

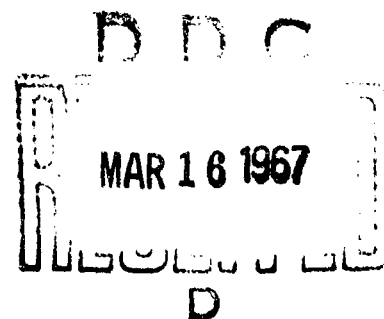
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RESEARCH PAPER P-300

CONFLICTS OF CULTURE
AND THE MILITARY ADVISOR

George M. Guthrie

November 1966



INSTITUTE FOR DEFENSE ANALYSES
RESEARCH AND ENGINEERING SUPPORT DIVISION

Contract DAHCl5 67 C 0011
Task T-8 and ARPA Assignment 17

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PREFACE

This study was prepared by George M. Guthrie, Professor of Psychology at the Pennsylvania State University and a consultant to the Research and Engineering Support Division of IDA. During 1966 and 1967, Dr. Guthrie will be on leave of absence as a senior scholar at the Institute of Advanced Projects at the Center for Cultural and Technical Interchange between East and West, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Following his stay at the East-West Center he plans to spend a year in the Philippines working on a study of some of the changes in Philippine society associated with processes of modernization. This research is being carried out under a joint project of Penn State and Ateneo de Manila University in the Philippines.

ABSTRACT

The person-to-person components of military assistance programs, the misunderstandings which can develop in the collaborative efforts of American advisors and foreign personnel, are among the more perplexing elements in our attempts to help friendly countries increase their ability to defend themselves. Developing nations need not only equipment but also training and improved organization. We have undertaken a program of supplying men to work with counterparts from the host country, sharing the benefit of our experience, and training others to use and maintain new weapons. In the encounter between an American and a foreign officer there is a need for close understanding and extensive give-and-take of ideas. This paper, concerned with this crucial element of assistance programs, attempts to provide an analysis of recurrent problems, and of attempts to reduce difficulties by selection and orientation of advisors. Some concepts are offered which may be useful in understanding cross-cultural confusions and a number of lines of research are proposed.

Each participant, American and foreign, in a military advisory group brings to the situation his language, values, habits of thought, and characteristic way of working with others. Setting aside language problems, there remain the subtler problems of the non-verbal communication of gestures and other styles of response. In addition, men from different cultures seek different goals or use different methods to seek essentially similar goals. Differences in the ordering of values lead to differences in priorities assigned to activities with the result that one participant sees the other as selfish, or lazy, or lacking in foresight.

Beyond differences in the priority accorded to various purposes, members from different societies also structure their goals and their interpersonal expectations

along different dimensions. Activities which cluster around one purpose for the American are associated differently around other purposes for the Filipino, for example. The expectations about others, which have been called our implicit personality theories, which determine our reactions in limited contacts, are different depending on one's culture so that persons from two societies make erroneous inferences about each other's motives and reactions. For instance, saying nothing in a specific situation may mean concurrence, disagreement or failure to understand, depending on one's previous experiences.

Training efforts for advisors vary from limited attempts to teach customs and danger spots to intensive study of the language and culture. Time does not usually permit more than a cursory preparation. An alternative program may be calculated to help the American understand his own values. There may be some attempts to teach individuals some general principles to follow in strange territory regardless of what foreign country is involved.

We have proposed a number of lines of research designed to help Americans function more effectively in specific countries. With great differences between Africa, Asia and Latin America there are few general statements that can apply to all non-American situations. Using participant observation techniques it would be possible to identify recurrent problems of American advisors in certain countries and to analyze the sources of these difficulties. Description of their prevailing values should help an American to understand and predict reactions of members of another society and to avoid constantly applying his own interpretations to behavior units which have a very different connotation for the non-American. Comparisons of the structures of attitudes and values in different cultures should clarify sources of misunderstanding which arise from differences not only of strength of values but in the components which make up the attitudes and values themselves. For example, in an Indian, such an attitude as loyalty or a value such as personal integrity may imply a considerably more family-centered orientation and denial of considerations related to region or nation than is the case with his American counterpart. Both

men may use excellent English, agree on the same goal and then perplex one another by choosing different courses of action. This unpredictability leads each to feel the other is dishonest, willfully deceptive, or selfish. Applying the techniques of participant observation, interviewing, analysis of themes of the culture, or statistical analysis of attitude and value structures, the emphasis would be on producing material which increases the degree to which areas of conflict would be identified and overcome and enhances the ability of the American to grasp the frame of reference of his counterpart.

Examples are offered from the Philippines, India and Nigeria of approaches to life which may conflict with the characteristic American approach. These examples suggest that there are great differences between the societies in which our advisors may function and that the difficulties due to differences between an alien society and our own can be reduced through a patient exploration of our own and their values and habitual expectations of others.

CONTENTS

1. Introduction	1
2. Assistance Activities and Value Conflicts	8
3. Proposed Research on the Person-to-Person Elements of Military Advisory Activities	25
4. Review of Research on Cross-Cultural Activities	36
References	56
Appendix A - Useful Sources on Philippines, India, and Nigeria	59

1. INTRODUCTION

We have learned that there are special maintenance problems when we send military equipment to a foreign country. We never anticipate all of the hazards, but we can make sure that spare parts are available, that special lubricants are provided for desert or arctic conditions and that protection is provided against the fungi of the tropics. We can go a step further and design the equipment to meet the capacities of the men who will operate it. But other problems may arise when we send advisors to accompany our machines or men to help train the forces of friendly allies. The complexities of the alien culture are even more perplexing than the conditions of the unfamiliar physical environment. Our technicians can take a machine apart to learn why it won't function. But our alien partners do not stop completely as an engine does, rather they continue to perform in only partially predictable ways. They appear to be prompted by purposes we do not share and to derive satisfaction from achievements which we deem less worthwhile.

It is the purpose of this paper to examine the person-to-person component of assistance activities. Since there is relatively little written on this aspect of military assistance we shall draw on reports of civilian efforts, insisting that the social psychological elements are similar when representatives of two cultures try to work together regardless of the purpose of their sponsors. We shall discuss some assistance efforts, examine some of the problems that have arisen, review available research, list ideas and philosophies of training, offer a set of concepts which may account for observations, and propose a number of lines of research. To lend focus to this undertaking we shall outline special problems encountered in the Philippines, India and Nigeria.

Everyone has experienced the stresses and misinterpretations which may arise when one tries to cooperate with his neighbor or teach something to a friend. The words we use may be misunderstood, our actions may be seen differently than we intended, our friends may be looking for something other than we seek to impart. If this is so among those we know well, those with whom we share a common background, how much greater are the uncertainties when we undertake to help a stranger, particularly someone from a background foreign to our own. The problems are compounded because we do not speak his language, nor long for his goals, nor share his way of doing things. The result can be that we see him as obstinate, or ignorant, or indifferent to pressing problems, and he sees us as insensitive, dominant, and unappreciative of his efforts and frustrations. There are many hazards common to working in an unfamiliar setting whether one is teaching arithmetic, selling soap, or training soldiers.

We have become especially cognizant of these problems since World War II. Prior to that time men had gone abroad as conquerors or as administrators. While they wore pith helmets out of deference to the tropical sun they experienced little need to modify their ways of working with others. They could impose their control on the people to a greater extent than they could influence the weather. With the decline of colonial relationships and with the United States' assumption of worldwide responsibilities, Americans have been obliged to work with many peoples with whom they have had little previous experience. For both the American and his counterpart there is a new element of equality in the relationship which is considerably more risky in many ways than the situation in which status relationships clearly designate superior and subordinate. The problems are complicated further since many citizens of other countries know little about Americans and are unaccustomed to the responsibilities that came with independence.

In the past two decades an increasing number of Americans have gone to developing countries as technical assistants, teachers, military advisors and Peace Corps volunteers. Since each is seeking to transmit his skills, to teach, or to train, in

short to modify the behavior of others, the tasks each has faced have been much more similar than the names of the sponsoring agencies. Each American has been faced with the problem of working with people very different from those to whom he has been accustomed. There have been many attempts to help the advisor cope with his task but the level of uncertainty remains so high that advising is still considered more an art than a science.

A similar level of uncertainty seems to prevail with respect to results. In spite of great expenditures for programs, little attention has been given to the impartial measurement of effects. There are some dramatic failures in which an advisor quits or is asked to leave, there are exciting successes in which all agree that significant improvements have been made, but the vast majority of undertakings conclude with no one sure what has happened. As we shall see later, there may be no agreement between members of the two cultures concerning the value of what has transpired. If we ask an individual American assistant how successful he was we receive an affirmative answer, but if we ask about whole projects we find a greater degree of uncertainty. One reason that effectiveness has not been examined carefully is because we cannot agree on criteria.

Without being sure of results the United States has, since the end of the second world War, invested vast sums of money in assistance programs to developing countries. In the opinion of the public press, these efforts have met with varying degrees of success. It must be acknowledged that the total impact of even a single project is difficult to assess when one bears in mind the vast range of unintended effects and of effects which appear only later. How does one evaluate the impact of such a modest undertaking as the erection of a school in a village where few can read? What factors does one take into account if he wants to increase the desired results of the new school? It is clear that our assistance efforts, both military and otherwise, have been conceived, planned and executed largely within the ways of thinking which have developed in our own and other technologically advanced countries. The results of our efforts are in part unknown, in part unanticipated, and to varying degrees a

fulfillment of the stated purposes of the project. This is true also with a project in our own society. Who predicts all the effects of a new road system? But the level of uncertainty is much greater in an unfamiliar setting. Since little attention has been directed to the causes of varying degrees of success in assistance efforts we probably repeat the same mistakes. At least there is little evidence that we have changed the ratio of success to failure.

In an assistance program, civilian or military, we expect implicitly many of the same cause-effect sequences to occur that have occurred in our own experience in this country. The heart of an assistance effort is the sharing of our machines and techniques with those who are seeking goals similar to those which we have achieved. We get more corn by hybridizing, we encourage them to hybridize. We have been satisfied with our system of education so we encourage others to emulate us, adapting to local needs, of course. So it is in the realms of technology, education, health, government and in the armed forces as well. Because we have succeeded in our own country in various ways we feel we can pass along our methods to others so that they can also achieve similar goals. This expectation is fulfilled to varying degrees at various times and for reasons which we often do not understand or cannot be sure about. In a sense the same question recurs: "What are the factors within the total situation which enable or impede the assistance effort?" Are there certain kinds of processes within at least some developing countries which are especially prone to frustrate the purposes of an assistance effort? Would it be possible, for instance, to develop a sort of pre-flight check which might detect sources of trouble before the project begins, or must each project be an expression of intuition and hope, however brilliantly conceived?

Research in this domain must be concerned with many variables, including the premises of Americans which are expressions of the American culture, and with the extent to which these premises are met in another culture. At a physical level a premise might involve the principle that fertilizer will increase crop yields or that radio will facilitate communication. At a social level a premise from which an

American operates might be the conviction that increasing incentives will increase production or that a certain way of treating children will increase the amount they learn in school. In an alien setting it may be that fertilizer will only increase the growth of weeds or that increased incentives will cause children to grow discouraged more easily when they fail.

Sending assistance to another country is a complex process. We have solved many of the problems associated with the machines which we offer. We have the techniques to cope with the mechanical failures which may arise when we send such devices as a new computer to a city where all computations have been done on an abacus. We continue, however, to move by trial-and-error in the training of nationals to operate the computer and we have few proven principles to guide us as we work with those who establish the policies on the use of the machine or those who interpret the data which it analyzes. An ever present element of all assistance activities is the encounter between the American and the recipient. We shall be concerned with this phase of the assistance process, one which is recognized as critical but one which has received little systematic attention.

The Nature of Assistance Activities

Only after the achievement of independence have assistance programs in developing areas become a significant activity. Colonies were recipients of development schemes. Education was patterned after that of the mother country since it was designed to prepare people for posts under the colonial administration. Government and administrative structures were transferred more or less unchanged from the European capital. Following liberation the imposition of development ceased but the longing for an improved standard of living and for many modern social institutions did not abate. Expatriates stayed on and were joined by a new group, technical assistants, who came under the auspices of foreign aid programs, the United Nations, and private foundations.

Assistance programs are attempts to improve performance of selected phases of the recipient country. For instance, the United Nations may send a team of specialists to Indonesia to help their health authorities develop a program of rural health units and associated prenatal clinics. The United States may send a group of airmen to train Thai Air Force personnel to use new radar techniques. Experience has shown that sending new equipment without instructors is often fruitless. The result is that training personnel usually go along with new equipment. But much more is involved than a faster aircraft or a new weapons system. New concepts of military action must be learned. It is the function of the assistant, or more commonly called the military advisor, to work with many counterparts on the problems associated with the development of an effective military establishment. The combination of weapons and advice is calculated to bring about various basic changes in defense activities, it is not designed as a rule merely to provide the material to keep up the present program. The advisor must be concerned primarily with the changes and it is the break with the past which is often resisted and the realignment of personnel which creates the stresses. An agent of change is greeted with mixed feelings because everyone wants the benefits of improvements, but many are reluctant to give up the tenuous security of the present way of doing things.

In addition, almost all assistance programs have ideological components. We want to support and encourage friendly and/or democratic processes and factions within the recipient country but we cannot do so too blatantly without defeating our own purposes. Each of the various groups and interests with whom we must deal has its own expressed and unexpressed objectives too. Finding common ground among stated goals is difficult enough, but discovering ways that will satisfy the unstated desires of all involved is a greater challenge still. This task is made hazardous because we read into others the motives we might experience. While this sort of empathy facilitates collaboration of persons from similar cultural backgrounds and shared value systems, it can become disastrous when we attribute to others from a very different tradition the feelings and motives which we think we would have in the same circumstances. For example, many Americans are convinced that persons

from areas of poverty at home and abroad will do almost anything to reduce the misery they must feel. Recent American experience in the War on Poverty suggests that poverty is a very complicated way of life which is not easily changed and that many forces combine to keep the poor the way they are. These processes are not readily apparent to other Americans who live nearby, who attend the same schools and who speak the same language. If we fail to understand the man next door whom we try to help, how much chance is there that we can avoid extensive misunderstanding when we try to help and influence those whose experience has little in common with ours.

2. ASSISTANCE ACTIVITIES AND VALUE CONFLICTS

In this section we shall present two brief stories of assistance efforts, accounts which are constructions based on the reports of many advisors. They are not horror stories of colossal failure but represent typical experiences of hard work, modest accomplishments, and disappointments. They emphasize especially that other cultures are different and that these differences intrude in many ways to modify the effect which the advisor hopes to achieve. The examples are followed by a listing of some of the major value orientations of Americans and those of three countries where we have extensive assistance programs. In subsequent sections we will consider attempts which have been made to train technical assistants and outline some steps which might be taken to reduce the level of uncertainty and the hazards of misunderstanding which seem currently to prevail.

Before we continue we would like to digress for a moment to discuss the problem Americans encounter when they are faced with the recognition of cultural differences. For a number of reasons many of us equate the recognition of differences with attitudes of cultural superiority. Rather than learn to accept differences which carry no implications that one is superior or inferior many fall back on the comforting thought that people are basically the same the world over. This leads to the assumption that others are like us or want to be like us and to very negative evaluations of others who do not fulfill our expectations.

Discussing the development of a successful program of friendship between a Connecticut town and a South Indian community, Brooke (1966) has offered an insight into the deeper meaning of cross-cultural understanding:

"Let us suppose that our internationally minded American is a warm hearted, well meaning human being, who realizes that the Indian he is entertaining is flesh and blood and not a decoration on the speakers platform. With all the good will in the world, if he does more than exchange banalities about the weather, he is soon apt to either offend or be offended. Often it is the idealistic tolerance of both national cultures that causes the trouble. 'Underneath,' says the citizen of either nation, 'we are just the same.' And believing this, he often believes that the path to friendship lies in ignoring differences. This is idealistic but seldom true, as anyone who has close friends from another culture will testify.

True inter-cultural friendships are not to be had without the prior acceptance of three factors: 1, our common lot and common strivings as human beings; 2, the fact that cultural differences go deeper than language or national costume; 3, the fact that if we can not learn to understand and respect cultural differences we will never be able to fully share our common humanity."

A Military Advisor in the Philippines

Captain Wilson was assigned to the Joint U.S. Military Assistance Group, JUSMAG, in the Philippines in 1965. He moved his wife and two children to Manila and went to work at the JUSMAG compound with Captain Ramos of the Third Military District, a region of former Huk activity north of Manila in the populous rice plain. In the tradition of Magsaysay, the Philippine Army had been attempting to maintain good relationships with the tenant farmers. Most of the personnel spoke Tagalog, a few Pampango, another dialect of the area. All officers spoke "Filipino English" which an American could understand after a few weeks. Most of the enlisted men understood English but few appeared fluent even though all insisted they understood instructions.

This was Captain Wilson's first experience in the Far East, his previous overseas duty had been in Europe. His orientation had included some reading on the Philippines, conversations with fellow officers who had returned and two weeks in a special program at the Foreign Service Institute. His duties were rather general. The Philippine Army had been encouraged by his predecessors to develop a civic action program to ensure the continued peace and to further economic development of the

district. Conferences with provincial governors and with community development officials had led to a program of road building, particularly feeder roads to villages which had previously been connected to highways only by trails along which water buffalo pulled wooden sleds. At the same time the president of the Philippines was promoting a land reform program in selected communities in which the tenants could choose to buy their land at prices fixed by the courts.

Captain Ramos explained the program, described the steps which had been taken and suggested the next moves. He felt they needed additional road building equipment and some additional transport for their men who had been obliged to use rural buses when their troop carriers had broken down. The next day the two men were driven to the provinces for a couple of days to see the work at first hand.

This was a new experience for Captain Wilson. Each community leader, mayor or barrio captain, prepared a special meal which included roast pig, local fruits, rice, tropical temperature Coca Cola and San Miguel beer, and out of deference to the American, bread and canned pineapple. Adults and children gathered four deep to stare at the Americano who towered at least a foot above almost everyone except Ramos. They smiled uncomfortably when he returned their glance and children covered their faces and hid behind their mothers. The officials made long and enthusiastic speeches about the great things which the program would do for their barrio (village). They also made Wilson feel good by praising their American friends for help in the past, present activities, and better things to come.

In the months which followed, the American found that there were problems in the program. Ramos had relatives who were landowners and who pressed him to withhold reform programs from their area. A provincial governor claimed responsibility for many accomplishments with which he had nothing to do and had billboards erected announcing that Governor Sanchez had given the roads to the village as part of his program of improvement. In addition, there were thefts of equipment, preventative maintenance had been indicated but had not been carried out, and several good officers got involved in a feud with a governor who in turn brought pressure to

have them assigned to remote islands. Finally, the people of several barrios did not seem willing to maintain the roads nor to spend the few hours necessary to make repairs after a hurricane.

This example is presented to illustrate the degree to which an American advisor can be misled into believing that local nationals share his commitments when they seem to agree with his suggestions and express goals with which he concurs. In this case a number of Filipinos were saying what Wilson wanted to hear in order to make him feel good but they did not share his conviction that equipment and roads must be maintained and protected regardless of other considerations. Similarly, he failed to recognize the importance of family obligations in the Philippines and the intensity of political competition. Because they talked in a way he could understand, he assumed that they were reasoning from the same premises and would judge situations in much the same way he would. He used the only frame of reference he had, his own. When his counterparts failed to meet his expectations he was tempted to make very negative evaluations of their character, especially when equipment disappeared and when favors were done for relatives. Of course, there can be incompetence, theft and nepotism anywhere. The problem Wilson faced was to try to respond to what he saw, or thought he saw, without losing his relationship with his counterparts or his own principles. Understanding the world as the Filipino saw it would help the advisor to react effectively in terms of the social realities of the Philippines. Ultimately programs might be modified, curtailed or continued, with the decision being made after a valid appraisal of performance and prospects. The alternative could be a series of angry recriminations and a loss of goodwill for all concerned, as well as waste of resources.

A Lecturer in India

A second example is Dr. Preston Markle assigned to the College of Education in Delhi in 1963 as a consultant on high school curriculum development. He had never been in India before, but his name was known because he had written a well-received book on the subject and he had taught Indian students in his seminars in New York.

His two-year assignment began after the school year had started in Delhi so he was encouraged to visit a number of colleges and give talks on curriculum development. Somehow the messages got mixed and he arrived without being expected in Madras and was billed as a guidance specialist in Bombay. It was never quite clear whether he was to direct students' research or merely consult with them. They asked for suggestions but then had to check with Indian professors. The solution seemed to be for Markle, the Indian professor and the student to sit down together but the professor protested that he was very busy, besides Professor Markle was very famous and his special knowledge would be best anyway. The student should therefore go to Markle with his problems since they were fortunate to have him with them.

The next term the American was scheduled to conduct a seminar on curriculum development for which 20 students enrolled. Trying to relate discussions to Indian rather than American problems he had deliberately resisted issuing his reading lists from home and decided to have the group define their purposes and goals. He wanted them to develop their ideas rather than simply record his. The first few sessions of a seminar are always rather inconclusive as people strive to know one another, and to avoid taking stands which others might attack. But the Indian students were even more reluctant to talk, and when he pressed them they insisted that he was the specialist. Faced with this dilemma he invited them to discuss specific problems rather than general issues. Several students responded to this by describing complicated situations which appeared virtually insoluble and then asked for simple straightforward solutions. He had been called an expert and the students wanted the benefit of his expertise. The balance of the seminar was a continuing struggle with Markle wanting to discuss issues and the students wanting facts and solutions.

In the following terms Markle did more lecturing and relied less on discussion techniques. However, the students did not respond in the way he had anticipated. Rather than at least learn what he had to say, they began to miss classes and at the end of the term presented desperate stories of fates that awaited them if they did not receive passing grades. When he finally failed three obviously inferior students he was called in by the administrator of the college and urged to re-examine the students'

performance. There were some hints that a left wing student group might hold a meeting protesting his attempts to indoctrinate students and a couple of critical letters were written to the cultural affairs officer at the embassy. On the other hand several students wrote to him after he returned to New York telling him how much they had learned from his lectures and regretting that they did not have the opportunity for further study with him.

This example emphasizes the competitive struggle which may arise when host nationals are embarrassed that advisors are present. Markle knew very little about India and Indians responded by proving that he could not solve their problems. Furthermore he tried to use a pedagogical technique which was unfamiliar students and which would impart very little to them which would prove useful in the all-important examinations they faced later. Captain Wilson of the first example was received more cordially because his agency was supplying equipment, while the professor came with only his ideas and found a limited willingness to receive what he had to offer.

At the outset, assistance activities appear to be a simple matter of those who have or know sharing with those who need. The motivation of the giver may be honorable and unselfish. The recipient's need for change may be apparent to all. But helping relationships soon become complicated as the recipient resents his implied inferiority and as the donor becomes impatient for changes that do not appear. Both parties bring spoken and unspoken purposes to the encounter. Differences in objectives and methods which can be expressed can be compromised but those which are more implicit in the ways of life of the societies represented are more troublesome. Neither advisor nor counterpart is ordinarily aware of the extent of the differences in their outlooks nor of the unshared premises from which each reasons. We must know something of the frame of reference of another before we can influence effectively the opinions and attitudes he holds or modify the way he performs his job.

Value Orientations in America

In the balance of this section we will offer a listing of some of the values or premises which motivate many of the members of four very different societies. The list is by no means exhaustive nor does it necessarily include all of the important values. It is presented in order to illustrate the extent to which societies differ in their approaches to common issues.

One of the most widely cited lists of American values is that of Williams (1961). Since American military personnel are representative of our society as a whole, it is likely that they will go abroad holding the following values; furthermore, they will strive toward the achievement of these values and will, to varying degrees, feel that they are failing when these strivings are frustrated.

1. Achievement and success. This is the emphasis upon personal achievement, especially secular occupational success. The emphasis is upon the achievement of the individual in which he strives to overcome obstacles without looking to others for help.

2. Activity and work. Doing something is important; doing nothing is reprehensible. In an earlier era "getting your hands dirty" was emphasized and it still is when the situation demands it.

3. Moral orientation. This is the tendency to see the world in moral terms, and to evaluate more issues as good or bad than is the case with peoples from other societies.

4. Humanitarian mores. This is the emphasis upon concern and helpfulness including personal kindness and comfort as well as the more impersonal pattern of organized philanthropy. American society produces individuals with powerful urges to help those who appear to be in need regardless of one's acquaintance with the needy individual.

5. Efficiency and practicality. American society emphasizes getting things done with minimum effort and in minimum time. Something that doesn't work or doesn't work well is held up to contempt.

6. Progress. There is a constant drive for improvement which sometimes becomes an urge to change without necessarily improving. By contrast, what is old-fashioned or out-of-date is regarded unfavorably.

7. Material comfort. The American standard of living is characterized by the enjoyment of physical convenience and the pursuit of leisure activities and an impatience with things which leave one uncomfortable or cause extra work.

8. Equality. Equality of opportunity has been a persistent theme in American history and yet there have been flagrant violations of this principle which persist to this day. Nevertheless the inculcation of the principle in white Americans at least, leads them to feel uncomfortable when instances of gross inequality arise elsewhere.

9. Freedom. This word has great symbolic value. It also refers to the degree to which individuals are able to make the choices they wish to make with a minimal experience of coercion and control of others.

10. External conformity. This appears to conflict with the preceding concept of freedom, but it does refer to the extent to which individual Americans are responsible to the expectations of at least their membership group.

11. Science and secular rationality. This refers to the belief that the applications of science can lead to the solution of problems and that the answers to social issues can be settled in popular discussion rather than on the basis of authority of leaders.

12. Nationalism-patriotism. This is the emphasis upon the loyalty of the American to his nation as a whole as opposed to regional and local interests.

13. Democracy. Americans place a good deal of emphasis upon free elections and the reassurance that each individual had the same power at the polling booth as any other individual.

14. Individual personality. This is the high value set upon the development of the individual personality and the corresponding opposition to invasion of individual privacy and integrity. There is also an aversion to the surrender of individual rights for what are supposed to be the interests of the group as a whole.

15. Racism and related group-superiority themes. In spite of the American commitment to the value and dignity of the individual, there is a widespread tendency to ascribe different values to individuals on the bases of their race or membership in non-racial groups. In a sense one cannot assert that "this is the greatest country on earth" without implying, if not asserting, that other countries are not as great, and, that the people from other countries are not as great.

One may react to this list of values by saying that no American holds them all and every American violates at least some of them very frequently. Granted that this is the case, a recognition of these values enables us to make sense of and to understand the premises behind the action of many Americans. At the same time it must also be acknowledged that Americans have what might be called "shared blind spots" so that each of us does not see the violation of our professed ideals, contradictions which are readily apparent to someone from another culture.

Value Orientation of Filipinos

Filipinos hold many values which are very similar to those of Americans. These cause no particular confusion to an American trying to work with them. They also hold other values which do constitute a source of difficulty for non-Filipinos because they are different, not just in degree but in the way the values are organized. If we could describe these uniquely Filipino values adequately we would enhance our ability to understand his behavior. Without this information we evaluate him against our values and are led to inappropriately derogatory or unnecessarily complimentary judgments.

The following list of Filipino values has been derived from observations in the Philippines and from the opinions of others who have lived there. The list is not

exhaustive nor is it in an order of importance. A list of useful references is included in Appendix A.

1. Getting along together. Filipinos emphasize greatly the importance of good relationships with others, even at the expense of finishing a job on time or getting a satisfactory product.

2. Limited concept of public property. Whatever belongs to everyone-- the forests, space in the street--can be taken by anyone if he feels he has a need for it. The public domain is to be appropriated and utilized by those who have the imagination and courage to do so.

3. Sensitivity and self-esteem. Filipinos do not tolerate criticism well and they tend to be very uncritical of their own performances. Very devious ways must be found to offer correction, since a face-to-face confrontation can be shattering. Recognizing this quality in each other, they permit many errors to go uncorrected and settle for poorer performance than would otherwise be necessary. We would associate excessive sensitivity with excessive concern for quality of one's work.

4. Coercion and control. Particularly with their children, but with other subordinates as well, there is a strong tendency for those with power and authority to control the lives of those under them. This is done with the feeling that the older, more powerful individual knows more than his subordinate and can offer his directions in a desire to be helpful. We associate authoritarian attitudes with rejection, the Filipinos with positive concern.

5. Regulations are a challenge rather than a control. In a society where relationships are personalized rather than formalized, regulations are often ignored or openly violated by persons who feel no need to conform to impersonal controls. This has the effect that tax discipline is lax and smuggling is regarded as a sort of game. Enforcement of rules can be seen as a personal imposition on the part of the individual imposing the rules.

6. An emphasis on spontaneity and innovation. Associated with this value is an aversion to fixed schedules and long-range planning. In a society in which men feel they have little control over their environment, there is a considerable need to adapt to changing circumstances. An American experiences this as a disordered state of affairs in which no one can plan with any expectation of sticking with the plan.

7. A tendency to be wasteful and ostentatious. Good luck is to be shared since one never knows when he may have bad luck. This outlook with its emphasis on immediate consumption of the fruits of achievement gives an American the impression that Filipinos have poor judgment or no ability to conserve for a rainy day. The Filipino approach is to use what is available and hope for the best later. In a tropical climate the coconuts keep falling and what is saved soon spoils. This can be quite disconcerting to an American supply officer.

8. High status people must be high in all activities. It is difficult for a Filipino with advanced education, high rank, or status position to acknowledge that he is not skillful in new activities as well. The implication is that a major will have great difficulty if he is asked to learn to operate a new device in company with lieutenants and sergeants who are also being instructed.

9. Impersonal treatment implies the other is not a person. While it may be most efficient to proceed according to a set of procedures, a Filipino often feels very uncomfortable if he is treated according to established procedures with no response to him as a person. Formality is not seen as efficiency, rather it is felt to be rejection or rudeness.

10. Showing anger is bad taste. The emphasis on good relationships means that anger must be concealed. Resentment is expressed in various ways such as refusing to learn, gossiping, and misinterpreting instructions. This is done while maintaining a face-to-face manner of acquiescence and apparent good will.

A grasp of these Filipino values and patterns of relationships between people will enable an American to make sense of and respond effectively to Filipinos. If

the American does not understand these and related aspects of the Filipino way of life he has to respond in terms of his own values and expectations. When he does so he reaches contradicting judgments and negative evaluations which, in turn, interfere greatly with his ability to continue working effectively with Filipino counterparts. Regardless of good intentions, no one can cooperate for long with another whose actions are unpredictable and whose apparent purposes are unworthy.

Value Orientations of Indians

This vast country with hundreds of dialects presents many contrasts within its own borders. In the material which follows we shall draw on the observations of Western visitors who have had most to do with educated, literate Indians who were most changed by British influences. (See Appendix A.) This is a group which is reasonably fluent in English. Although their homes may be separated by a thousand miles, many of their attitudes and points of confusion with Americans will be similar.

The following are some points at which Indian-American misunderstanding can arise when members of the two nations are involved in a collaborative project such as a military assistance scheme. The perplexity is increased because the Indian often speaks excellent English and may have a better classical education than his American counterpart.

1. Meaning of friendship. Within the Indian definition of friendship there is a great deal of latitude for asking special favors. An American, with his emphasis on the need for friendly relationships and easy acquaintance, can be quite perplexed when the Indian acts on his definition of friendship asking for special favors, intercessions and arrangements.

2. Problem of color. Although Indians denounce discrimination based on color and are particularly bitter about America's experience, they are color-conscious among themselves, looking down on the darker South Indians. At the same time they have difficulty believing that an American, regardless of his statements, does not look down on them because of the darker Indian skin. There are points of similarity

and of difference in the color consciousness of the two societies and the whole thing becomes very complicated because each individual wants to deny that he is influenced by color.

3. Indian concern for human suffering. The members of almost any society learn to live with some suffering and misery in their presence and are largely oblivious to it as long as it does not involve them. A visitor to India is struck by the poverty, illness and physical handicaps. A Western reaction is that Indians don't seem to care, are not interested in doing anything about it. The Indian view is difficult to grasp since it involves Hindu beliefs in reincarnation. One attitude corollary of these beliefs is that one should not interfere in the destiny of others.

4. The meaning of wealth. Each society appears to prescribe appropriate ways in which wealth can be displayed. By American standards an Indian maharajah wastes his fortune while an Indian feels that a rich American spends a good deal of effort pretending he is not wealthy.

5. American materialism. This is an especially distressing charge to Americans who recall all of the taxes paid and the amount of free food that has gone to India. A difference between the two peoples may be characterized as "The American seeks to increase his comforts while the Indian tries to reduce his wants." With this difference the Indian sees the American as low in spiritual values since he seeks to satisfy his cravings rather than overcome them. These are two very different configurations of reactions to human wants which lead members of each society to regard the other as lacking in basic virtues.

6. Friendliness followed by suspicion. Americans who have worked in Indian villages have been impressed by the initial warm welcome of the villagers. However, if the American stayed and tried to work in the village he discovered that initial friendliness was replaced by suspicion and mistrust. The American feels he has made a mistake and lost the confidence of the villagers. This is not so. The initial greeting was a social form and did not imply the intent to cooperate in spite of statements to that effect.

7. The Indian caste system. Although the caste system has been formally outlawed, it continues as a powerful factor in the day-to-day life of the vast majority of Indians. It is the antithesis of the equality doctrines of the American who has difficulty withholding his most severe condemnation. The Indian sees it as a kind of occupational differentiation and an expression of the destiny of each individual. Until an American can see it in somewhat the light of his counterpart he is likely to feel that gross indignity is done to human beings by consigning some to be sweepers, others bearers and others to be priests. The important point is that the Indian does not see it in the framework of slavery and privilege as does the American, using the conceptual systems he has available.

8. The role of women. Purdah, the tradition of veiling, is incomprehensible to Western men who at least on occasion adopt a chivalrous role. The two societies, however, define the sexual role of women differently. While Western men expect to be the instigators of sexual activity, the Indian sees women as the sex with little self-control. The veil therefore is necessary since without it she might be attracting men other than her husband. This is a very complex area, one which can give a good deal of trouble. Western assumptions about the biological, instinctual basis of sexual behavior, and associated roles for the two sexes are cast in serious doubt by a different organization of sexual motivations and controls in India.

9. Styles of humor. In his longing for a friendly, cooperative relationship an American may try to improve acceptance by humor and joking. Indians on the contrary impress visitors as non-smiling and sad or angry. They have their humor too, but it has style and quality which is different. American humor, particularly sarcasm, may be very painful.

10. The doctrine of moral consequences or karma. This is the belief that good behavior will bring a reincarnation in a better life. The thought that bad behavior can be forgiven by man or God is not a part of the belief system. It also leads to ahimsa or non-injury to living things.

A great deal has been written in the popular press concerning the competition between India and China as political systems which other developing countries should emulate. While at the moment we find ourselves helping India, Americans have had a much longer history of contact with China. The report of Isaacs (1962), cited in Appendix A, indicates that we find the Chinese easier to understand and react more favorably to them. There is no easy explanation for this preference. It would appear that, other things being equal, Americans find it easier to establish close relationships with Chinese with better understanding and less friction and mistrust.

In contrast to the Filipinos, Indians come from an area with an ancient, rich cultural heritage. They have been less influenced by Western ideas and retain more of their own traditions. Their caste system is especially disturbing to an American because it denies the opportunity of improvement. Another incarnation does not figure in the American's calculations. An Indian's attitude toward nature, particularly taboos about killing animals, is particularly perplexing to an American who cheerfully sacrifices animals for food, for experiments or simply for convenience. With the continuing threat from China, Americans will be under increasing pressure to learn effective ways of collaborating with Indians. In addition, the threats from within of civil disorder and hunger also call for improved insight into the Indian way of life and understanding of his characteristic styles of relationships with others.

Value Orientations of Nigerians

This area has only recently assumed nation status and has not been the object of careful study by Western scholars. There is little literature available, see Appendix A, to serve as a base for illustration of areas of misunderstanding in the interpersonal component of an assistance project. The conflict is present and some of the sources have been tentatively identified.

1. Dash or tipping. This system of paying a little extra for every service even though one has a legitimate reason to expect the service is equated with bribing in

many cases for Americans. Overtones of dishonesty are perceived by outsiders and a good deal of negative feeling may ensue. For the Nigerian it is a custom with a long history and is not primarily a moral issue.

2. The meaning of education. Nigerian experience under Western control led to a view of education as a route to status and employment. The impact of education upon the individual as a person and a citizen received little emphasis. This difference in orientation may lead to marked conflicts between an educated Nigerian and his Western counterpart.

3. Belief in magic. There still remains a very lively belief in magic even among the literate and educated. There is a large section in the market in Ibadan devoted to juju materials such as bats' skeletons, bones, hair and parts of birds and monkeys. An American advisor finds it difficult to accept as a counterpart someone who retains these ancient beliefs and practices.

4. Leaders should be pulled down if possible. One individual's achievement may prompt his friends to try to pull him down to their level. Accomplishment prompts envy and revenge instead of admiration and emulation.

5. Role of women. It appears that women are deserted rather frequently. More than one wife is often the case in the Lagos area as well as where it is permitted under Moslem tradition in the north. Men tend to look for little in terms of personal relationship with their wife or wives, not that women are rejected, they are seen differently.

6. Difficulty of private saving. Personal progress and security lie in the family rather than in accumulation of savings. What might be saved is used by the extended family. This conflicts with an American's values on establishing one's own financial independence.

7. Exploitive attitude toward resources. As in many parts of the world, the farmer in Nigeria has great difficulty grasping the principle that fertilizer must replace what crops have removed.

Although very little military assistance has been extended to Subsaharan Africa, this area is sufficiently unstable so that it may become very turbulent in the future. The Congo drew considerable attention recently. Nigeria has in 1966 undergone dramatic upheavals. Ghana overthrew Nkrumah who apparently planned extensive interference with neighboring governments.

Americans who work in Nigeria experience many contradictions which are difficult to resolve. Our own tradition of widespread prejudice toward colored people affects many Americans and probably all Nigerians. The result is that the American advisor is constantly tested by Nigerians who are vigilant for signs that he regards them as inferior. Vestiges of animism and other aspects of Nigerian life sorely tempt the visitor to make the negative judgments which the Nigerian fears and expects. The result is that few white people achieve more than a superficial involvement in the society. The absence of a deeper understanding of the way of life of the Congolese and the Nigerians makes it impossible for us to respond effectively to, or to wisely ignore, recent discords in those two countries.

It has been the purpose of this section to offer examples of experiences of advisors and to organize an outline of the value orientations of Americans, Filipinos, Indians and Nigerians. The latter tabulations are presented to indicate that misunderstandings and conflicts can arise when persons from two cultures are acting on the basis of principles which each holds important. In the following section we will outline a program of research which should reduce the frequency of misunderstanding and improve the likelihood that advisor and national will be working for the same goals by methods that each understands.

It must not be inferred that the military advisor and his counterpart have to hold the same values and make similar interpretations of the problems which confront them. Indoctrination and training programs within a single culture seek to achieve such standardization, but the challenge of the cross-cultural encounter is to understand the other fellow's values in order to make sense of his interpretations. Only when this is achieved is it possible to teach him to take the steps necessary for him to achieve the goals which both agree are important.

3. PROPOSED RESEARCH ON THE PERSON-TO-PERSON ELEMENTS OF MILITARY ADVISORY ACTIVITIES

Psychologists and other social scientists have given considerable attention to the processes of communication and influence between pairs of persons and within small groups within our own society. These include studies of interpersonal attraction, impression formation, persuasion, and leadership. A good deal of experimental work has been done in bargaining studies and in other interaction situations. All of this work has been done using subjects raised within one society, subjects who share similar linguistic, conceptual and interpersonal conventions.

Communication and Influence

The observation of processes where one or more of the participants is from a markedly different cultural background serves to dramatize the extent of the shared implicit conventions which permit and facilitate relationships between pairs of persons who have grown up within the same society. A similar situation exists with respect to the structure of our language. Meeting someone who can speak only French makes us aware that other words are possible for familiar objects. When we try to learn a non-Indo-European language, however, we become aware that the entire structure of language may be different--so different that word by word translations are not possible. It is only when we come into contact with an alien society that we realize how arbitrary are our cultural conventions and our language, and, at the same time, how much these conventions guide and direct our behavior. As the anthropologist Linton has observed (1945, p. 17): "If a society has done its work of shaping the individual properly, he is no more conscious of most of the restrictions it has imposed than he is of the restraints which his habitual clothing imposes on his movements."

In the cognitive domain there has been lively discussion concerning, and some investigation of, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that different linguistic systems with their different concepts actually cause individuals to experience reality differently. It has proven extremely difficult to test this intriguing hypothesis since language finds its way into both dependent and independent variables in almost any experiment which can be conceived. There does appear to be a great deal of evidence that concepts which guide interpersonal patterns within one society are different from those which play a similar role in a second. The difficulties of translation of these guiding concepts into a second language demonstrates that the second society does not order interpersonal relationships around the same foci of concern.

This was demonstrated by Guthrie (1965) in a factor analysis of the attitudes of mothers toward their children in which parallel studies were carried out using American and Philippine respondents. Attitude statements were presented in English to both groups of mothers and factor analyses yielded different factors suggesting that members of the two societies organize their views around different themes even though they may have used exactly the same words to describe a discrete sentiment or impression. Reliability estimates indicated that these results did not arise due to faulty understanding of English by the bilingual Philippine subjects. Other factor analytic studies of the same set of items with American subjects yielded essentially the same factors which Guthrie found with his American subjects. It is therefore reasonable to attribute the differences in factors to differences between the Philippine and American ways of considering parent-child relationships.

Paying special attention to the problem of the American businessman, Lee (1956) has suggested the concept of the self-reference criteria which he abbreviates to SRC. Drawing on his experience and training in the United States, the American entrepreneur evaluates opportunities and makes judgments in which he assumes greater similarity than exists between the American and the foreign marketing situation. Lee suggests that the American value system must be set aside and replaced by a more internationally objective measurement system which could possibly be used in both cultures.

This view is in marked contrast to one which would emphasize the need for hard-headed American business know-how as an antidote to the problems of developing countries. Unfortunately there is little systematic evidence to support Lee's position or to support a position that sound business practices are universal.

The most extensive and in many ways the most imaginative analyses of the person-to-person component of overseas activity have been offered by Hall (1959, 1966). In his first book Hall discusses the formal, informal, and technical culture. It is the informal aspects of culture which prove most perplexing to someone whose early learning experiences have been elsewhere. To quote Hall (1959, p. 96):

"In informal activity the absence of awareness permits a high degree of patterning. A moment's reflection will show that in walking or in driving a car awareness of the process is apt to be an impediment to smooth performance; similarly, too much awareness of the process of writing or speaking can get in the way of what one is trying to say. The informal is therefore made up of activities or mannerisms which we once learned but which are so much a part of our everyday life that they are done automatically. They are, in fact, often blocked when cerebration takes place.

All this has been known in one way or another for a long time, but no one has understood the degree to which informal activities permeate life nor how the out-of-awareness character of informal acts often leads to untold difficulty in a cross-cultural situation. The tone of voice of the upper-class English which sounds so affected to many Americans is an example of just this kind of activity which, unless properly understood, can be a stumbling block between individuals from different cultures."

Hall indicates that imitation plays a very important role in the acquisition of formal learning. Related activities can be acquired at one time, often without any awareness that learning is going on, or any sense of the pattern or rules which govern the activities.

We would like to go beyond Hall's suggestions and indicate that much learning goes on in children before the acquisition of an extensive vocabulary. The result is that an individual has an immediate feeling that something is right or wrong. Although he may acknowledge that his judgment is arbitrary, he may still experience discomfort and a vague sense of wrongdoing if things are done differently than he has been accustomed to.

In his later work, Hall examines cultural differences in the spatial relationships that prevail between people depending upon the activity in which they are engaged. Thus people from different societies stand closer to one another or farther apart when they are discussing an issue. What is appropriate for one society may be an expression of disdain or anger or fear to someone who has learned to accept and work with a different distance.

Hall's emphasis upon the role of the informal, non-verbalized culture is very important for our purposes here. This is the aspect of the culture which is not described as a rule by its participants. It is not ordinarily detected immediately by an outsider because he as a rule relies on the participant's words to make his inferences about the culture. This aspect of culture is not unconscious. It is, however, not usually put into words. It includes many shared values and preferences, signs and postures of non-verbal communication, subtle expectations which prevail between people based on acquaintance and relationship, and it probably includes many opinions and attitudes as well. The cues one receives in this informal culture are not subliminal, they can be noted if they are pointed out, rather they are not consciously attended to. Nevertheless, they have a very powerful effect upon behavior as every advertiser knows.

An example in this domain of considerable importance to person-to-person relationships is contained in the research of Norman (1963), and Passini and Norman (1966). These studies represent the culmination of a series concerned with basic personality factors. Using peer rating methods, five factors were found in a number of studies. These included extroversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability and culture. The interesting point is that the same factorial structure was found when subjects were rating people with whom they had virtually no acquaintance. In fact, the communalities were higher when acquaintance was absent. These studies suggest very strongly that our culture has a sort of implicit personality theory and that seeing one trait in an individual leads us to see another regardless of whether the second is present or not. These shared views about personality structure are part of our informal culture. They guide our behavior, influence our

decisions, but may be only tenuously related to reality. But the study of maternal attitudes referred to above would lead us to expect that what Passini and Norman have called "a universal conception of personality structure" is only universal within one society.

The person-to-person component is of considerable importance to the American military advisor. As Eachus (1966) has observed: "Upon the personnel acting as instructors and advisors falls the heavy responsibility of establishing strong, productive bonds of friendship and communication, while at the same time increasing the technical skill of people from the so-called emerging countries. This is the battlefield upon which the values of liberty, tolerance, and self-improvement are practiced." As long as the informal culture and implicit theory of personality structure are not shared, productive bonds of friendship and communication are impossible. Limited cooperation can go ahead, but if more than a superficial relationship is desirable each participant must begin to master the informal culture of the other. Since informal cultures are not set down in words, the learning process is likely to be unsystematic, slow, and impeded by uncorrected errors.

Need for Research on the Person-to-Person Component

Ability to converse in a common language is the single most important requirement for effective military assistance. The entire scope of language training for personnel going to Vietnam has been reviewed by Sinaiko (1966). Many of the factors which he has discussed would undoubtedly be applicable to personnel going to other areas, particularly countries where non-Indo-European languages are spoken. Since language lies outside the scope of this paper we shall not discuss it further, having acknowledged the prime importance of being able to speak the language of the area.

That more is involved in communication than the mere use of mutually comprehended words is amply demonstrated in countries where English is widely spoken as a second language such as the Philippines or India. We let others know what we are thinking not only by our words but also by our gestures, postures and facial

expressions, and by the subtle pattern of emphases and pauses in our spoken messages. Someone may be able to speak English quite well as a second language and yet retain the paralinguistic components of his first language. The result is that his English may sound excitable, harsh, or angry to another who understands the words, but misinterprets the style of speaking.

In addition to language, differences in role behavior may greatly complicate a working relationship between individuals from two very different cultures. These sources of difficulty are particularly insidious because they are part of the informal culture and are ordinarily not expressed in words. Indeed they are often recognized only when they are violated. For instance, we have a complicated set of behavior patterns which are related to differences in status or differences in sex or of age. Within our own society, these are widely shared and the fact that everyone has learned them when he is young makes behavior in another predictable. Violation of these expectations makes us wonder about the good will or stability of the violator or at least we react against him, identifying him as uncouth and crude. It must be noted also that the American will create the same impression insofar as he violates the sub expectations of another society in which he has not grown up.

In addition to providing its members with a rather pervasive set of expectations and approved behavior, a society also provides a sort of interpersonal validation system. Each individual draws his self esteem in part at least from the approving responses which he elicits from others. Even without their responses he may feel good knowing that he is behaving in a way which would warrant others' approval. We become most aware of our dependence on others for our self esteem when the approval of others is withdrawn. Under these circumstances, uncertainty is experienced with increasing intensity and an individual may be driven to desperate lengths to gain the feeling that he is wanted. It may be such motivation that prompts some Americans to tip excessively or give more liberally from their own possessions when they are abroad. The failure of familiar reinforcements is well demonstrated in Morocco where Peace Corps volunteers experience great difficulty becoming accustomed to the fact that Moroccans do not say "thank you." The psychiatrist Sullivan

has emphasized the role of what he calls consensual validation in a normal mental health. Mental illness on the other hand is characterized by an increasing failure to validate one's impressions of one's self or others against the opinions of others. Difficulties arise in alien cultures because consensual validation fails and the individual is deprived of familiar controls and support. The loss of reinforcements and warnings from others can give rise to intense feelings of uncertainty and drive an individual to protective activities which prevent him from learning about the society.

Closely related to the concepts mentioned in the preceding paragraph is the notion of the reference group. In order to obtain the approval of others, whose opinion matters to us, we develop our activities along certain lines and avoid others. An American living in a foreign society can be caught between the expectations of his compatriots and the approval of his hosts. Some manage to develop very effective compromises. Others associate almost exclusively with the members of the American enclave and still others join so actively in the way of life of the new country that they earn the epithet "going native." Inasmuch as continued employment and promotion depend upon the ratings of fellow Americans, members of military assistance teams are under strong pressure to retain the approval of their superiors and peers.

From this social psychological analysis of the cross-cultural experience a number of lines of potentially fruitful research are apparent.

1. Identification of central American values. An American military advisor has certain goals which are a product of his cultural background, as discussed in Section 2. He is convinced that achievement of these goals of efficiency, progress, equality, freedom and rationality are essential to his mission. These are the unspoken premises from which he reasons. Failure to move toward goals of this sort, which the American sees as given or obvious, cause the advisor to redouble his efforts and/or to feel that no change can be made in a archaic system under present circumstances. As a first step we need to make explicit the values and the goals considered important of American military advisors, and the American military subculture insofar as they may be somewhat different from those of other American groups.

2. Identification of central values of the cooperating nation. Counterparts, in our case Filipino and Indian, also have a value system which coincides at some points with the American's and at other points is quite different. Fulfillment of his values gives the counterpart a feeling of accomplishment and leads to promotions and security. It is important to note that values of American and foreign officers are not very often directly opposed to one another -- rather they do not coincide. Each may be working to achieve an objective which the other regards with indifference.

3. Identification of differences in implicit personality and behavior theories. The American advisor and his counterpart make judgments about the other's purposes and motivations and about the methods the other is using to achieve his goals. For instance, the American may succeed in communicating his desire for efficiency. The Indian may have a relatively clear understanding of the American's thinking on this matter. In the implementation of measures designed to improve efficiency however, the American may urge the removal of unnecessary individuals whose competence and contribution are not apparent. The Indian may experience such steps as destructive to human welfare and demeaning to those who are assigned additional responsibilities and roles.

4. Design of techniques to increase sharing of frames of reference. Research is needed to make possible the development of techniques designed to increase the American's ability to look at a situation with the perspective of a foreign military officer and related techniques designed to help Americans make their implicit assumptions explicit to their counterparts. American premises are relatively constant from one country to another but there are great differences between Filipinos, Indians and Nigerians who are as different from one another as from Americans. The content of these assumptions would need to be explored for the major cultures with which advisors work.

5. Identification of recurrent areas of misunderstanding. In an area with a large American military assistance group it would be very productive to keep a log of incidents of misunderstanding, episodes in which American advisors were not

able to achieve what they were convinced was important. This would parallel the systematic analysis of material needs which is done in the process of supplying equipment. Officers have been trained to be alert to problems with equipment which arise from factors in the environment, factors such as fungi, or fine sand or the short stature of operators. Similarly, advisors could be alerted to the need to record, without trying to analyze, the episodes of difficulty in cross-cultural cooperation. These could be classified by inspection and recurrent areas of difficulty identified for further study. Finally techniques for coping with the most common problems could be developed. A parallel activity by the recipient military organization would be difficult to accomplish but could be very rewarding.

The results of such research would be of great value to a newly arrived advisor and it would at the same time leave him latitude to solve his own interpersonal problems with counterparts. With the results of research such as we have outlined he would now have more than his culture-bound intuition to guide him. Some areas of recurrent conflict for Americans in the Philippines, India and Nigeria have been suggested in Section 2.

Specific Research Techniques

In this section we would like to suggest some specific techniques by which answers could be sought to the problems we have posed.

1. Participant observation. By means of interviews and observations an American social scientist, with a background in social psychology, sociology and/or cultural anthropology and a knowledge of the country involved, could identify some of the recurrent areas of conflict and misunderstanding and develop explanations which would help advisors approach their problems more effectively.

2. Factor analytic and other multidimensional procedures. Using such a technique as Norman (1966) or Guthrie (1966) one could collect judgments from nationals and from Americans concerning implicit personality theories. Differences in factors

would identify some of the situations in which perplexity arises because the same words and expressed reasons lead to different behavior in the two cultures involved. For instance, American and Indian concepts of dominance, cooperation, and control are probably different in a number of important but unrecognized ways.

3. Identification of prevailing values of host country. In much the way that Williams has offered an analysis of the prevailing values of Americans, an analysis of prevailing values is needed of the country in which a military assistance group is working. Such an analysis would make it possible for an American to understand more clearly the attitudes and actions of his counterparts and enable him to anticipate their reactions with increased accuracy. An investigator would draw on interviews, observation techniques, and an analysis of prevailing themes in novels and movies.

4. Analysis of person-to-person patterns of the host country. Using observation techniques, and possibly sound motion pictures, an investigator would seek to identify and describe the patterns that characterize person-to-person relationships including such matters as physical distance, touching, visual habits, signs of deference and authority, etc. Attention would also be given to the way that instructions, orders, requests, reprimands, and inquiries are offered. These are in the domain of posture, intonation, and facial expression and communicate much in addition to the bare verbal content of the spoken message.

This section proposes studies of the person-to-person components of military assistance. Failures in working relationships between the American and his counterparts arise frequently because one does not understand the premises and values which guide the other's decisions and actions. If we could give an American military advisor an increased understanding of the frame of reference of his counterpart the likelihood of effective collaboration would be improved. We propose systematic studies of the cultures of areas where we now have or may have assistance programs. These would make use of participant observation, interviews, questionnaires and the study of secondary sources of the value orientations and characteristic interpersonal

patterns of the people, particularly those in the armed forces. At the same time attention would need to be given to interpreting the results of this research to American military advisors and possibly to their counterparts as well.

4. REVIEW OF RESEARCH ON CROSS-CULTURAL ACTIVITIES

We are concerned with the person-to-person component of military and non-military assistance. In spite of its obvious importance it has received only limited and uneven attention. Research in this domain is difficult since participants are scattered widely and engaged in many different activities. Furthermore they are drawn from a status level which stresses independent responsibility and resists inspection of performance. The motivation to help others seems to figure prominently in assistance activities, and there is an implicit connection between trying to help and doing a good job. We shall have more to say about implicit connections, but in this case the connection between unselfish motives and noble results leads one to feel that something worthwhile will inevitably come from sincere attempts to help other people.

Cleveland et al. (1960), in one of the few field studies of technical assistants, concerned themselves with describing the assistants and suggesting the qualities necessary for success. They did not concern themselves with the problems encountered. Lederer and Burdick (1959), authors of the celebrated Ugly American, ridiculed the naivete of Americans abroad but did not address themselves extensively to the problems which their characters faced.

There are two significant exceptions to the generalization that little attention has been paid to the difficulties individuals have encountered. Spector and Preston (1961) used Flanagan's critical incident technique to develop a manual for Peace Corps volunteers. Using several thousand reports of experiences abroad contributed by individuals who had worked for government or private organizations, the authors presented an extended series of examples of effective and ineffective activities as they were seen through the eyes of the participants. A theme which seems to run through

many of the episodes is that one can frequently get into difficulty in an alien culture by doing what seems to be the reasonable, sensible thing by American standards. Difficulties arose for many reasons including the American's determination to get things done, his lack of awareness of local sensitivities and his inability to cope with problems of food and sanitation. The chapter headings provide an interesting perspective on the group of incidents which overseas personnel submitted. Adjusting to the overseas environment seems obvious enough. The next two are expressions of American values, establishing effective human relations and respecting human dignity. These are followed by teaching and advising, motivating, and a final chapter which collects other aspects of the context of the job. They offer five general requirements which they consider fundamental to working effectively overseas. The ability to acquire knowledge rapidly is the first on their list. The other four, the ability to analyze, plan, communicate and maintain a sense of proportion, are also requirements one might look for in a professional person in the United States. There is a contradiction suggested here which is found elsewhere as well. On the one hand we emphasize the differences between two cultures while on the other we hire the individual most adequately qualified to function in our own culture. Spector and Preston have provided a very valuable summary of overseas difficulties, there is however an inevitable cookbook quality about their presentation. Since they do not differentiate among foreign areas they are not able to make clear the meanings of situations to the non-American participants. Of course this raises the question of how meaningful it is to talk about working relationships with non-Americans in general since there are great differences for example between Egyptians and Chinese and Nigerians.

A second effort to consider cross-cultural activities is R. Foster's handbook (1965) which is a catalog of examples of situations encountered by Americans working with representatives of other cultures. He has provided an incisive statement of the problem which we shall quote at length:

"Living and working in a new environment with different rules and and unfamiliar ways of thinking is a difficult and emotionally demanding

task. It is not surprising that investigators who have undertaken to evaluate the performance and problems of Americans overseas have concluded that it is usually the human problems associated with working in a different culture that are likely to be critical in the success or failure of their assignments.

There is evidence that those who are least effective in their relationships with national counterparts and who demonstrate little insight into their overseas experience are the ones who claim no difficulties in their personal relationships and who tend to minimize the importance of the cross-cultural dimensions. Consequently, despite the importance of the human factor, it is not surprising that it is often difficult to make the trainee aware of the importance of the cross-cultural aspect of his work. If he is a technician, he is especially likely to be concerned with the adequacy of his technical proficiency even though his technical specialization frequently exceeds the demands of the job. He may be curious about facts and figures on the country, its customs, climate, geography, and so forth, but any attempt to give the trainee a perspective that will help him deal with the social-psychological aspects of his work is likely to be viewed as too abstract, too remote, or even too simpleminded.

The rationalization, 'After all people are really pretty much the same everywhere once you get to know them and goodness knows I get along with people,' is a frequent and tempting one....

Most of these mistakes seem obvious in retrospect and might be dismissed as stupidity or the result of an occasional oversight. Nevertheless, these errors occurred, and studies indicate that, far from being atypical, they have played a significant role in our overseas efforts. A sounder explanation is that the American unconsciously assumes that all people think, feel, and see things the same way (that is, as he and other Americans do) even though he may have discussed and even complained about differences. It is the simplicity of the mistakes illustrated by these examples that makes them all the more intriguing....

The basic goal of such training is to create an awareness in the trainee that both he and his indigenous co-workers act on assumptions that they only partially recognize; that these assumptions are critical factors in his work accomplishment; and that what seems to him to be good, moral, or natural is dependent on his cultural background. This concept, of course, does not mean that all values or assumptions are equally effective in fighting a war or getting a road built, or that any American should change his values when he is in Rome. It does mean, however, that his effectiveness will be maximized when he becomes aware of his own assumptions, feelings, and attitudes, and when he attempts to understand the indigenous people's feelings and point of view rather than passing judgment upon them in terms of his own values." (R. Foster, 1965, pp. 3-4)

In his categorization of incidents Foster begins with a group vividly entitled, "The assumption that our way is the natural way." He follows with examples of resistance to innovation which may arise from cultural factors or from environmental factors which can be referred to as the material culture. There are unanticipated results from changes which may or may not be desired. Finally there are uncertainties in the domain of perception and communication which complicate the helping process.

Neither Foster nor Spector and Preston gives attention to the changes that go on in the American who works in an alien setting. In addition to learning many new ways and making many physical adjustments all Americans experience periods of emotional stress called culture shock or culture fatigue. Originally described by Oberg (1958) and elaborated as fatigue by Guthrie (1963), culture shock has become a familiar term to all who have worked abroad. In spite of the fact that many unfortunate episodes have been attributed to this process it has not been the object of field study. Discussing the matter with returned personnel is not very productive since respondents seem unwilling or unable to recall their difficulties although they insist that other Americans were having difficulties (Guthrie and Spencer, 1965, pp. 73-75). Cleveland (1960) discussed the problem but did not report observations on personnel who were interviewed. This would be a difficult area of study since it would involve a quasi-psychiatric evaluation of people in the field at a time when they were under the stress of an unsatisfactory adjustment. Peace Corps volunteers showed a low incidence of maladjustment sufficient to warrant premature return to the United States (Menninger and English, 1965). However the emotional difficulties associated with stress are usually not sufficiently severe to warrant a psychiatric diagnosis even though they may interfere with effectiveness.

In the absence of incidence data and other documentation we are obliged to offer a description of culture fatigue based on observations and scattered anecdotal accounts from the literature. Criticalness and impatience appear to be the common indications that an advisor is having difficulty. These do not as a rule appear at the

outset but rather begin several months after arrival. The generally negative toward host nationals spreads to include almost all aspects of the society so that the afflicted one comes generally to dislike everyone and to be unable to conceal his attitudes. Nor do fellow Americans escape, for the attitude of hostility and dissatisfaction can also be directed toward fellow assistants. The generally pessimistic evaluation of the situation leads to a vicious circle in which associates respond unfavorably, eliciting further negativism from the one who is undergoing the ordeal.

In summary, we can say that there is a great need for on-the-spot studies of the stress of individuals involved in assistance activities. The data available are impressionistic and dramatic but they do not tell us much about the process of unfavorable and ineffective reactions nor do they point to remedial steps.

Training Programs

Agencies concerned with overseas activities have been quite cognizant of many of the problems encountered by their personnel. Each failure represents a loss of many thousands of dollars and an unestimated amount of goodwill. Their response has been to institute training programs and to try to cut losses by selection. Both moves however have been sporadic and limited. Thurber (1962) has tabulated training efforts, finding the most comprehensive undertaking at the Foreign Service Institute of the Department of State. These sessions are designed primarily for diplomatic personnel and employees of USIS.

The Ford Foundation experimented with a training and orientation center in Delhi. But as of the most recent information available it had not gone beyond brief orientation periods. The returned technical assistants whom Guthrie and Spencer (1965) interviewed doubted the value of the various orientation meetings they had experienced, with many suggesting that little productive could be done by way of preparation prior to one's actual encounter with the alien society. Orientation and training programs continue but they are sustained on hope and intentions rather than on demonstrated usefulness.

No agency functioning abroad has undertaken such extensive preparation as has the Peace Corps. Combining selection and training, the Peace Corps has developed intensive 10-12 week presentations with an emphasis on language and on skills for the assignment. The latter effort is necessary because few volunteers have a professional background. Peace Corps officials have strong opinions about the purpose and content of training programs but unbiased data to support the relative merits of various methods are nonexistent and the usefulness of specific content remains unknown. Reports of volunteers themselves are uneven. Szanton (1966) suggests that a group of volunteers, of whom he was one, was so eager to get to their assignments that they had to be on the job for several months before they realized what the training program was trying to accomplish. It is difficult to communicate the nature of overseas work to someone who has never worked abroad since the listener can only relate what he is told to what he has experienced in our own society.

Philosophies of Training

Almost everyone who has worked with overseas activities would agree that some kind of preparation is desirable. The nature and extent of this effort will vary with the task to be done, with the circumstances in the country concerned, and with the commitments of the person in charge of training. A businessman going to Paris will need to know many different things than an army captain going to Niger although both will be called upon to speak French. Let us imagine a group of officers going to India. As a first step one could teach them a set of ways of behaving designed to elicit favorable responses from Indians and to avoid violation of the most fundamental aspects of their etiquette. As a second step, one could emphasize to them the importance of adopting a learning attitude and the dangers of an approach which constantly compares things Indian unfavorably with life in the United States. This is about as far as tourists need to go in modifying their habitual reactions.

A third step could involve a serious study of Indian culture and Indian history. This would enable the officer to gain considerable perspective on the problems which

India and Indians encounter. It would remind him that there are no simple answers to the massive problems facing the people. It would probably raise his status among Indians inasmuch as they do not expect Westerners to respect their culture enough to spend time on it in intensive study. A fourth step would involve learning an Indian language and learning the paralinguistic and kinesic patterns which Indians use in communicating to one another. This would enable him to communicate with many non-English speaking persons and gain access to Indian modes of thought which have fallen less under western influence. In the process the officer's ability to empathize with Indians should be very considerably enhanced. He should be able to reason more as they do and thus be able to predict their reactions in a way which is not possible without a mastery of their language. A fifth and final step which is not clearly separated from the ones which have gone before, none of them is, would entail grasping the value system -- not only the things which the Indian may want, but also the things which make him feel secure or threatened.

Now of course no military advisor would have the time to develop through these various steps, nor would the development be necessary to the adequate performance of his task. The steps are outlined to suggest what a complicated process it is to become thoroughly attuned to an alien culture. The steps constitute a conceptual analysis for in point of fact, shortly after his arrival, an officer meets the society at each level and in varying degrees almost simultaneously. It is in this person-to-person or person-to-culture-bearer encounter in which some of the most perplexing and difficult aspects of cross-cultural work arise.

It must be emphasized again that in facing situations in India our officer does not see Indian behavior as random or incomprehensible. Rather he attempts to interpret it according to the rules and principles which he has learned in his own society. This gives rise to what Stewart has called "cross-cultural incongruity" (1965):

"Many problems of U.S. advisors overseas can be traced to the incongruities between American and foreign cultural patterns. When the U.S. advisor is confronted with unusual cultural patterns, his lack of familiarity

with them may lead to misunderstanding and friction. Americans, like members of any other culture, have their own cultural patterns which provide them with a comprehensive system of perceiving and understanding the world, and with preferred modes of action.

Whenever the individual finds the strangeness of life in a foreign country leading to uncertainty, he adopts hypotheses derived from his own cultural pattern to fit the new situation. Since these interpretations -- based on his own cultural pattern -- dominate, he is not likely to suspend judgment and action until he can fully understand the strange ways. Because his own ways seem to him normal and natural, he is likely to regard those of another culture as undesirable, unnatural, or immoral.

Consequently, the individual's own pattern comes into conflict with that of the foreign culture. Any contingency he may meet, no matter how strange, is likely to lead to an interpretation according to his own pattern. Since the cultural pattern itself is not precisely articulated, the tentative hypotheses are likely to be imprecise. The individual will, accordingly, spawn a crude interpretation and thereby reduce the ambiguity of cross-cultural differences."

It might be added that the Indian is also examining the American using an Indian system of concepts with the result that the American appears incomprehensible, perverse, materialistic, or whatever the Indian has learned to associate with the impressions which he is receiving. As this process of shared incongruity mounts, the likelihood of adequate communication and training disappears.

Useem and his collaborators (1963) have suggested that as persons from two cultures work together a third culture emerges which is "the complex of patterns learned and shared by communities of men stemming from both western and non-western societies who regularly interact as they relate their societies, or sections thereof, in the physical setting of a non-western society." Useem argues that the third culture permits continuity of collaboration even though personnel may change. It may also facilitate the adjustment of newcomers. At the same time there is the hazard that a false sense of understanding may emerge which when violated leads to deep distress. The third culture is a useful concept if, for no other reason, it emphasizes the fact that the nationals of the recipient country can and do modify their expectations.

There is another school of thought that we should seek to have Americans understand themselves before they try to understand others. On this premise training programs emphasize the study of American culture and national character. As we come to understand ourselves we are able to see more clearly the effect we have on others from a different culture.

It would appear that one purpose any training program, no matter how brief, should accomplish is to inculcate the idea that different societies do produce different kinds of people. It does not follow from this that all Indians are the same nor does it follow that because they are different they are also inferior. These two statements are rather obvious, but they are made because many individuals in our society deny differences between people as an expression of their intense longing that all people be treated equally. Individuals who work abroad must learn to accept differences, sometimes very great differences, without habitually having to arrange these differences along a better-worse continuum.

An equally insidious but often unspoken belief is that while they are not like us they would like to be. It is probably the case that the vast majority of those persons in the world who know about the American standard of living would like very much to enjoy a similar level of material possessions. But they find little attractive about many of our ways of life. Misunderstandings do not arise as a rule between an advisor and his counterpart when the aims and goals of a program are the matter of issue. Both advisor and national want better equipment and they want it so be used effectively. Trouble emerges however when the time comes to change the social assembly line to produce a new model. In many cases societies want to retain old ways of doing things while desiring products which these old ways cannot produce.

The philosophy which guides a training program will differ depending on the group being trained and the tasks which they face. In addition, those who determine the nature of the training effort may have very different views of the optimum experience for the trainee. Survival training, Great Books, self-realization, physical conditioning, sensitivity training, formal lectures and guided reading have all been

tried and each has been passionately defended as the best way to prepare someone to live and work abroad. Those who have served overseas are not necessarily in much closer agreement than those who have not. They may be a little more likely to doubt the value of any indoctrination effort, at least for themselves. This reflects more than anything else the fact that little systematic attention has been given to the nature of the difficulties an expatriate faces. Until criteria of good performance can be agreed upon there is little point in attempting field studies to evaluate the effects of various types of preparation. Of all agencies involved in overseas assistance the military establishment has the strongest tradition of objective assessment of training activities. A modest investment to determine the demands which advisors face should suggest principles to guide training in much the same way that combat effectiveness determines the preparation of an infantryman.

Selection

In addition to orienting and training those who are entering assistance assignments, various agencies have given serious consideration to the problem of selection. In the introduction to his volume on the selection of personnel for international service, Torre (1963) has given a very concise statement of the problem:

"The successful individual in international service is the person who, in addition to having the technical skills necessary to perform his job effectively, also has the ability to adapt and adjust to new life and work situations -- for example, a different climate, different language, a different concept of time, a different value system. It is far easier to assess a man's technical competence than to assess those qualities which may or may not make him potentially adaptable to a wide range of living conditions. Herein lies the special and difficult problem encountered in the selection of suitable personnel for international service."

The balance of the Torre volume is taken up with a consideration of those qualities which make a man adaptable and with techniques by which persons possessing these qualities may be selected. It must be stated, however, that no evidence is offered to support the criteria of selection which they propose nor is there evidence that people possessing the qualities can be accurately identified by interviewing or testing.

Reports of two conferences (Winslow, 1962, 1965) sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace offer some very thoughtful observations on recruitment and selection for technical assistance. Recognizing the absence of systematic information, the second conference proposed that research be undertaken which would collect critical incidents, obtain evaluations of technical assistants by both host nationals and representatives of the sponsoring agency, and analyze the role behavior of assistants on the job. The problem of adequate criteria of successful performance was emphasized, and it was suggested that some design be developed for simultaneous research on individuals and the society in which they were working.

In his discussion of the overseas American, Cleveland (1960) attempted to identify the traits associated with successful performance. He and his colleagues concluded that technical skill, belief in the mission, cultural empathy, sense for politics, and organizational ability are the qualities which must be present if one is to function successfully in a developing country. These may be the qualities found in one who is considered particularly effective. It is important to know this, but it is by no means clear how one can use this information to select personnel who have not previously worked abroad. This raises the question to which we shall return a number of times in this report, whether one takes the qualities with him or acquires after arrival the skills which prove essential to doing a good job.

The problem of selection is complicated further by the fact that there is little agreement on the criteria of good performance, particularly between Americans and host nationals. Peter and Schlesinger (1959) found that there was very little agreement between the ratings by Filipino supervisors and Americans advisors of Filipino technicians who had received some training in the United States and had subsequently returned to the Philippines. Similarly Guthrie and Zektick (1966) found only a low positive correlation between the ratings assigned by American Peace Corps staff and the ratings by Filipino nationals of Peace Corps volunteers at the end of their two year stay in the Philippines. Although both of these studies took place in the Philippines, there is strong reason to suspect that Americans and host nationals in

other countries would also show low levels of agreement concerning the effectiveness of Americans engaged in technical assistance work.

The most extensive study of selection methods for overseas employees was carried out by the U.S. Civil Service Commission (1953). Directed by Macdell the study had the ambitious purpose "to develop valid and practical methods which may be administered by agencies of the Federal Government to help them select employees for all overseas posts and all types of positions. This includes American citizen employees but not native employees." The emphasis in the study was on the measurement of personal characteristics rather than on intelligence, information, or special aptitude. Data were obtained from samples of employees who were already on the job overseas. At the same time criterion ratings of the effectiveness of these employees were obtained from their supervisors. A self-description inventory and an inventory of activities, interests, and preferences showed highly satisfactory correlations with the criterion ratings. It was not possible to take the next step and administer the inventories to applicants. This was an ambitious study, in which data were collected on a thousand employees in Europe and the Far East who were working for the Department of Defense, the Department of State and what was then the Mutual Security Agency. In spite of this promising beginning, this project was apparently terminated.

It would appear that there is general agreement concerning the importance of training and selection activities, but there is little agreement concerning the method or content of training programs nor on the qualities one should look for in selection. Even with agreement on the latter topic, there would still remain the problem of developing valid selection techniques. Before any of these matters can be resolved, however, it would seem necessary that careful studies be done in the field in order to analyze the nature of effective and ineffective technical assistance. It would be necessary to bear in mind that there are many ways of accomplishing one's purposes and possibly even a greater number of ways to fail. Only then would it be possible to reach some estimate of the distribution of the variance in performance attributable

to the lifelong qualities of the assistant on the one hand and skills acquired on the job on the other.

Effectiveness on the Assignment

Only a very small number of studies have been carried out concerned with the effectiveness of the technical assistant while he is on the job. Gollin (1963) has provided a very useful summary of the evaluation activities of private, government and U. N. agencies, and of business firms. He found that practically all agencies have some sort of performance appraisal form but there is great disagreement concerning the nature of the performance to be appraised. In many instances the bureaucratic nature of the organization is such that the best ratings are obtained by the one who causes the least difficulties rather than the one who brings about the greatest accomplishment.

One of the most recent studies in this area is that of Lynch and Maretzki (1966) on the effectiveness of Peace Corps volunteers in selected communities in the Philippines. This study however was directed at the effectiveness of the Peace Corps rather than with the differential effectiveness of individual volunteers. This study dramatized the difference in criteria held by Americans and Filipinos where the former emphasized that a good volunteer was one who innovated, learned the language, and worked hard at his job. The Filipinos felt an effective volunteer must first of all present a pleasing personality. In contrast to the American raters, the Filipinos were not particularly impressed by the skills of the volunteer nor were they, surprisingly, inclined to rate him more highly because he learned the dialect.

The studies reviewed by Gollin and the one just mentioned do not contribute, particularly, to the solution of our problem since they leave unresolved the lack of agreement between the ratings of Americans and those of local nationals, nor do they provide a picture of the psychological processes involved in being effective or ineffective. Beyond knowing that, according to explicit criteria, someone did or did not do

a good job, we need to know the methods and techniques which he used, particularly the manner of his relationships with host nationals.

Finally, Guthrie and Zektick (1966) found only low positive correlations between ratings by a selection board at the end of training, and ratings by an American staff at the end of their tour of duty of a group of some 278 Peace Corps volunteers. When the criterion ratings were provided by Filipinos the correlation with predictions shrank to zero. There is evidence of very satisfactory reliability of all three ratings. The results suggest that we have not identified the qualities, possessed by individuals which enable them to earn the characterization of successful. An alternative explanation is that, given a certain minimum of intelligence and social skill which all volunteers possess, situational factors after arrival have a great deal to do with how well a volunteer will function. It is a question whether enduring characteristics or short term attitudes and adjustments have most to do with judged effectiveness. An answer to this question would suggest whether the best strategy would be to emphasize selection or to emphasize supervision and support after arrival on the assignment.

Review of Related Research

There are a number of lines of research which bear on the person-to-person aspects of cross-cultural experience. These include studies of foreign students who have come to the United States, of Americans who have studied abroad, of the adjustments of immigrants to the United States, and of the general problem of ethnocentrism. The research concerned with technical assistance programs per se has given attention to the effectiveness of personnel, and to cultural factors in the country involved as they affect the achievement of the goals of the assistant's program. What follows is a sample of the research in these areas with an attempt to relate it to the problems of military advisor in an alien culture.

Study Abroad

For a number of reasons, more attention has been given to foreign nationals studying in the United States and Americans studying abroad than to any other group of people working outside of their own society. This research has been concerned with the impact of the experience upon the attitudes of the participants. Entire numbers of the Journal of Social Issues have been devoted to this topic, Smith (1956), Coelho (1962) and Lundstedt (1963). It is interesting to note that with the passage of time the topic of study shifted from the foreign student in the United States to the American studying abroad to human factors in cross-cultural adjustment. There is a diffuse quality to this research which probably results from the fact that the motives which prompt individuals to study in another country are very complex and the experience has a multitude of effects upon the individual himself.

The International Institute of Education, the International Education Exchange Service, better known as the Fulbright Program, and the Social Science Research Council, have all supported extensive studies of the impact of foreign study. One of the most comprehensive efforts in this domain is that of Gullahorn and Gullahorn (1958), an extensive study of the professional and social effects on recipients of Fulbright awards. This study and many others tended to confirm the value of experience outside of the country insofar as the participants developed an interest in the area in which they had worked and related their new information to their academic and scholarly efforts upon their return. It is virtually unanimous consensus that study abroad is good for students and scholars in that it broadens their experience, increases their motivation, and enriches their scholarship. Two factors, however, may make the research on scholars irrelevant to the problem which we face. The vast majority of Americans who study abroad go to Western Europe which is technologically as advanced as the United States and represents the area from which the United States has drawn its Judaeo-Christian culture. Furthermore, they have gone abroad to study rather than to induce changes in their hosts--a difference which profoundly influences what goes on between them and non-Americans.

The Problems of Immigrants

Since this country is largely populated by immigrants and their descendants, it would appear useful to examine the processes by which our forebears and our neighbors coped with the unfamiliar culture which they encountered upon arrival. Many studies have indicated that the greatest emotional problems arose among the children of immigrants rather than among the immigrants themselves. The tendency of immigrants to live in ethnically homogeneous groups undoubtedly reduced their immediate stress but prolonged the process of transition to the ways of the new society. American technical assistants similarly find themselves longing for contact with Americans like themselves after prolonged exclusive contact with the nationals of the area in which they are working. There are, of course, many differences in the situation. The immigrant has cut off his sources of support and strives to adopt many of the styles of life of his home. There is a more or less predictable sequence in his adoption of new ways, a sequence which runs from home, conveniences, and clothing to language, and last to food and religion.

Krystal and Petty (1963) have discussed the dynamics of adjustment to migration. Although their formulation is heavily psychoanalytic, many of their observations permit re-interpretation in terms of social learning. They emphasize the loss of support of stimuli from a familiar environment, varying degrees of depersonalization and regressive tendencies against which the individual may react with various forms of aggression. This latter process, the authors feel, may account for the tendency on the part of some immigrants to be ruthless in the conduct of their business affairs. The authors also attach a great deal of significance to retention of a foreign accent which they see as a resolution of a conflict between longing for their childhood home and attempting to identify with their new environment. Although the situation of the immigrant and the military advisor is different in many important ways, we could still learn a good deal from a more careful examination of the processes by which an immigrant learns the interpersonal patterns of the new society to which he has come.

Ethnocentrism

The record of race relations in the United States has been broadcast around the world by our friends and enemies. It could be that the expectation on the part of the foreign national toward the American with whom he is working is a more serious impediment to satisfactory collaboration than the racial attitudes which the American may have carried abroad with him. The relationship between ethnocentrism and effectiveness in an alien setting has not been investigated with the exception of some limited studies in connection with the Peace Corps. Smith (1965) found some significant correlations between the F scale and personality ratings by American raters but only chance relationships between measures of authoritarianism and ratings of performance on the job in Ghana. On the other hand, Mischel (1965) reports a small but significant negative correlation between the F scale, a widely used questionnaire on prejudice, and the performance of Peace Corps volunteers in Nigeria. In our own experience training Peace Corps volunteers we decided against using measures of ethnocentrism because the self-selection factors in the Peace Corps produced a group who were remarkably egalitarian and who were very concerned about the lot of others. Ethnocentrism may however be an important factor where men are assigned overseas, since this group could include many who would not ordinarily choose to work with those who are from markedly different cultural backgrounds.

Ethnocentrism and feelings of superiority of one's group take many forms in addition to the most commonly mentioned of segregation and apartheid. Excessive concern with the poverty and ignorance of another group may only veil one's feeling of not only economic superiority but moral superiority as well. The lines between sympathy, condescension and condemnation can readily become blurred. Under the stresses of a foreign assignment, an individual with even an extraordinary amount of good will may come to emphasize to such an extent the unfortunate circumstances under which local people live that he comes to hold them in contempt in addition to their environment.

The social psychologist, Klineberg, has moved from studies of ethnocentrism within the United States to a concern with factors which affect the relationships between nations. In a recent discussion of the Human Dimension in International Relations (1964) he has applied many of the concepts developed in the study of attitudes within the United States to an analysis of the relationships between nations. He argues that many of the principles developed in the laboratory which account for the formation of attitudes and which permit the resolution of conflicts can also be applied on the international scene in order to reduce the tension between peoples in the way that they reduce the tensions between individuals. For instance, he quotes approvingly Rapoport's suggestion that in a controversy each side should be required to state the position which the opponent has taken to the opponent's complete satisfaction before the side is permitted to state its own position. Such a policy would serve to reduce conflicts based on misunderstanding. It appears to this writer that such a policy would reduce the degree to which each side felt the other was operating from malevolent motives. This technique could be used also in an assistance program to reduce misunderstanding between a technical assistant and his native counterpart.

Cultural Factors and Technical Assistance

During the past decade there has been a considerable volume of literature written largely by anthropologists which seeks to explicate the cultural context of assistance activities. The persons to whom the programs are directed have a complex way of life of their own, often of great antiquity. Their values, beliefs, ways of thinking and ways of doing things, are all related in very complicated ways so that you often cannot change one aspect of a society without changing others as well or encountering extraordinary resistance. An editor's abstract to a paper by Lee (1959) provides a very satisfactory statement of this point of view.

"The introduction of technical change into non-Western cultures has, in the past, been done rather haphazardly. Even when the motivation for such efforts has been completely humanitarian, the effects are frequently unfortunate. At times it is impossible to introduce changes because of cultural resistance; on other occasions an 'improvement' in a culture has had disastrous

ramifications because neither the values of the culture nor the relationship of the environment were considered. It is possible, however, to overcome the difficulties presented by cultural differences. Careful study of a culture is needed; this must include a consideration of motivations, values, and symbolic significance of even seemingly unimportant acts, and a consideration also of all the dangers inherent in the disturbance of the delicate balance between a culture and its local environment. Such study can result in the introduction of technological improvement which neither destroys the culture it is designed to improve nor opens up a Pandora's box of dangerous secondary results."

A considerable number of books have begun to appear designed to help the technical assistant and the interested layman understand the processes of and resistances to cultural change in developing countries. One of the earliest in the series is that of Mead (1955). This has been followed by Erasmus (1961), Foster (1962), Goodenough (1963), and Lensberg and Niehoff (1964). Each of these books draws heavily on a case study approach, which may enable one to do a convincing job of explaining success or failure, but leaves one without the concepts which would be essential to make a realistic prediction of the effectiveness of a proposed course of action. Assistance projects have been characterized by a great deal more inspiration than experiment. The result is that with projects as with individuals we are left without clear indication of the contribution of important variables to the end result.

We can observe, by way of summary, that there is a considerable volume of reports on training and selection but there remains great uncertainty concerning criteria of performance. Until greater agreement can be achieved about who is doing a good job training and selection programs will be guided by opinions and impressions.

Students who have studied abroad and immigrants to the United States have also faced the problem of coping with an unfamiliar culture. The applicability of findings from these groups remains uncertain since they have different roles and purposes than advisors. Similarly, ethnocentrism, which plays such a disruptive role in our own society, remains a largely unknown factor in cross-cultural work. Observations suggest that there is only a very slight relationship between prejudice at home and prejudice abroad in the American who works overseas.

Anthropologists have had few opportunities to watch advising activities over an extended period of time. What has been written so far suggests that diagnosis is a more developed art than prevention of conflicts between the advisor and his counterpart.

One of the great dangers a soldier faces in guerrilla warfare is the booby trap, a device which is designed to blend with the environment. Alien societies seem also to set booby traps when they create the impression of familiarity, causing the unwary to feel secure. Knowing the cultural terrain and understanding the subtle cues of local people may enable an advisor to avoid the social injuries which occur when he ignores cultural differences.

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APPENDIX A

USEFUL SOURCES ON PHILIPPINES, INDIA, AND NIGERIA

Philippines:

Batacan, D. F. Looking at ourselves. Manila: Philaw, 1956.

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India:

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Nigeria:

Material on Nigeria is still very limited. Ethnographic work has gone on for many years but more social psychologically oriented accounts are virtually unavailable.

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Some concepts are offered which may be useful in understanding cross-cultural transactions and a number of lines of research are proposed. Each participant, American and counterpart, in a military advisory group brings to the situation his language, values, habits of thought, and characteristic way of working with others. In addition to problems of language, there are subtler problems of non-verbal communication by means of gestures, tone of voice, and other styles of response. Men from different cultures seek different goals or use different methods to seek essentially similar goals. Differences in the ordering of values lead to differences in priorities assigned to activities with the result that one participant sees the other as selfish, or lazy or lacking in foresight. Examples are offered from the Philippines, India, and Nigeria of approaches to life which may conflict with the characteristic American approach. Suggestions are offered for research to improve the ability of Americans to grasp the frame of reference of counterparts.		

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