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July 7, 1942
Meeting held at Block
3 Mess Hall

The Chairman introduced Dr. Schnurr, to speak on medical service of Poston. His speech is summarized as follows:

I would like to thank you through the committee for the pleasure that is mine to be able to speak to you this evening. I would like to take this opportunity to say that I consider It a great privilege to be able to serve under our splendid leader, Mr. Head. We, on his staff like himself, are trying to live the principles of democracy that the men at the front are fighting for. Speaking for myself, I feel a very high responsibility in the war effort, because I am firmly convinced that we are winning the war here in Poston. We may not be in the dim of the battle; we may not be handling the ships and planes and the guns,, but right here in Poston, we are forging out the ties of life that many millions of men are laying their lives down today. Just these few words will tell you how I feel about being one of the residents in Poston. I have never had so much pleasure in all my life, my professional life, because I had never had the opportunity that is before me now in just the way I am able to at the present time. My job here under Mr. Head is to give to the people of Poston the finest type of medical service that we can possible give you. I know that Mr. Head wants every person in this community to have every assurance, that his health will be protected, and that when he is sick he will be insured of the best possible service to get him well at the shortest possible time. In my thinking, I consider that we have only so many doctors here, so many nurses,

so many dentists and other people who are helping in developing a medical organization; the kind of which we hope will be as good as any in the country. As a result of this change in the type of community you are in, it will be necessary to adjust your thinking in many ways. One of these cases will be in regard to your thinking about medical service. No doubt most of you have read in the papers and have discussed among yourselves the change which medicine is going through today. Most people know that there are a great many sick people in this country who never have the services of a doctor and a nurse. Under the private system of the practice of medicine that most of you have known, the kind of medicine in which you call a doctor when you want one, you go to the hospital and afford satisfactory hospital care. The private practice of medicine gives you something more less like something you can buy. If you have the money, you can buy it; if you don't have the money, you have to beg for it. I know what I say when I speak of the private practice of medicine, because I have practiced medicine in that way for many years in New York City. Now the other way is practicing medicine to take care of people, in according to how much money they can pay. Some people call that way of practicing medicine socialized medicine. I am not going to get into an argument with myself as to whether one way is better than the other. I only want you to know that I think that every person who is sick should get the best possible care and that the community through its public health work should practice its highest type of work for preventive medicine. We are trying to develop a medical service here in Poston that will take the best use of each system and throw away what is bad in

both of them. Now with those pat ideas about my attitude toward the type of medicine that we want to see developed in Poston. I would like to tell you a few definite things about the program. Weare building a hospital that will take care of 250 patients. That hospital is not built out of marble or stone or of the fanc y things that are in the many other hospitals. We have very bad labor pains, growing pains in giving birth to what we are trying to develop and that is the soul of our hospital. We are going to try and take care of the sick so that when they just come into the hospital they will have the feeling that they surely must get well. In trying to do that we will have many obstacles, because of the lack of trained people and all the equipment that we need. Now in order to train the people here in Poston to operate their own hospital we have set up a training school for young women who will have to do a great deal of nursing, because we do not have enough trained nurses. We have a lady in our hospital, Miss Vickers who has a very fine background of training nurses back in Baltimore and in other places. We started a hospital just when we had ten beds with twelve very splendid Japanese women, who if they did not know all about nursing, made up for it in the splendid care they gave their patients. The second class was made up of 25 other fine women and I am very proud to tell you that not one has dropped out from the very, very hard work. Just to make it very brief, we hope in a short time the entire hospital will be opened and there will be plenty of room for all the sick people to be taken care of in the very best way we can. The health of the people will beprotected by our division of public health of which is

headed by two very fine doctors, Dr. Leighton and Dr. Kawaichi. I would like to tell you that I am very proud of the very fine group of doctors that we have on our staff. They are specialists in some of the important branches of medicine. I want you to know that even though you can not go to the doctor that you want to, under this system of medicine, that any patient that is very sick will have the benefit of consulting any doctor that the patient wants or any doctor that the attending physician call in. Yesterday the clinics that we had opened only as a temporary measure in four blocks were closed. It will be a little more difficult for you to come all the way to the hospital to see a doctor, but we feel that if you come to the hospital, you will get better service because the doctor will have the help of the trained nurses and all the equipment to take care of you. I could say a great deal more, but I see it is getting rather late and I planned to talk just twenty minutes. I will close with just one or two remarks. Please remember that you are vast becoming people who are living in the third largest city of Arizona. The largest city and the second largest city took many years to reach their present stage of development. Their people made many mistakes, but they made them over a long period of time so perhaps they did not seem to stand out so. They were able to bury them in the dirt as they went along. We are trying to do in about forty days what it took them forty years. Therefore, our mistakes are coming fast and thick and we hardly have time to straighten them out as we go along. In spite of the heat, in spite of the dust, in spite of all the mistakes

we must try and keep smiling and remember that we are all trying to do something that is makinghistory in this country. We are trying to, in a very very, short time bring the most democratic community in America. I want the people to know that I realize that we are making some mistakes. I would appreciate it if anyone who sees us making them instead of talking against them, instead of criticizing, I would personally appreciate it if you would come to my office at any tiem, and I would like to take as much time to talk to you and find out in what way we can improve our services toyou. Now I know that there are many questions that you may wish to ask, and I think that I might take five, ten minutes in giving you a chance to ask questions in which I hope that I can answer.

Questions and Answers.

1. Is there enough medicine in the hospital?

Ans. I spoke to another group about two weeks ago; I was asked the same question. That is very difficult to answer, but there is a great many medicines, most doctors use a few of them. One doctor uses maybe a dozen or so, another depending upon the type of training that he had. Now, we don't have all the medicine here that are in the books. But I know that we have enough to take care of the sickness that we have now. We are trying to get more different kinds of medicines and they are coming in every day. The doctors know that if you need medicine, it will come as fast as it can. I am quite sure that we have the absolutely essential medicine. Dr. Kasuga and Nobe were going through a thick book and getting a list of more new medicines that they can get.

2. The doctor just now said the he doesn't have enough trained nurses. These girls who come for nurses' aide, do they become trained nurses?

Ans. We have eight girls who have finished one or two years of training. It is our hope that we will get recognition by the American Nursing Schools so that these young women working as nurses' aide will be trained as nurses. I am fairly confident that it can be accepted.

3. How many departments does the medical department have? Does it also include the dentist, optometrist, and so on?

Ans. The medical division includes five chief programs, one is the training program, the second is the public health program, the administrative organization to support these four programs. The fourth is the nursing program and the fifth is the medical and dental services. Under medicine will come those special optomology and otomotry.

4. Are those medical services free?

Ans. Yes, they are free. One is the research division and the other is an organization that is being developed to take care of those that is being passed on. This organization will develop a very fine research organization and we see no reason why. They should be able to find some of the medical problems that exist in the exist in the Southwest. It is important to know some of the plans for the plans for the care of the deceased. We are very fortunate to have with us Mr. Sasaki, a licensed embalmer in California. He is our funeral director. Our own cemetery ground is started. I hope to direct a crematory and hope that in the future the entire problem of the care of the deceased will be handled by our medical organization.

5. In case anyone seems to suffer from heat out of doors what should I do?

Ans. I would suggest that every effort be made to take the patient to the hospital or send for the doctor. I am sure that no onw is too far from the hospital to get our doctor. The doctors, eight in the morning to six in the evening make calls for those about transportation. And doctors at calls from 8:30 in the evening all night. Thus

there is arrangement for medical service outside of the hospital twenty-four hours a day.

6. How can I get some false teeth in?

Ans. In regard to dental care, we are very fortunate in having aagiven number of very fine dentists. We huve eleven dentists. However, we do not have all the equipment that we would like to have, although it is ordered. The reason is that we have not been able to get the equipment is that there is not enough in the country. As soon as it is ready, it will be here, and then the dentists will give you the finest kind of service they can. The dental supply has been ordered by one of our own dentists, Dr. Sato. Everything ordered to take care of our people, in the very best way. As fast as the equipment comes in, we will do all we can. Dental charges are all free.

7. What kind of plan do you have for sanitation?

Ans. We have a division for sanitation under Mr. Kido who has had a fellowship in the University of California.

Copy for Dr. Leighton

MINUTES
SANITATION DEPARTMENT
Block 36--Recreation Hall

July 20, 1942

Mr. Jack Nakagawa--Presiding Chairman

Mr. Evans and Mr. Head were present.

I. Purpose of this meeting
   A. To discuss the important problem of cleaning the garbage in this community.
      1. How to better and end all the problems pertaining to them.
      2. Through some misunderstanding, the full facts have not been carried to the main office.
   B. To hear the garbage worker's side of the situation.

II. Clothes
   A. In need of clothes, including gloves, equipment, bib aprons, etc.
      1. One complaint is that these clothes are not obtainable here.
   B. Bib aprons
      1. It is difficult to get rubber aprons now, but canvas aprons are available through catalogue orders.
      2. There is a possibility of having these furnished through Government funds.

III. Wages
   A. Mr. Head, project director, and the administration has nothing to do about establishing thewages.
      1. Follow directions of the WRA authorities to use civil service wage classifications.
         a. wages here areset and classified accordingly.
   B. The workers should think of their work, not in terms of dollars and cents, but as a service to the people in this community.
      1. Must cooperate and work hard to make this garbage situation a success.
      2. Classified among the doctors, cooks, etc., who work for the people but receive the least thanks.
   C. Possibility of taking profits out of the community profits and making it up to the workers.
      1. Objection is that some of the other people will want to do the same thing.

IV. Complaints
- A. Collecting rubbish--besides the garbage
  - 1. Due to the shortage of equipments and trucks
- B. Trucks
  - 1. Loaned temporarily by the WPA
  - 2. Have to wait two or three hours for the trucks
  - 3. Cannot haul enough on some of the trucks
  - 4. Lose time on dump trucks
  - 5. Always breaking down
  - 6. Suggested that a mechanic repair and build over the Dodge trucks for the garbage department.
- C. Working at all hours of the day
- D. Psychological effect
  - 1. Workers were told that they are working for the same cause and in the same class as others, and yet they are bracketed in the lower class.
  - 2. Would like to have psychological effect removed.
    - a. Make the community garbage conscious
    - b. Write about the work they are doing for the community and post them on the bulletin boards.

V. Workers
- A. Amount of garbage workers needed for the whole camp
  - 1. Six to a truck--24 workers in all.
- B. Suggestion for working
  - 1. Ask one volunteer from each block to help about four hours in the evenings.
  - 2. One-half of the crew--six boys--take care of one half of the camp and the other half of the crew takes care of the other half of the camp.
  - 3. Use same plan for collecting rubbish in the mornings.
  - 4. Total of 24 workers a day with twelve workers in reserve.
- C. Possibility of recruiting more workers
  - 1. Trying to avoid forced labor, but itcan be put in the amendment
- D. Temporary work
  - 1. It is unfair to the workers to remain collectors on the garbage permanently
  - 2. The garbage workers should have an opportunity to do someother kind of work too

VI. Committee for Sanitation
- A. To make a thorough and complete study f the garbage situation
- B. The following members were chosen:

Trash--

Tom Mitsuhashi	4-10-A
Take Inouye	4-5-D

Garbage--

Harry Matsuga	4- 4-C
Takero Iseda	3-12-C
Leroy Sugita	38- 7-C
Mike Kishi	38-11-A
Noburu Fujimoto	38-11-B

C. The garbage situation can be kept in a satisfactory condition for ten more days until a better program is arranged.

8-14-42

SEMINAR NO. 2

Time: 8:15 a.m.

Date: August 14, 1942

Place: Poston General Hospital
Public Health Department

Present:

Dr. A.H. Leighton	Mr. Katsuhiro Endo
Dr. E. H. Spicer	Dr. Toyo Shimizu
Dr. Conrad Arensberg	Mr. Toshio Yatsushiro
Mr. Theodore Haas	Mr. John Fukushima
Dr. Tamie Tsuchiyama	Mr. Tom Sasaki

The result of the interviewing program discussed last time seemed to be to allow an outlet for the emotions and feelings which had been piling up in the new situation to which the people had been moved. It was a new situation in which the only lines of organizations which were supposed to exist were those that had been formally and ideally laid down by the management in order to run the show and in order to organize industrial work. The interviewers besides giving outlets to the people who were being interviewed, very soon showed that practically from the first day a new kind of self-organization had sprung up which hadn't anything to do with the lives of development laid down by management.

Now there was another way by which that same conclusion was reached and by which it was indicated how important it would be to devise special investigatory techniques to get at this self-organization directly. A major experiment was carried on from the very first. An experimental shop or work room was set up. In it five young women were arranged around a table

carrying out an assembly operations of the same kind that they would have been carrying on in a much larger room in one of the normal departments of the plant. The idea in segregating a small group of workers was to try to hash out once and for all, on an experimental basis, the factors controlling the efficiency of work and the degree of cooperation in a working group.

In the start of the experiment the investigators hoped that they could find some physical factors of the environment easily controlled kind-like light, heat, oxygen and that sort of thing to be the important elements in determining efficiency. They hoped that they could find an easy correlation between those things and the output of the people who were working together in the room. The output was the thing they had their eyes on. In industry the amount of work that people are able to turn out, hour after hour, day after day, week after week, is the most objective kind of index of cooperation and effort. The experimenters had it rigged up so that this apparatus that the girls were assembling manually was dropped on a chute rigged up to the place at which each one of the girls in the experimental shop sat. In that way, a count was taken of output. As each piece of apparatus was manufactured and assembled and sent down the chute in completed form ready to be packed and carted off. So, out of that kind of record, they had a purely objective indication of the fluctuations of the work that these

people were doing day by day, hour by hour, week by week, for a long period--in fact--five years.

Now, as I say, in this experimental work shop the experimenters naively hoped to find some direct influence of the physically controllable features of the environment, usually called working conditions/ or the efficiency of work. But they failed. There was no correlation of any useful kind to be found between the way these girls were working and any controllable change in their physical environment. To give you an example during the early stages of the experiment, the investigators changed the lighting. They increased the power of the light day by day and were very much pleased to find during the early part of the increase that the output of the girls were going up. When the girls were asked they explained that they were working better and more easily and more happily because they had more light. But they also began, after a while, to make the light worse and worse and worse. They hadn't told the girls that this was to take place, but all the girls saw was one of the maintenance crew came in and changed the bulb everyday exactly the way they had been changing the bulb before. Well, they finally reduced the light to about the degree of a good moon-lit night, no more, and the work that was being turned out kept right on going up.

There was a whole series of experiments of a more directly physiological sort as well. For instance, in the early stages, they were interested very much in the influence of allowing

rest-pauses at various intervals during the working day. In these, workers could knock off work, and the idea was to try to see if they wouldn't be able to reach a simple one to one correlation between the amount of work that was being turned out and the timing and spacing of their work. Thus many different arrangements of work were set up in a work day and a working week, but that too failed. If you put too large a number of pauses in, you could in fact bring down the output because after all, you had materially reduced the amount of time for work. Yet on the other hand, if you took practically all the rest pauses out again it didn't seem to make any difference either. Indeed all through the experimental period, the individual outputs of each of the girls and the outputs of the five of them as a whole kept on going up and up in a slow but steady increase. Nevertheless certain observations gave a great deal more insight. The slow building up of the daily and weekly increase of output here lead the experimenters on to surer ground than a one to one correlation between directly controllable mental factors and changes in output among workers.

For example, it became evident very soon that at the beginning and end of the week, the high output which had been attained ordinarily during the rest of the week fell off very badly indeed. At first it struck the investigators the first was that this might have had something to do with fatigue. A great deal of experimental work was carried out in the work shop based on the assumption that there was some kind of fatigue

operating here that they could control. The idea of introducing the work pauses, was based on the assumption that in that way they could combat fatigue. Actually, however, the output curves didn't resemble at all the kind that you get in heavy work or in the physiological laboratory where you can talk about a directly organic sort of fatigue. There the work goes up to a certain peak very easily or even over a long period and when a break takes place, it takes place very rapidly. There wasn't anything of that sort here because as I say, day by day, week by week, as well, the output would start out slowly and rise to a steady rate almost to the end of the working stint and then falls off very rapidly. In addition it became evident soon that there were individual correlations of outputs of the working room. Individual outputs were going up and down, not equally, but side by side. Certain of the workers always worked at a higher rate than the others, yet the whole groups outputs went up and up, regardless of the experimental changes that were imposed. A tendency appeared to work in unison. Certain of the girl's outputs followed along behind those of others consistently, but they all seemed to go up together. That was very well shown when it raised a very cruicial change. For these really crucial changes were rearranging the seating plan and introducing new members into the group.

In each of these changes the pattern of working along in unison was very rapidly and very completely destroyed. Individual outputs fell way down to just about the point where they had started out at the beginning of the whole experiment. In

other words, it seemed to prove that the thing that lay behind the working efficiency of the group, the cooperation with which they worked, and their output wasn't so much the environment in which they were working or any externally imposed condition, which could be brought into the situation but rather the building up of habits of leadership and followers-up among the group.

Indeed the factors that seemed ultimately to be controlling were those forcing the gradual growth of a whole configuration of social relationships among the people at work. Another line of attack led to the same conclusion.

It is usually said that fatigue or its absence lies behind output and morale in a group of human beings. During the day or over the week the organized workers begin to build up a fatigue which comes direct from organic strain. In most operations in industry if you make a change designed to relieve fatigue you should automatically get a large increase in the amount of work turned out. You should get built a greater ease and higher morale at work. And so on. That is the way the argument was when physiological forces are thought of as the controlling factors in work productions. All during the experimental observations on the five girls outputs actually did go up and up and the girls that kept saying when they were interviewed that work was easier, pleasanter, and that they enjoyed it more. But it was much less a lessening of fatigue than a change in social relations. They ascribed the cause to a different method of supervision. The girls said it was because

they were feeling better and better disposed toward the supervisor and toward one another.

Hereby did the presence or absence of monotony seem a directly controlling influence? In all situations of industry where the work is of a kind that doesn't take up ones whole time and leaves the mind free for day-dreaming, one can expect monotony to operate and it has an influence in lowering output. We know from experimental evidence and from observation that the characteristic kind of performance that is carried out on jobs of a monotonous sort. But the curve which describes output in that sort of work is one in which work goes well in the early stage only soon to fall way way down during the time of day-dreaming and then shows a sudden speed at the end. At no time except in the very first before the girls began to work together in the same room, long before their fluctuations of individual output in unison began, was there any sign of a work performance of that sort. On the contrary, output rose from the morning, low up to a steady peak and held that place all day long and all week long and fell off only at the end. It turns out that in fact the kind of output is the on those working jobs which don't involve very heavy exertion and on which the individuals are not isolated one from the other. The characteristic kind of the output curve that you have in all industry is one of those which describes a reasonably even line of fluctuation and that is the kind that they had hold of here.

In fact the only thing that upset this rhythm of work were changes which directly prevented their working together in the unison that they had built up.

Thus the changes in methods of supervision that the experiment brought about seemed very important. In the experimental situation the usual supervisors were removed from the room. They were only one or two anyway and they didn't have time or opportunity to enter the room with anything like the frequency of ordinary work room outside. The only people in the room of a higher rank than themselves were the observers taking down what was taking place. In the early stages they were regarded by the girls exactly as if they were the supervisors that they had known. They expected them to behave in an authoritative way and were at first rather surprised that they didn't do so. Later the atmosphere began to shift. The girls were able to bring things forward and to ask the observers in the room to do small things, to relax small rules, and all that sort of thing for them. And in the end the girls felt that they hadn't any supervisor at all. They had been able to work up their own rhythm and their own speed and tempo of work among themselves without the necessity of having to suit the needs of a supervision imposed on them from the outside. Not only, thus, was there a very complete change in the relationships among the workers themselves so that all kinds of ties built that would be hard to duplicate in other factory workmen, but along with that in each stage during

the whole proceedings, very material changes took place in the relationship between the outside supervisors of all ranks and these girls in the experiment. That also then could be concluded with output; while the other have physical changes.

Indeed the semi-controlled experiment on five girls in a special workroom led to the same results exactly as the large scale interview program. It remains hard to find some way to explore the social changes arising almost spontaneously among the human beings of the group which was the chief and most important factors in the performance and morale.

8-14-42

Duplicate

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It is usually said that fatigue or its absence lies behind output and morale in a group of human beings. During the day or over the week the organized workers begin to build up a fatigue which comes direct from organic strain. In most operations in industry if you make a change designed to relieve fatigue you should automatically get a large increase in the amount of work turned out. You should get built a greater ease and higher morale at work. And so on. That is the way the argument was when physiological forces are thought of as the controlling factors in work productions. All during the experimental observations on the five girls outputs actually did go up and up and the girls that kept saying when they were interviewed that work was easier, pleasanter, and that they enjoyed it more. But it was much less a lessening of fatigue than a change in social relations. They ascribed the cause to a different method of supervision. The girls said it was because

they were feeling better and better disposed toward the supervisor and toward one another.

Hereby did the presence or absence of monotony seem a directly controlling influence? In all situations of industry where the work is of a kind that doesn't take up ones whole time and leaves the mind free for day-dreaming, one can expect monotony to operate and it has an influence in lowering output. We know from experimental evidence and from observation that the characteristic kind of performance that is carried out on jobs of a monotonous sort. But the curve which describes output in that sort of work is one in which work goes well in the early stage only soon to fall way way down during the time of day-dreaming and then shows a sudden speed at the end. At no time except in the very first before the girls began to work together in the same room, long before their fluctuations of individual output in unison began, was there any sign of a work performance of that sort. On the contrary, output rose from the morning, low up to a steady peak and held that place all day long and all week long and fell off only at the end. It turns out that in fact the kind of output is the on those working jobs which don't involve very heavy exertion and on which the individuals are not isolated one from the other. The characteristic kind of the output curve that you have in all industry is one of those which describes a reasonably even line of fluctuation and that is the kind that they had hold of here.

In fact the only thing that upset this rhythm of work were changes which directly prevented their working together in the unison that they had built up.

Thus the changes in methods of supervision that the experiment brought about seemed very important. In the experimental situation the usual supervisors were removed from the room. They were only one or two anyway and they didn't have time or opportunity to enter the room with anything like the frequency of ordinary work room outside. The only people in the room of a higher rank than themselves were the observers taking down what was taking place. In the early stages they were regarded by the girls exactly as if they were the supervisors that they had known. They expected them to behave in an authoritative way and were at first rather surprised that they didn't do so. Later the atmosphere began to shift. The girls were able to bring things forward and to ask the observers in the room to do small things, to relax small rules, and all that sort of thing for them. And in the end the girls felt that they hadn't any supervisor at all. They had been able to work up their own rhythm and their own speed and tempo of work among themselves without the necessity of having to suit the needs of a supervision imposed on them from the outside. Not only, thus, was there a very complete change in the relationships among the workers themselves so that all kinds of ties built that would be hard to duplicate in other factory workmen, but along with that in each stage during

the whole proceedings, very material changes took place in the relationship between the outside supervisors of all ranks and these girls in the experiment. That also then could be concluded with output; while the other have physical changes.

Indeed the semi-controlled experiment on five girls in a special workroom led to the same results exactly as the large scale interview program. It remains hard to find some way to explore the social changes arising almost spontaneously among the human beings of the group which was the chief and most important factors in the performance and morale.

8-15-42

SEMINAR NO. 2

Date: August 15, 1942

Place: Poston General Hospital
Public Health Department

Time: 8:15 a.m.

Subject: DR. ARENSBERG's talk on experiment programs

Present:
Dr. A. H. Leighton
Dr. E. H. Spicer
Dr. Conard Arensberg
Mr. Theodore Haas
Dr. Toyo Shimizu
Mr. Tom Sasaki
Mr. Toshio Yatsushiro
Dr. Tamie Tsuchiyama
Mr. John Fukushima

Up to today, we have been speaking of the experiment of the two-fold form which has been carried out by the Western Electric Company in Chicago. You remember the two sides of the experiment. One: the interview program and the other: the attempt to set up an experimental work shop which would give a controlled observation of working output and working morale. This latter part led to the same results as the first. In both the large scale and the small scale observations seemed to have grown up a network of interpersonal relationships among the people at work which seemed to be the most important controlling factor that the experimenters could put their hands on. Their next problem was to be able to devise the techniques for doing so.

The next stage of the work was to moveinto one of the large working departments of the plant and to record there the kind of spontaneous and informal organization which was to be found there and to set it down over a long period of time. Here emphasis

wasn't on a controlled experiment. It wasn't on trying to track down individual pre-conceptions only but to see the common matrix out of which these developed. The experimenters wanted to take a department and observe as unchaged a situation as they could, introducing as few external influences as possible. They chose a working department of about 35 men. In this room an apparatus in the inside of phone boxes was made by wiring a set of poles by hand in a complex pattern of wrapping and weaving and soddering the wires together. The apparatus took about an hour to build and the output of the day in completed apparatuses was recorded for each worker. No other changes were introduced. The observers were told to stay in the back of the room and to record in the most convenient way that they could devise, the talk and conversation which took place, the action that went forward, all the way from horse play to work itself, the ordinary forms of supervision, and everything else that took place among the usual personnel of the department. Well, after the observers were placed in the working department, there was an atmosphere of restraint and hushedness for a while; but as it became evident to the people working in the room, that is the observers, weren't eithr foreman or spies, and as it became evident that no new assignments, no increase in work load or anything of that sort could be ascribed to the influence of these observers, the workers in the room soon began to act in their normal way. In fact, they began to act very soon as if the observers weren't there at all. The usual amount of horse play, cat-calling,

whistling, singing, talking and helping one another for at least a set part of the day, trying to do the other man's job for a while, the usual kind that you get in any working room when the usual amount of surveyances is relaxed a bit soon began to show up.

There was a standard of pay in the work room whereby everyone in the room was credited with the number of apparatuses completed at the end of the day plus the number of wirings on still incompleted apparatuses. These wirings could be added to the next days score. There was a set performance which everyone in the room was suppose to attain. If it were exceeded, a bonus beyond the regular rate was to be paid, in proportion to the excess over the set figure. This was one of the usual kinds of piece rate payment widespread in industry at that time in 1935 and 36. This observation in the bank wiring room soon resembled a common industrial practice of the time. The workers in the room were by no means actually turning in at the end of the day the work score that they had actually made. Some were turning in more than they made and many of the men who in fact had made the highest score were turning in far below what they had actually made. That kind of breaking of the rules went along with a great deal of talking, horse play, helping one another out by taking work which the others weren't supposed to be assigned to do, and in general a sort of conspiracy to break the rules, perhaps at least to hide those instances in which the workers didn't carry out the exact letter of law. It became

evident that supervisor's job ordinarily was to see that this kind of action outside the pre-ordained patterns was kept down to a minimum, and also to act as a shield between the higher administrative executive officers of the concern and these people actually at work in the working room. I don't want you to get the idea that there was a conspiracy of any sort in the sense the working were out to rebel against the management, because all these people worked hard and they turned out what everybody was willing to admit was an excellent day's job even the ones who did rather below the minimum and who would ordinarily if they had faithfully and honestly turned in their score have made a rate of pay somewhat lower than the others.

In fact, along with a constant under current of petty evasion of the rules sciences no helping, no talking, no trading of tools back and forth there was as well a steady drive on the part of the group to turn in an equal score for everyone in the room regardless of the fact that some people made far in excess of the equal score and some people made far under it.

This kind of behavior outside established rules which is a characteristic kind of thing in all indoor trial departments. People who know working men and women are quite well used to it, but ordinarily they try to hide it from higher executives. Here, however, since it was all being observed and all being put down for the first time, they wanted to know what all this actually means. Has this behavior anything to do with the out-

of a working room and its morale? The first question to be asked was: Is this aimless individual behavior or is their a pattern of regularities and organization in this seemingly idle behavior which ordinarily either isn't recognized in the industrial scene or is heavily repressed?

As the people in charge of the observation went back over their daily records they began to see many regularities in the action and many regularities in the words used and the attitudes expressed in the talk that went back and forth over the room. To make any sense out of what they saw, they had to deal with these regularities. If you began to analyze what the people had to say as they spoke to one another over the room, it became very evident that in the eyes of the people at work in the room although they were supposed to have jobs in the working process that were substantially equal in prestige except for the differences above and below minimum standards of pay, there was actually a pretty strongly marked series of steps in prestige in which some of these workers were of a good deal higher rank and value than some of the others. That had to do with two factors. One was the place they had in the room, that is, the actual position they occupied in the space of the room and the other was the role they had in the internal cliques or subgroups in the room. Their roles were in turn determined, it seemed, in the arrangements by which the daily output in scores excess in deficit above or below the minimum was reported at the end of the day. A man in the room who consistently had to be helped out with his score became in the arrangements of the

talk and horse play of the room something of a lame duck. The persons who had to be looked after in the interest of the group and the cliques to which such persons belonged, who inferior in status in the eyes of the room. The others who were able enough strong enough and magnanimous to be able to help them out and to shield their daily deficits from the official time recorders and to protect them from the consequences of their not having made their scores more superior. At the same time there were individuals scattered here and there throughout the room who would not and couldn't for one reason or another take part in these arrangements and conveniences and who either made excess scores, or refused to turn over their excess to someone else, or who refused to take part in the horse play and the common talk of the room or who squeeled about this or that minor infraction of rules or resisted the will of the various cliques and sub-groups in the room was very definitely ostracized in their dealings with the other workers. In some cases they were subjected to direct physical control. People would step on their feet when they did something out of line or as they were about to score too high at the end of the day's work. They would find some of their apparatus had been neatly unwound again when their back was turned, ensuing that those who weren't willing to play ball didn't go too high and gain too much advantage for themselves and that they didn't threaten this elaborate structure of equality and self-protection built up in the room.

8-24-42

SEMINAR NO._____

Date: August 24, 1942

Place: Poston General Hospital
Department of Public Health

Time: 8:15 a.m.

Present:
Dr. A. H. Leighton
Dr. E. H. Spicer
Dr. Conrad Arensberg
Mr. Theodore Haas
Dr. Tamie Tsuchiyama
Mr. Tom Sasaki
Mr. Katsuhiro Endo
Mr. Toshio Yatsushiro
Mr. John Fukushima

Today I am going to talk about a different kind of exploratory technique. It has certain resemblances to the one that I have briefly reviewed for you. In the end it gives you the same kind of result. It shows you a network of relationships among people, a network built spontaneously by their own attitudes and sentiments and one that corresponds to their most deeply laid habits of actions and to their deepest reliance as one another among themselves. Under a network of inter-personal relations is something that the administrator or the research worker or anyone else interested in the group of people can rely on. Because it exists over a comparatively long period of time it therefore, reveals what kind of action the group will go through in the future. In other words, if the people of a group have a network of internal organizations of this kind, you can be pretty sure that since it has operated one way up to now it will conthue to do so unless a major or catastrophic change takes place.

One of the practical results of exploring such networks is

of use to social service work and other kinds of work where an effort must be made to introduce some new cultural kind of element, such as a new form of recreation or a new way of doing things. It's been pretty well found to be true it's a great deal easier to put a new thing over if you take advantage of an existing framework of relationships. If you introduce whatever new thing you want introduced, such as better housing, a park, a health program or anything of that kind, it will go a great deal easier if you make use of the actual channels of communication, of influence, and of prestige. Most groups take a hierarchical form such as I described last time. That form, you remember, was described in the end of the talk of last time. Well now, the new way of exploring such networks of inter-personal relations aims at doing the same kind of job in a short-hand manner. Its hope is that you won't have to go into the labor of the work intimate kind of observation: plotting and mapping and etc. The hope is that by asking the right kind of question of people in a group and by handling their answers in a systematic way, you can get from them the same kind of information as you would ordinarily get out of much more laborious process of exploring, mapping and observing.

The new experiment goes by the name of sociometry. It is an attempt to measure existing social relationships of the kind controlling habits and sentiments. It began originally in a psychiatric hospital in upper New York State. There it became rather evident that a certain amount of therapy could be done on the patients if they were allowed to form natural groups of their

own and if they were allowed to choose who they would want to bunk with, who they would want to eat with and if they were able to build up a natural and spontaneous kind of social life of their own even so on very small a scale. The first experiment carried out was simply to put questions to the group in which each person was asked to choose the other person whom they liked the best and who he wanted to room or eat with. But it didn't stop there. These simple questions showed that when you were asking people a simple thing of this kind, merely asking them to express their preferences as to the other people in the group that they would act with, you were actually sampling their way of doing things. You were getting their aspirations and hopes of a social life for themselves. Moreover, you were also laying bare the process by which internal fragmentation and separation of cliques and sub-cliques inside of a group took place. For example, the experimenters moved this questionnaire out into schools. They found for instance that the process by which race attitudes sprang up in a school room could be very rapidly laid bare by asking at periodic intervals who the school children wanted to work with, who they wanted to be sitting besides, whose home room they wanted to report in and so on. To give you an example the techniques were tried out in some New York school in which there were both whites and negroes. It was found out that the line of separation between whites and negroes didn't start out in such schools until the numbers of

whites and negroes were just about equal. Up to then, sub-groupings of children who wanted to sit together and work together were as often mixed as they were of one race. But after a time during which the population of the two races in the group had become to be about equal, the children's preferences showed a strong tendency to bring the people of the other race to another. That is rather a small result, but it showed that by simply asking people in the right way, you can get at the underlying social process out of which the networks of inter-personal relationships among them are built up.

I think the best example of the use of the sociometric technique was a study carried out in a Vermont town by George Lundberg. Lundberg is an eastern sociologist who became interested in the new technique. He asked himself: If there are such networks in small groups of people, aren't there larger and more complex ones in the ordinary life of a settled town? He went to a village in Vermont with about 1500 people in it. There he sent his students around from house to house to ask the people who were their best friends in town; who did they visit and go to socials with, play bridge with, or practice with any kind of recreation. The purpose of this kind of questioning was explained to the people so that nobody should get the idea the study was going to pry into personal lives or hunt for communists or anything of that sort.

This was a laborious study. It aimed at seeing whether or not the circles of friends and acquaintances on whom people relied for mutual aid actually did correspond to the notions of class structures sociologists supposed to exist in an American town. Lundberg found out some very interesting things. He found that you had to be careful that you were getting from each of these families the other families whom they actually did go with, and that you weren't rather getting answers which named those they would like to keep up with but hadn't been able to. In other words there was a system of class or social stratification coloring the answers. In a great many instances, people would report a great deal of contact with certain other people, yet those other people would report no contact with certain other people, yet those other people would report no contact with the people who had already reported them as friends. The better off of the people would tend to report as their friends still better off than themselves and vice versa.

Nevertheless if you looked out for that difficulty you found once more in this town toward which certain nuclei networks of relationships developed. There were certain individuals and families whom a very large number of people reported and there were certain others who practically no one reported in their choice of friends or people to go to for help. In addition there was also a large number of isolated individuls and families who had contacts only of the narrowest type. If you took these nuclei of people chosen by a large numbers of others, and plotted them out you began to see that this little town was very

sharply divided into internal groups in exactly the way as the gangs on the street corners that I talked about last time, or the working groups in the Western Electric Company. In addition, the internal groups were also joined into networks overlapping each other and uniting these nuclear individuals. When decisions were made in the town and when the informal attitudes of public opinion and sentiment emerged they followed these lines of influence and prestige. This simple technique was giving the investigators the outlines of local social structure.

About the same time, the Bureau of Agriculture Research in the United States Department of Agriculture, in which there are a number of sociologists, became interested in this technique. It seemed to them very direct and simple way of solving some of their own problems. This was in 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936, in the years of "The New Deal". As you remember, the AAA program, the Resettlement program, Farm Security Administration, and etc. were starting up. The problem the Department of Agriculture faced was how to get these programs operating so that the farmers could take hold of them spontaneously and make them part of their own lives. Otherwise the policies would remain merely paper programs. They would be confined to the county agent or other representatives of government, merely tacked upon the office wall but never going beyond the office unless to a very few influential big farmers into whom the local agent had been able to strike up a personal friendship. That was the one problem that the Department of Agriculture

faced that made them interested in a technique which would show for them exactly who the farmers relied on among themselves, who were the leaders of the public sentiment. Any such research at the time had a very practical tinge. Also the Department of Agriculture had the resettlement administration under way at the time. That, you remember, was a very large and grandiose scheme to build up new settlements, some manufacturing but mostly farming in order to rehabilitate the share-croppers of the cotton lands of the South who were being thrown off their lands by mechanization and by consolidation of holdings. In addition the program was to include the miners in the coal fields who found themselves without jobs and were completely stranded. The problem there was this: After you asked the people to move into a resettlement project and you provided them with homes, and got their farms started and thought you were doing them a great deal of good, but instead you were very much distressed to find in the South and in the coal fields, that it wasn't long--it wasn't even a year till practically all the people that you carefully rounded up had evaporated. They didn't like the place and didn't stay. You had to start all over again with a new batch of share-croppers or miners to teach the new skills too. So the Department wanted to know what the reasons for this instability was. What could they learn of the social life of these people which would be of practical use in the problem of offering them inducements to stay? Unless they learned

they learned these attempts to rehabilitate themselves it would hardly be a success.

One of the most interesting applications of sociometry to a resettlement program took place in Yeas Colony in the Mississippi River delta jungle land in Arkansas in an area about two miles from one of the new WRA relocation projects being established in Arkansas. There the Department bought a very large plantation that had gone completely to seed. They opened it up and cut down the undergrowth and divided it into farms. They rounded up share-croppers from exhausted farms in the area. These men didn't have any cash income and had to set up again from scratch. The Department moved them in. They hand-picked these people, choosing the ones who seemed to be healthy and independent or who had large family responsibilities. They hoped by choosing "characters" to get people who would obey. But, as with all share-croppers in the South, after a year went by, they almost all evaporated. The Department had a whole new batch of people to deal with. Theoriginal ones had all moved off--so the Department asked the Bureau of Agricultural Research: We give these people these things, why don't they stay? The Bureau of Agriculture Research set to work with an application of sociometry. They went in and asked the people a very simple kind of thing. They asked who were your friends and where were they, who did you trade tools with, who did you go to see on Sunday, who did you ask for help of boys or girls when you need additional labor, before

moved on to this project?

When they mapped those things out, they found out the people who were able to bring the majority of the whole orbit of the people of other families whom they had usually relied on for aid and for social life and community, feeling with them or to the project. People whose major ties remained at the project moved away. Even though the Department picked people who seemed to be hard-working and responsible the same thing held. If these people had not come with those they usually relied on in large, by the end of the year. These ties, habits, affection, and sentiment began to revive more strongly and eventually grew--enough to cause the people to move back into the share croppers' world outside the project. In other words it turned out if you wanted to make a success of a rehabilitation project and make the people stay the Bureau of Agricultural Economics concluded the thing to do was; to move an existing social group. Then you would provide the ties and incentives which would keep people together and give them the ambition to make of the project a growing and continuing concern. The people here were all very poor and isolated. Ordinarily sociologists thought of them as disorganized, poverty ridden and etc. and that resources were beyond the luxury of a social life. But it soon developed social, economic, routines and the needs was the stronger ones. By the simple sociometric device, the form of the social organization which provided these social motives was revealed. The sociometric technique enables the administrators to take into account a reality whose existence they had not even neglected suspected.

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D. Leighton
Please file

Date: September 1, 1942
Place: Poston General Hospital

Present: Dr. Snavely, Dr. Kawaichi, Miss Findley, Dr. Pressman, Miss Gerkin, Dr. Leighton

1. Miss Gerkin is working out plan to recruit Public Health nursing material.

2. Going to recommend that Public Health nursing program be directly under supervision of Director of Health & Sanitation.

3. Recommend that Miss Vickers be placed in charge of all nursing activity in the hospital, Out-Patient Department, and Dispensaries (in all three groups).

4. Discussed the medical care of the aged or old people.

5. Dr. Pressman suggested plan for home visit by a nurse to determine whether a patient should go to hospital or might be cared for in the home. It was believed that the hospital might not be able to care for all the demands for this type of service.

6. Discussed the subject of midwives and their services. It was suggested that the Board of Health issue a regulation requiring that all obstetric cases be taken care of in the hospital.

   Miss Gerkin suggested a scheme which might be able to use the midwives in the Public Health Department.

   Dr. Kawaichi says there are now three midwives in the community and it was suggested that arrangements be made to have them handle prenatal and postnatal care with supervision and after they have finished a special training.

7. Dr. Kawaichi stated that he has been asked to be the chairman of the Poston Red Cross.

   Dr. Kawaichi suggested that a plan be worked out whereas each block manager and his assistant be given instructions in the Red Cross course of First Aid.

Infant Welfare

It was suggested by the group that child health conferences be held at monthly intervals and that all pre-school children be included.

If found practical, Baby Clinics will be held in each quad at stated intervals. It is estimated that there are about 300 children under 1 years of age in the community.

September 1, 1942

School Health Program

It is suggested that Dr. Pressman, Dr. Kawaichi, Dr. Leighton, and Miss Gerkin meet with Dr. Carey of the Educational Department at their earliest opportunity to discuss a School Health Program. The following points are considered:

1. Complete physical examination of each school child with a 5-354 and 5-353 forms and vision test cards to be used by the teachers.

2. Immunization. Vaccination for smallpox will be considered, and vaccination for diphtheria on all children entering school for the first time.

3. Dental Care. It was suggested by Miss Gerkin that our efforts be chiefly turned to the pre-school children and primary school age groups.

It is suggested that the School Health Program prepared by Miss Gerkin be considered for adoption for entirety or with any modifications which are necessary to meet the local demands.

Organization

It is recommended that the following services be set up with the following persons directed to assume charge of the particular service. It is understood that eventually these services will be under the charge of a physician in the Public Health.

1. Control of Communicable Diseases - Dr. Kawaichi in charge.
2. Sanitation - Mr. Kido in charge.
3. Dental Health Service - Dr. Shimizu in charge.
4. Tuberculosis Control - Dr. Kasuga in charge.
5. Child Health - Dr. Kazato in charge.
6. Public Health Education - Name of head to be supplied later. It is suggested that the functions indicated in the attached memorandum be assumed by the Health Educator.
7. School Health - Person in charge to be named later.
8. Vital Statistics - Mr. Tanigoshi in charge.
   Mr. Tanigoshi has been appointed Sub-Registrar of Poston under Yuma County.
9. Public Health Nursing - Person in charge to be named later.
10. Nutrition - An attempt will be made to secure a qualified nutritionist to head up this department.

September 1, 1942

It is recommended that Mr. Norris James be asked to print the names of the persons in charge of the various Public Health Services in the Press Bulletin.

Form Letter to be sent to the persons in charge of the various Public Health Services. (This one sent to Dr. Kasuga)

Dear Dr. Kasuga:

At a meeting here on Tuesday, September 1, 1942, the organization of the Public Health Services was discussed and names of chiefs of services were considered.

You have been selected to assume charge of the Tuberculosis Control, and you are requested to confer with Dr. Pressman at your earliest convenience of your plan of organization and to the outline of duties.

Miss Findley

The summation of health information by means of a special bulletin has been discussed. It is agreed by all that there are definite needs for this type of service and plans will be considered by the public of a periodical health bulletin.

Recommendation to Nell Findley, Chief of Community Services.

The following functions should be assumed by a full-time health educator working in Public Health under the Health Section of the Community Services Division to develop a community-wide program of health education.*

1. Assist in the planning and organization of health education of suitable scope and activities to meet adequately the needs of Camps I, II, and III.

   (This will involve at the outset a study of the needs, the determination of health problems which may be solved at least in part by education, and an appraisal of resources.)

2. Assist the community in organizing itself to find and solve its health problems.

3. Assist in establishing and maintaining close co-operative working relationships between the various administrative divisions and the community organizations which contribulte to health education.

4. Aid in the planning, development and conduct of training programs for personnel (or prospective personnel) who may have important educational opportunities either in the health department or in the school.

5. Assist in the organization, promotion, and guidance of study programs for adults in the field of health.

6. Contribute to the improvement of the quality of the health education of the school child through

   a. Aid in planning school health program and the curriculum of health instruction.
   b. Conferences with teachers, supervisors and school administrators on the conduct of the school health program.

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*Formulated in line with recommendations of the Subcommittee on Educational qualifications of Health Educators of the Section on Public Health Education of the American Public Health Association.

7. Organize and operate an informational service to provide authentic information on problems that arise in the community and to supply source materials in answer to requests.

8. Be responsible for the preparation, selection, assembly and distribution of health education materials, using the services of special technicians and health experts as necessary. (Reports, printed materials, visual aids, and news releases.)

9. Organize and assist in conducting a speakers' bureau, conferences, meetings, and educational programs.

10. Assist in the continuing appraisal of health education methods and materials and in evaluating periodically the effectiveness of health education procedures.

August 21, 1942