parent-teacher, and voluntary groups offering health services to the farm worker and his family.
2. Abolition of residence requirements for health and medical services to needy non-resident farm workers and their families.
3. State and Federal governments should share the cost of medical and health services for needy non-resident migratory farm workers and their families. Necessary funds for these purposes should be made available to local communities through the State Department of Public Health.
4. Decentralization of county medical services, out-patient clinics, and use of staff trained in understanding cultural differences among farm workers.

5. Continued study of the use of pre-payment plans for the medical care of the more stabilized element among the farm labor force.

SECTION II EDUCATION OF CHILDREN AND YOUTH

Chairman: Mrs. Dorothy Y. Goble, San Jose, Santa Clara County Council of Churches.

- A. Curriculum for Migrant Children Who Lose School in Transit. Suggested improvements:
 1. Determine ability levels of children when they enroll to aid in grouping and instruction.
 2. Encourage use of reading materials with content related to experience of farm children.
 3. Teach practical application of arithmetic.
 4. Use "show and tell" methods to encourage articulation.
 5. Allow time for teaching English to children who speak another language in the home.
 6. Teach health education in practical terms: demonstrate cleanliness with showers, clean clothes, and proper diet through well-balanced school lunches, hot breakfasts and free milk programs.

7. Adapt teaching materials and curriculum to migrant child, rather than segregating them in separate schools.
 8. Classify migrant students as "exceptional".
 9. Provide financial aid to school districts which are subject to great changes in enrollment.
- B. School "Drop-Outs" and Vocational Guidance and Counseling.

Suggested improvements:

1. Better understanding of why the migrant child leaves school, such as:
 - a. I.Q. tests containing high verbal loading, penalizes the bilingual child.
 - b. Lack of finances and necessity to seek work.
 - c. The migrant child feels rejected or not accepted by students, teachers and administrators, as well as future employers.
2. Encourage establishment of scholarships by community group for elementary and high school children to prevent drop-outs due to lack of finances.
3. Consider establishment of a program between Point 1

for the mentally retarded and present minimum requirements for high school diploma for slow learners.

4. Placement of more teachers, counselors and guidance personnel who are fully trained for work with mobile farm workers' children.
 5. Choose subjects which will have more meaning to the migrant child.
 6. Realistically appraise possible job opportunities in offering vocational guidance to migrant youth.
- C. School Administrators Throughout the State Should Forward Complete Cumulative Records Promptly.
- D. School Attendance and Child Labor Law Enforcement.

Recognized needs:

1. School attendance and child labor law enforcement need much strengthening throughout the State.
2. Migrant children are reported to be "unwelcome" in schools if attendance is to be on a short-term basis.
3. Migrant children are virtually excluded from regular summer school, due to arrival after school

registration is over, need for income, lack of transportation.

Suggested improvements:

1. Make financial provisions for a sufficient number of employees at the State and local level to enforce child labor laws, including the 12-year minimum age limit, and the work permit requirement.
 2. Put some teeth into child labor law enforcement through local court action on violations.
 3. Provide State and/or Federal assistance to migrant impacted school districts to make possible adequate teaching staff and equal educational opportunity for children of seasonal farm workers, regardless of their time of residence in any given area.
- E. Child Care Services for Migrant Infants and Children.
- Presently existing child-care centers are not suited to the needs of migrant families, either because of location, hours of care, prohibitive cost, or legal restriction against care of infants under two years of age. As a result, many migrant infants are cared for by children who should be receiving care themselves.

Suggested improvements:

1. Federal appropriations supplemented by State aid for child-care services for migrant infants and children,
 2. Provision of trained child-care personnel and temporary foster home day care in or near farm labor camps at low fees based on ability to pay.
 3. Growers and concerned community groups should help to provide financial assistance to seasonal farm workers for child-care expenses.
- F. Members of the Education Section expressed a desire for more communication between those educators throughout the State who are courageously striving to strengthen educational services for migrant children and youth.

SECTION III CHANGING TECHNOLOGY IN AGRICULTURE AND ITS HUMAN

IMPACT

Chairman: Dr. Van Dusen Kennedy, Professor of Industrial Relations, University of California.

The essence of changing technology in California is the industrialization of agriculture, with some consequences which are negative and others which are

positive. It means fewer agricultural jobs (although this has been questioned for the State of California), increased output per man-hour, the upgrading of many farm jobs, perhaps some leveling out of seasonal peaks of employment and unemployment, and the development of some alternative employment in making and running farm machines.

The outstanding problems are those of finding alternate employment for those who will not be able to work in agriculture in the future and of providing improved education and training programs for rural adults and youth for both farm and nonfarm jobs.

Another problem gaining added importance is safety, as advancing technology multiplies the opportunity for accidents and makes them more costly, (remembering, however, that the ladder remains one of the most dangerous farm devices).

Many approaches to these problems can be taken locally, such as educational and training programs, safety precautions and restricting the use of machinery by young workers; but other adjustments to changing technology must occur through broader action,

for example, in the form of continued expansion of employment in a growing national economy.

In finding jobs for people from the farms as well as the new generation of the "population explosion" now upon us, the farm promises to be part of the problem rather than part of the answer.

SECTION IV EMPLOYMENT AND UNDER-EMPLOYMENT

Chairman: Dr. Varden Fuller, Professor of Agricultural Economics, University of California.

The section reached the following conclusions:

1. That the employment objectives of the California farm employer groups to stabilize and increase the efficiency of the farm labor force be supported. Pursuant to these ends, it is suggested that the University of California Extension Service, the California Farm Placement Service and the Adult Education departments of the Public Schools all make their facilities available for the purpose of the program.
2. That there be federal legislation to register and regulate labor contractors and crew leaders.

3. That we support, as an effective way of approaching stability of the labor force, group or association coordination of labor utilization in a manner that will accomplish maximum continuity of employment within a given area.
4. That we urge public consideration and discussion of a federal minimum wage to agricultural workers.

SECTION V HOUSING FOR FARM WORKER FAMILIES

Chairman: Rev. Bruno Pueschel, First Congregational Church,
Wasco.

The Section recognized the need for improvement of family housing for farm workers, which is not as good as that for Mexican Nationals.

The modernization of existing codes governing labor camps, permitting variation according to the temporary or permanent use of the facilities, and according to the seasons and crop areas was suggested. Registration of all employee housing was needed because tightening of restrictions in one area often resulted in the transfer of problems to unregulated areas. It was agreed that pre-occupancy inspection of camps, extension of the Labor Camp Act to include all

employee housing, and extension of the State Housing Act to include dwellings in unincorporated areas are desirable. The following recommendations were made:

1. That employee housing be built through grower and/or community cooperation and that public funds be made available to underwrite costs if necessary.
2. That family housing in labor camps be designed with separate sanitary and hot water facilities for each family.
3. That direct loans for migrant families be provided for temporary and permanent housing, as well as trailer housing, thus endorsing the principle of legislation proposed by U. S. Senator Harrison Williams to increase the possibility of private home ownership by the farm worker, to stabilize the farm worker who wishes to settle, to make funds available to public groups for rehabilitation of old housing and for new housing.
4. That the scope of the Division of Housing be increased to include determination of housing needs for farm workers and to provide for meeting them if funds are available.

SECTION VI DEVELOPING RESPONSIBILITY AMONG FARM WORKERS

Chairman: William H. Koch, Jr., Migrant Citizenship Education Project, National Council of Churches.

Recommendations:

1. Aid should be made available under the law to vocationally handicapped migrant families which are in need of and can benefit from vocational rehabilitation.,
2. In community planning, recognition should be given to existing natural indigenous groups of farm workers which should be included in community councils and be given opportunities to become better citizens through participation in community affairs affecting them.
3. A basic plan should be drawn up by members of this conference for presentation to the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth, the County Supervisors Association and other appropriate bodies to provide what professional assistance is needed to counties or communities wishing to establish such councils, with consideration given to the assistance available through the University Extension system.

SECTION VII PUBLIC AND VOLUNTARY WELFARE SERVICES TO THE FARM

WORKER AND HIS FAMILY

Co-Chairmen: Wayne McMillan, Executive Director, Bay Area Welfare Planning Council, and Newton Holcomb, Santa Clara County Welfare Director.

The governor should assign to the State Economic Development Commission the responsibility of making studies and developing plans, in cooperation with appropriate Federal and local agencies, to provide supplemental employment opportunities during periods and in areas of unemployment in agriculture.

State and/or Federal funds should be provided to fully cover costs of general assistance to non-resident migrant farm workers, with administration by counties.

Unemployment and disability insurance benefits should be extended to farm workers.

SECTION VIII COMMUNITY ACTION

Chairman: Bard McAllister, American Friends Service Committee, Tulare County.

Each county should establish and utilize community councils to study, plan and take action on

needs and resources pertaining to the seasonal agricultural workers and their families.

The councils should enlist participation of all organizations and individuals, including migrants, and should be adequately financed and professionally staffed.

The councils should develop committees to study the problem of seasonal farm workers, coordinate the work of all agencies and serve as clearing houses for all programs and work for the prevention and elimination of conditions which cause social problems.

State government should develop resources for training conferences and seminars on community organization skills for work with farm laborers.

Sources for financial support for the establishment of community councils should be developed at the county level.

Leadership within the farm migrant community should be used.

FINAL CONFERENCE ACTION

At the closing session, members were asked to turn in an evaluation sheet giving their opinion of

the Conference.

Tabulation indicated Conference approval to:

1. Hold a Third Annual Conference on Families Who Follow the Crops, preferably in the winter of 1961 or spring of 1962, and preferably in the Central Valley,
2. Ask the Steering Committee to continue in office to plan the next Conference,
3. Encourage and assist local county conferences across the State.
4. Forward recommendations to those concerned.

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