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 suppest 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 socieites, 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 Mandell, 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 criterior 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 reaserch 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 concensus 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 Arensberg 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.

Guthrie, G. M. and Jacobs, P. J. Child rearing and personality development in the Philippines. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966.

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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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13. ABSTRACT

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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