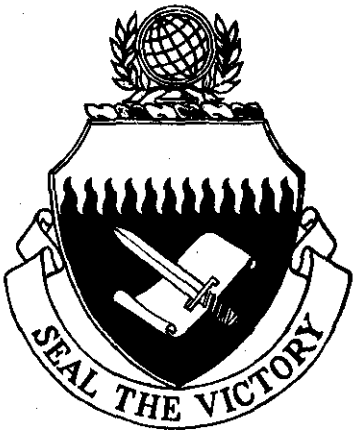
SPECIAL TEXT 41-10-91

WORKING EFFECTIVELY OVERSEAS



US ARMY

CIVIL AFFAIRS SCHOOL

Fort Gordon, Georgia

U. S. ARMY CIVIL AFFAIRS SCHOOL
Fort Gordon, Georgia

FOREWORD

This publication is reproduced for the use in training Civil Affairs personnel, and should not be construed as reflecting current Civil Affairs doctrine. It was prepared for the Peace Corps by the Institute for International Services of the American Institute for Research for the purpose of orienting Peace Corps personnel with respect to (1) some of the differences between working in the United States and working abroad; (2) the principles and methods which have been found effective by others who have worked overseas; and (3) the application of these principles and methods in typical situations.

The nature of the Civil Affairs mission requires that Civil Affairs personnel overseas work in unfamiliar environments and with people whose culture and culture patterns may be quite different from those to which they are accustomed. It is believed that the material contained in this volume may be useful in assisting Civil Affairs personnel in preparing for their mission.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

We wish to acknowledge the hundreds of individuals in government and private organizations who contributed several thousand reports of their experiences overseas which constituted the basic data of the study upon which this book is based. Slight editorial changes have been made in the cited incidents to preserve the anonymity of the contributors.

The book could not have been written without the efforts of Walter F. Choinski, Jean Huson, Patricia A. Johansen, Angeline C. Marchese, David B. Orr, and C. Michael York who served as members of the project staff.

Members of the staff who also contributed to the book include Stanley Lichtenstein who wrote Chapter IV, Theresa Trittipoe and William A. Gorham who formulated most of the instructional situations in Appendix A, Nancy K. Thomas and Richard H. Gaylord who edited most of the chapters, and Mary-Jo Wood who prepared the manuscript for publication.

We also wish to express our appreciation to Nicholas Hobbs, Director of Selection for the Peace Corps, for his many valuable suggestions throughout the course of the project.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

BY WAY OF INTRODUCTION

In his special message to the Congress of the United States on the Peace Corps, March 1, 1961, President Kennedy stated the reasons for sending Peace Corps Volunteers abroad.

> "Throughout the world the people of the newly developing nations are struggling for economic and social progress which reflects their deepest desires. Our own freedom, and the future of freedom around the world, depend, in a very real sense, on their ability to build growing and independent nations where men can live in dignity, liberated from the bonds of hunger, ignorance and poverty.
>
> "One of the greatest obstacles to the achievement of this goal is the lack of trained men and women with the skill to teach the young and assist in the operation of development projects -- men and women with the capacity to cope with the demands of swiftly evolving economics, and with the dedication to put that capacity to work in the villages, the mountains, the towns and the factories of dozens of struggling nations.
>
> "The vast task of economic development urgently requires skilled people to do the work of the society -- to help teach in the schools, construct development projects, demonstrate modern methods of sanitation in the villages, and perform a hundred other tasks calling for training and advanced knowledge.
>
> "To meet this urgent need for skilled manpower we are proposing the establishment of a Peace Corps -- an organization which will recruit and train American volunteers, sending them abroad to work with the people of other nations.
>
> "This organization will differ from existing assistance programs in that its members will supplement technical advisers by offering the specific skills needed by developing nations if they are to put technical advice to work. They will help provide the skilled manpower necessary to carry out the development projects planned by the host governments, acting at a working level..."

The volunteer is the key to the success of the program. The President's statements can remain only an expression of good will and noble intention until the volunteer makes them manifest in concrete, living terms. It is he who must convey specific ideas and methods to individual human beings.

In doing his job effectively, the volunteer will be of service not only to his hosts but also to himself and his countrymen. He will have unprecedented

opportunities to experience the life of another people -- not from the outside as a tourist or from above as a diplomat, but as a partner and friend. The Peace Corps Volunteer stands to learn as well as to teach and to gain satisfaction and a maturity of outlook from contact with new peoples, places, and things that would hardly be possible in any other role.

As a representative of the United States, he will have the opportunity to demonstrate tangibly to his hosts the real qualities that characterize our people. If he does his work responsibly and well, if he has a decent regard for the feelings, customs, and opinions of his host, and if he establishes and maintains genuine friendships, he will do much to dispel the misconceptions and doubts of others about America.

This book should help the Peace Corps Volunteer to work effectively overseas irrespective of his particular job or of the country in which he will serve. It is not a substitute for technical instruction or for any of the many excellent books about specific countries and regions of the world. It was written for three purposes: (1) to familiarize the Peace Corps trainee with some of the differences between working in the United States and working abroad; (2) to teach him principles and methods that have been found to be effective by others who have worked overseas; and (3) to give him an opportunity to practice these principles and methods in situations typical of those he is likely to encounter.

The contents are derived principally from a research project, sponsored by the Peace Corps, to determine the general requirements for effective work overseas. Data were collected by the Critical Incident Technique which calls for factual accounts of behavior by Americans overseas that either furthered their missions or resulted in unwanted or ineffective outcomes. Insofar as possible, opinions were avoided on what constitutes effective or ineffective overseas service. Rather, descriptions were obtained of actual events in which an American did (or failed to do) something that had a palpable effect on his adjustment in an overseas environment, on the success of his work, or on his relations with indigenous persons. The behaviors and the situations in which they occurred were then grouped into homogeneous classes which ultimately afforded pictures of the requirements for effective overseas service and of the kinds of problems that confront persons living and working abroad.

The data were obtained from a number of publications, from the records of various organizations in overseas operations, and from hundreds of individuals who have had experience in government, business, and philanthropic work abroad. These sources provided several thousand accounts of how Americans acted in a tremendous variety of situations all over the world. In general, the information was obtained from persons who had worked in regions and on jobs under conditions similar to those envisioned for the Peace Corps Volunteer. Thus, most of the data were furnished by persons who had worked in Asia, Africa or Latin America in operational rather than diplomatic positions. A considerable number of our informants had also lived and worked under environmental conditions which characterize nonindustrial developing nations.

As the data accumulated, it became apparent that living and working overseas is an extraordinarily complex process, requiring more than a few general abilities to ensure effective performance. Although some similarities exist, the situations confronting Americans overseas are almost endlessly varied. Nations and regions within countries are at different stages of technical development, their populations are sometimes extremely heterogeneous with regard to religion, ethnic composition, existing skills, educational levels, political and economic institutions,

recreational patterns, and social relations. Furthermore, historical relations with the United States and other Western nations differ both within and between countries. Every difference imposes a demand for a unique response. Consequently, although general principles of effective behavior can be propounded, exceptions will be numerous and actual applications will be as varied as the situations themselves. Thus, generalizations and principles throughout this book have been liberally illustrated with specific accounts of problems and behaviors.

The book is divided into two sections. The first part discusses major overseas problems likely to be encountered by a Peace Corps Volunteer, principles of effective behavior, and illustrative accounts of specific methods. The second section, an appendix, presents fifty typical problem situations designed to provide a trainee with opportunities to put the principles of behavior into practice in realistic settings. Throughout the book, the orientation is toward specific behavior, i.e., the things that the volunteer should do or avoid doing in order to live and work effectively overseas.

It is not the purpose of this volume to define the general qualities or traits of an effective overseas worker, or to state explicitly what a Peace Corps Volunteer should be. Rather, we are concerned with what he should do. Neither is it the purpose of this book to change the basic personality of the volunteer. We cannot furnish him with perceptiveness, judgment, or ingenuity; nor can we provide him with the technical skill, the sense of service, the patience, the sympathy, and the inner resourcefulness and flexibility of thought that he needs in order to adjust to strange cultures and people and to cope with work situations whose specific problems are unforeseeable. The Peace Corps Volunteer must bring these qualities to the overseas situation himself. We hope only to complement these qualities with the experiences of other Americans who have been overseas, and in a sense, to substitute the experience of others for the inexperience of the otherwise qualified volunteer. But it should be recognized that admonitions, techniques, and pieces of information cannot substitute for a belief in the importance of one's mission, genuine good will, or intellectual and spiritual sympathy.

CHAPTER II

ADJUSTING TO THE OVERSEAS ENVIRONMENT

Unquestionably, creature comforts are catered to more elaborately and on a larger scale in the United States than anywhere else in the world. We insulate ourselves from heat and insects. We have virtually eliminated every major contagious disease. Food is available in almost unbelievable abundance and variety and thirst is quenched at the turn of a tap. In a matter of hours we can go almost anywhere in the country in comfort and safety, and we communicate over thousands of miles in a few seconds. We have detergents, vacuum cleaners, and hot and cold running water to keep ourselves and our homes clean. We have an endless variety of recreational activities; we can enjoy music or drama at the flick of a switch. At night we sleep softly without a thought of flood, famine, or fear. There are, of course, many exceptions, and many Americans are still beset by illness, insecurity, unhappiness and misery, but not usually for lack of basic creature comforts. To many young Americans such things as hunger, filth, and disease are barely known and then only through stories of other places and other times.

It is small wonder that some of us fail to adapt when we are suddenly confronted with the scores of petty annoyances that are inevitable in less abundantly endowed countries. The wonder, perhaps, is that most Americans overseas do adapt, and what is more, go well beyond mere adaptation to lead fruitful and pleasant lives.

Many of the sights, the sounds, the smells overseas will be different from those at home. The climate will be hot or cold and excessively dry or damp. The people and their ways will differ from the Peace Corps Volunteer and his ways. Yet he can enjoy a fruitful and rewarding experience -- or he may dread each day before him after the novelty and glamour have worn off. Which it is to be will depend partly on how effectively he takes some sensible precautions to eliminate real hazards, partly on his ability to tolerate things about which nothing can be done, and partly on his ability to understand strange habits and ideas.

The Peace Corps Volunteer will have an unparalleled opportunity to see a new world, to enrich himself and others, and to have fun doing so if he is able to adjust to a different physical and social environment. Differences in physical environment, though often dramatic, are relatively easy for a healthy American to deal with, and sooner or later most come to terms with them at the cost of little personal discomfort.

Adjustment to differences in social environments is more troublesome. Here the differences lie in customary ways of acting and reacting toward objects, ideas, and values in the environment. They involve traditional beliefs of what is "good," what is "right," what is "worthwhile," and they apply to small everyday matters as well as to the profound matters of religion, family, economics, education, and philosophy. In short, they are the accepted "rules" by which most persons in a culture area live, work, and die. Fortunately most Americans are not wholly inexperienced in adjusting to differing cultural backgrounds, since they come from a country historically composed of people of many different heritages. The problem of adjusting

to a different heritage overseas, however, will be intensified because of the frequency and extent of the cultural disparities which the volunteer will encounter and by the absence of close friends to give him support as he seeks ways to resolve or live with such disparities.

This chapter discusses some of the larger, more general problems in adjusting. In a sense, however, the entire book deals with the same issue. The accounts of situations encountered by others in a variety of different countries should help the volunteer to anticipate and to find solutions to many of the problems he will have in adjusting to a new environment.

What, then, are some of the specific environmental difficulties the overseas worker must learn to take in stride? The most immediately noticeable adjustment will probably involve a gross change in climate. Most countries to be served by the Peace Corps Volunteers will be considerably warmer than the United States. Some will be more humid; others will be drier. Some will have extreme contrasts between a wet, rainy season and a dry, dusty, arid season. The heat will tend to be enervating; the sun will create danger of heat prostration and sunstroke. Excessive humidity will tend to mildew clothing, luggage, books, etc. In tropical climates, metals will corrode rapidly. One must also be prepared to cope with difficulties caused by natural disasters such as floods, earthquakes, and typhoons.

Climate, weather, and natural disasters are certainly not cultural. Yet responses to them usually are. The volunteer, through his training, will have acquired techniques which will serve him well. In addition, the natives and foreigners who have lived in the area in which he will serve probably have also devised efficient adaptations. As a first principle, the Peace Corps Volunteer should learn the hazards peculiar to the area where he is living, and should take the elementary precautions that have been found effective both by the local people and others who have lived in that area. This principle is illustrated in the following cases: 1./

> Our group of American teachers arrived to supervise a school in a rural town. It was our first experience living in a tropical country. We were warned that it was not wise to remain in the sun for long periods of time as we had been accustomed to do in the U. S. In spite of the warning, one of the teachers spent a great deal of time in the sun reading, taking sun baths, etc. This resulted in a general weakening of her health. She caught colds easily and had to take long periods of rest. Her work was neglected and it became necessary for others to do her work as well as their own. This situation would have been avoided if she had stayed out of the sun as much as possible and had used an umbrella, as the native people do, when it was necessary to be in the sun.
>
> * * * *
>
> We were working in the Jordan Valley where the temperature in the summer would range from 95 to 120 degrees. It was very depressing and quite a contrast to what we were accustomed to.

1./ The incidents throughout the book are intended to serve only as illustrations. Their inclusion implies neither approval nor disapproval of the behavior reported in them. Further consideration of the situations may well suggest more appropriate behavior.

We took the advice of the natives to a large extent. We kept our skin protected, rested during the hottest part of the day, and took showers in hot rather than cold water. These precautions lessened the strain on our bodies, making us less liable to become victims of sickness or injury due to environment.

* * * *

This pertains to a personal experience on a trip to La Paz, Bolivia. Since that location, as well as some others in Peru, is characterized by a rather high altitude, a certain adjustment is needed to become acclimated. Sufficient warning is generally given to individuals coming to such places. I ignored the advice since I thought this would not necessarily apply to me. I did more than suggested -- walked around more, did not take the suggested nap upon arrival. As a consequence, in some 6-8 hours I felt very bad; was quite sick. This, in turn, caused loss of valuable time; my schedule had to be rearranged, etc. Another individual, who had followed the suggestions, did not suffer the ill-effects to which I was exposed.

* * * *

At times we had to operate in a heat of 120 degrees in the shade and had to cope with strong tropical winds. We started our office operations at 7:00 A.M. and closed the office in the early afternoon hours. According to my view, air conditioning would have been wrong. It might have created hostility on the part of those underprivileged people who could not afford the same comfort.

* * * *

Our clothing and other articles kept in closets became mildewed. We installed light bulbs in the closets and allowed them to burn constantly. The heat from the bulbs kept down the mildew.

Cultural divergence in hygienic and sanitary matters is mentioned frequently by our respondents. Since the volunteer will generally lack the natural immunity to certain diseases which the indigenous peoples have, he should strive to maintain his accustomed standards of cleanliness and hygiene. Contaminated foods and beverages, noxious animals and insects, infectious persons, fungi and worms, and unsanitary toilet and bathing facilities are all likely to be encountered with more or less frequency. In most cases the volunteer will be provided beforehand with adequate medical advice and materials. In any case, the elementary precautions of eating only freshly cooked foods and peeled fruits, boiling and filtering water, using water purifiers, insecticides, repellents, screening and netting should be taken whenever necessary. Such precautions, although somewhat cumbersome and tedious, can be routinized early and followed without any expense of thought and worry. Some Americans overseas have also found it possible and effective to introduce new and sounder hygienic practices to their indigenous neighbors. Consider the following incidents:

Two young Iraqi fellows and I were visiting villages, discussing possible ways our village development project could be of use to the villagers and explaining our artificial breeding program for cattle. At one of the villages, the village leader asked if we could do something about the unsanitary condition of their water supply which consisted of two springs. After looking at the springs, I told him I didn't know anything about such matters but would ask the Iraqi mason who worked for the project. A few days later I returned with the mason and made an agreement whereby the villagers would do the work, the mason would tell them how it should be done, and our project would furnish the tools and some of the cement. This gave the village a source of uncontaminated water. They were proud of having done most of it themselves and were pleased with the speed with which we carried out our part of the bargain. It encouraged others to attempt improvements in the area.

* * * *

There was no water in our house, even though an approved water supply was available in the town. We had the water piped in. This furnished a good water supply for our family, which was observed with interest by the local people.

* * * *

I habitually took insecticides with me on my field trips and distributed them to my counterparts and other natives who wanted to use them.

* * * *

We wanted to improve conditions in the community center which housed young men. We erected a main building, using local materials, and screened the building. We kept the kitchen well ventilated as well as clean, and we built a tank for water storage during the dry season. The new main building had a good psychological, as well as practical, effect on us and on the entire village. Screening the building eliminated some of the insect problems. Improving the kitchen aided the health situation and also enabled us to store food for longer periods than formerly. Even greater benefits would have been achieved if we had been able to secure something to purify the stored water.

* * * *

Our house was situated next to a kampong -- a small village of about 150 families who lived in houses built very close together, and without streets, sewerage, etc. Rats would come over the wall at night into our compound and into the kitchen, servants' quarters, etc. We screened the kitchen, put a screen door on the servants' quarters, and left poisoned bait in strategic places. These steps prevented the entry of rats and eradicated

those which were already on the premises. It was also a good demonstration of rat control and showed what could be done if applied throughout the community.

* * * *

My work brought me into Chinese village homes where I would live for two weeks at a time. An indigenous woman accompanied me and remained there during my stay. I was given a room to myself. Sometimes it was one that had been vacated by some member or members of the family. Sometimes it had housed an extra buffalo when there was one, but was now temporarily vacant. I brought my own sheets for hygienic reasons -- spreading one over the bedboards and grass mat, and using the other to separate me from the quilt provided (unless I had brought my own blanket). I had my own wooden clogs to wear around the room at night and in the bathroom, never putting my bare feet to the ground.

I tactfully arranged to have my breakfast alone in this room so that I could begin the day with the kind of food my system was used to and received the most nourishment from. The other two meals I ate with the family if they wished it or cooked them myself with my indigenous companion who knew I wished the vegetables to be well washed and the food well cooked.

Without offending Chinese hospitality or burdening my hosts, I took reasonable precautions not to expose myself to infections to which "foreigners" are susceptible. Should these precautions have had to be laid aside on occasion, it was accepted with indifference. I knew my physical stamina and admitted that I was not as strong as the Chinese with whom I lived, especially early in the morning. I was thus ready for the rest of the day.

* * * *

Servants' quarters were rat infested; plaster was falling off walls, windows were unscreened; the rooms were in a generally run-down and unsanitary condition. I tore down the old structure and built a new frame structure. This boosted morale and the working effectiveness of the servants. Additionally, the servants' cleanliness ceased to be a prime problem.

From time to time, the volunteer will probably be confronted with the conflict between the need to avoid contaminated foods and beverages and the need to avoid insulting an indigenous host who has invited him to dinner. If the danger of a major health hazard such as amoebic dysentery or infectious hepatitis is present, one can explain one's position to one's host, and then consume only such portions of the food offered as are considered to be safe. On the other hand, if the dangers are minor it may be worth making the sacrifice of a day or so of diarrhetic discomfort in order to gain good will and cooperation. As general principles: Potentially fatal or very debilitating risks should be avoided altogether. No risks, even minor ones, should be taken if they are unnecessary. Beyond these points one must exercise good judgment. Consider the following incidents:

I always got sick because of the food in the school cafeteria. I decided to bring my own lunch and my own bottle of water each

day. How could I do this without insulting them? I told them I had a case of ulcers and was on a special diet, which they all could understand.

* * * *

My American associate and I visited a village and were invited to tea. I accepted a cup of hot tea in a very poor and unsanitary situation and encouraged my associate to do the same. We were able to drink the tea without fear of ill effects because I had told our host that we liked our tea right off the fire from a rolling boil. This killed any germs.

* * * *

While in a small village, I accepted an invitation to eat with the people. When served something I feared to eat (because it was raw and they use night soil as fertilizer) I accepted it. Then I tried surreptitiously to push the food through holes in the floor. I was observed. I should have declined the food, explaining that it would make me ill. They would have understood, since they know that Westerners become ill on unaccustomed food.

* * * *

I was served lettuce in the homes of Vietnamese and French people, but did not eat it because our medical officer forbade it. I suppose I could have eaten it, since the risk of getting hepatitis from lettuce is not much greater than the risk of getting it from dirty needles and syringes at the dispensary. I think some of my hosts understood my fear, but some of them laughed at the "crazy, clean American."

* * * *

Knowing that we would be in the country for several years, we started off drinking bottled water, but gradually accustomed ourselves to tap water, salads, etc., and while suffering some minor discomfort, fared better than most of our U. S. associates. We were able to travel anywhere in the country with relative ease and freedom from anxiety.

Ordinarily, appropriate medical assistance will be available to Peace Corps Volunteers. On occasion, however, competent medical help may not be readily at hand. The volunteer should make a serious effort to learn the difference between minor injuries and illnesses and potentially dangerous ones, and should be prepared to give himself first aid or seek competent aid as appropriate. He should take the trouble to learn the symptoms of dangerous injuries and diseases and should seek appropriate medical assistance immediately, regardless of its inconvenience. He should also be well versed in first aid and should make it a point to obtain and know how to use such "home remedies" as are appropriate to minor difficulties. Some of the difficulties encountered and the importance of adequate medical measures are illustrated by the following incidents:

I had to have major surgery due to an infection carried by flies. I sometimes failed to take a bath after visiting a village, although

I knew one should bathe all over at least once a day. I had no regular check-ups because doctors were not available.

* * * *

The environmental condition that troubled me most was excessive summer heat and humidity combined. This resulted in prickly heat and boils. I could have gone out to the U.S. medical officer on a Navy ship in the harbor, but I figured he was as new to this environment as I was. Instead, I went to the Chinese clinic in our building. The Chinese doctor was trained by the Rockefeller Foundation in Peking, so he had sufficient U.S. medical knowledge.

In addition, being a Chinese, he knew his environment. Some shots made by a Swiss firm, some salve of Chinese origin, and a diet of Chinese food resulted in the condition becoming manageable. My visit to the Chinese doctor was also effective in giving both the doctor and me "face." After that first summer, I went to him on all necessary occasions. I believe a good missionary doctor could have done as well but, other things being equal, no harm is ever done by making use of host country talent.

* * * *

Amoebic dysentery is common in the area. Most of us, including myself, acquired it even though we never drank unboiled water or milk and never ate fresh salad without first disinfecting it with potassium permanganate. We did not at first, however, have our cook examined. When we did, we found he had three varieties of intestinal parasites, including the Entamoeba Histolytica. We acquired the disease from the cook, I believe, for he was a carrier. As a result of this disease I lost weight and became run down and in need of a change of climate. I now know that indigneous cooks should be regularly examined.

* * * *

I had an unusual eye inflammation. I consulted a local European eye doctor who spoke no English instead of consulting an American doctor. The European doctor did not diagnose the case properly, perhaps due to the language difference. I should have consulted an American doctor in the area and then flown to Tripoli for treatment by American eye specialists.

* * * *

My husband traveled in the bush and our children and I often went with him and lived in a house trailer for two months at a time. There were no doctors available most of the time and we treated many people who came to the camp with bruises, burns and sores. We bought our own medical supplies and were able to treat most ailments with aspirin, sulphur powder, penicillin, and just plain soap and water and clean bandages. In those cases where a doctor was needed, we attempted to send the persons to the nearest town for treatment. We always made it clear that we were not doctors

but that we were willing to help when we could. When a person could not return for clean bandages we gave him extras and stressed the importance of cleanliness to prevent infection.

* * * *

I needed a cholera shot. They had made arrangements with foreign personnel that these shots would be given at a special clinic since the Public Health Clinic was considered to be generally below standard in efficiency and cleanliness. Nevertheless, I went to the local Public Health Clinic and took the shot. The clinic was, indeed, ill kept and smelled most unpleasantly. However, the fact that a foreign person would acknowledge the attempt of the people to practice public health gave the clinic a boost. I had absolutely no aftereffects and no trouble. Later, more Americans went to the local clinic. We noticed a decided, though slow, improvement in conditions there.

* * * *

The heat was excessive and very debilitating to both my wife and myself. In addition I was bothered by attacks of asthma. We failed to go to the mountains as frequently as would have been advisable. The change in altitude, temperature, and environment probably would have resulted in better health for us during our two-year assignment.

Americans are served by more machinery than other people and despite breakdowns, they serve us well and are repaired with reasonable efficiency. Overseas, however, the equipment and tools to which we are accustomed may be lacking, obsolete, or worn-out. Furthermore, repair facilities will often be unavailable or nonexistent. Inevitably, there will be delays in obtaining supplies or spare parts. Therefore, all Peace Corps Volunteers should acquire an elementary knowledge of mechanics, plumbing, electricity, and automotive repair, and their overseas kits should include manuals on these and similar subjects. These manuals may never be used but they may be "lifesavers" if needed. Beyond this, knowledge of local resources and some lively ingenuity in the use and adaptation of locally available materials will come in handy. A willingness to try materials in unaccustomed ways and to undertake unfamiliar tasks should be part of one's intellectual equipment overseas. The following examples are instructive:

We were living in a summer resort hotel in the winter. Water seeped in one corner of the floor and moisture encouraged the growth of mildew on our shoes and other articles of clothing. We took an old oil drum, made a door in it, hooked a stovepipe to the top and ran it out the window. We burned wood in this. It heated the room and kept it dry.

* * * *

We had no group recreational facilities for our leisure hours. We converted a concrete threshing and seed-drying floor into a tennis court by fencing it, lining it, and buying a net. This

brought personnel together socially and afforded needed recreation and exercise for the city-dwelling Indonesians who had very limited financial means.

* * * *

The local agriculture agent asked me for a recipe for fried chicken, and added an invitation to dinner at his home sometime, plus a request for me to show his wife how to use a pressure saucepan. My husband and I went to his home for a Sunday dinner. Behind the outdoor oven was a built-up stove made of mud and rock with a gutter for the firewood. The skillet was suspended across this opening, with the wood fire underneath. I asked for a dish-cloth and received two corn husks. I cooked fried chicken both over the wood fire and in the pressure saucepan, and with my broken Spanish managed to make the local agent's wife understand how to use the saucepan.

* * * *

Problems in establishing the magazine were myriad. Equipment arrived but there was no place to put it since the plant that was to house it had not been finished due to lack of funds in the country's Department of Public Works. The electric current was too low to operate the equipment if there had been space. There was enough current to light the light bulbs, but not enough to see by, and we used kerosene lamps. During the editor's leave of absence, the entire Education Department of the country had been restaffed. The new director was very skeptical of the editor and did everything she could to keep her in her place. She wanted the whole department set up under one roof and would do nothing to help the editor, whose original plans had been previously approved. The editor did not want to go over the director's head because she believed in the plan and in the director's authority. This delayed the magazine project some six months. Finally, the editor set up the equipment in two rooms of the house she was living in. She used the long, screened veranda for desk space, converted a storeroom into a print shop, and partitioned the garage. The servants found living space in the neighborhood and their room became one office. The room of a friend who had previously lived there became another office.

* * * *

There were no curtains in our house. The Exchange did not have cloth and imports sold locally were too expensive. I bought twenty meters of buri, a straw-type cloth locally made, painted flowers and shells on it and used it for curtains. I also used sheets with multi-colored stripes for the same purpose. In this way our requirements were filled by the use of cheap, locally obtainable and attractive materials. Later, we further explored the utility of local products, some of which we used, such as brooms, baskets, rope, bamboo, shells for ashtrays and nut dishes, brushes, etc.

* * * *

A small, muddy stream provided the only laundry facility for the women of the village. Clothes were washed on individual boulders scattered through the stream. Activity at the boulders served to keep the water in the stream roiled and lessened the effectiveness of the laundry operation. We persuaded the men of the village to construct a concrete slab along one bank of the stream to provide a more efficient surface for the laundry operation. The concrete slab provided a smoother surface for washing clothes, concentrated the laundresses in one spot and prevented the roiling of the stream, gave the women a chance to gossip without the necessity of shouting to each other, and attracted women from other villages. From this small beginning, we went on to other improvements in the area. A small bridge was built at the entrance of one village; a path was widened into a road leading into another village; a community pig pen was built in still another locality; and a bench with a canopy over it and a container for boiled water beside it was built by a roadside for the convenience of travelers. The most important part of these projects was that they awakened a sense of community pride and a desire for community development.

* * * *

A leg belt broke in a grain silo. I instructed the local boys to get me four pieces of 2 x 4 lumber about 24 inches long, two long threaded bolts 36 inches in length, and a block and tackle. We bolted two pieces of 2 x 4 on one end of the belt and fastened it. Then we brought the other end of the belt up to where we bolted the other pieces of 2 x 4 on it. By working the long, threaded bolts together we were able to splice the belt. It showed the men how two men could tighten a belt in much less time than it had taken two dozen men and equipment from the Public Works Department to do the same job before. The men thought it was wonderful, although they had thought I was crazy when they were getting the equipment I had asked for.

Withal, times will come when nothing at all can be done -- a tool is lost, a part is broken irreparably, and ingenuity fails. The volunteer should forget about the irreplaceable and the irreparable and should go on to useful activities. Worry over impossibilities, as over spilt milk, is a luxury that cannot be afforded.

Ours is a culture of the car and the telephone. In none of the emerging countries will it be as easy to get around or get in touch as it is at home. Consider the following incidents:

The house in which I lived had no telephone when I arrived and no application had been made for one. The average man did not have a telephone. However, as a minister I needed one to communicate with the few leaders in the church who did have telephones and with the church leaders in other parts of the country. I had no transportation to do my pastoral visiting and motor cars were almost out of the question. My parish was spread over a six-mile area. I made application immediately for a telephone, and, being a minister, was given priority. So after eight months I secured a telephone. I saved enough money out of my furniture allowance to purchase a two-stroke

auto bike to make my pastoral visits. These two moves were effective because they enabled me to reach my people and to overcome the transportation problem. The people saw that I was deeply concerned about doing effective work.

* * * *

Both the housing and the transportation available to me were inadequate. I made the best of both. I cleaned and painted the house and invited guests as if it were a mansion. I bought a bicycle and left the poor transportation to the less fortunate.

* * * *

Transportation was often a problem because the methods of car repair were practically nonexistent, since the local people had not been trained in mechanics and had not grown up with machines as Americans do. Often when we would go to the villages we were only given enough gas for the round trip; the gas tank was never full. This often caused unnecessary delays and inconvenience, especially when we ran out of gas somewhere. Only time and training can ease such problems. People cannot jump from a donkey to a tractor in one day!

* * * *

I tried to place an interurban telephone call through an operator who, for one reason or another, built in a delay of ten minutes in an otherwise simple call.

* * * *

The major thing needed here is patience. We wait for the local people to be paid for land they have cleared so we can make fields and prepare for planting. We wait for a road to be built to the farm. We wait for permanent buildings for housing. We wait...

Americans must learn to live with delays in most areas overseas. Indeed, there are places where one's whole concept of time and its meaning must undergo change. We live our daily lives at the tremendous pace permitted by our rapid transportation and communication facilities. We are so accustomed to this tempo that the slightest breakdown or delay is considered inexcusable. In countries where such facilities are lacking and where customs and habits are different, things wait. Therefore, the Peace Corps Volunteer should learn to adjust his plans to a realistic time scale. He runs the particular danger of making commitments which cannot be met because of poor transportation, poor communication, the unavailability of material, and poor coordination of time schedules by other persons. The problems of organizing or participating in a complex operation are considerably magnified by conflicting ideas about the importance of time.

In any case, the Peace Corps Volunteer should learn to wait gracefully and should plan his activities so he can take up different tasks when delays occur. This entails not only patience but also the ability to switch from a delayed activity to one that can occupy his time usefully. If there are no alternative job tasks, he would be wise to cultivate interests which can serve as ready "time fillers." A delay can be a fine time to do some observing and thinking. Many Americans may be

well served by the following account:

> ...the moments I enjoyed the most were those spent squatting down on my haunches Indian style. Somehow I fancied that sitting like the townsfolk would put me in the spirit of things and enable me to feel more keenly a bond of fellowship between us. And perhaps it did. I contemplated the goat across the street outside the Imperial Bank of India, watched the ants crawling at my feet in the dust, and noticed the man just across the path who was using God's good earth in the center of Karachi as a public restroom (this is the habit here and in most of the Asian countries). For a few moments I felt at ease, and when the boys came out of the post office and I started off with them again, I was a tourist once more.

Most Americans are literate and, perhaps without realizing it, depend heavily upon the printed word in a myriad of daily decisions. When we want to buy something we leaf through advertisements or "look in the yellow pages." If we want to know what is going on at the concert hall, the movies, or the ball park, we simply pick up the newspaper. We take for granted street signs, names and numbers on office doors, and directions for operating or using equipment. We look, read, and take action. Overseas many of these cues may be missing and the likelihood of frustration and error increases. A nurse who worked in Brazil says:

> My work included visiting the mothers who came to the clinic. They frequently lived at great distances, which they walked. I also walked as transportation was not always available to where they lived; sometimes I could not find their houses (or shacks) because they were not numbered. I tried to have them describe exactly where they lived, but I could not always understand them or follow the description. I sometimes used an entire afternoon to locate one family, and sometimes returned without finding anyone. Families whose homes had been visited and their condition substantiated were eligible for help more readily than those whose word only was to be accepted. This was the policy of the owner of the clinic. My inability to locate the family delayed them from receiving more adequate services.

And an adviser on housing in Chile writes:

> My wife and I were trying to drive from Santiago, the capital city, to a small village over poorly marked roads. When I stopped to ask which was the right road, the local people would engage me in a lengthy conversation and try to find which road I thought would be better. They would then tell me that was the right road.

Many Americans also depend heavily on reading for general information and recreation. Reading matter is always at hand in newsstands and stores, in libraries and schools. The Peace Corps Volunteer in many countries overseas will find the situation much different. Even if he can read the local language, the amount and variety of available printed material will be limited. Although he may have more time and need for recreational reading, books and newspapers will not be available in some localities. This lack of something to read may, however, have a brighter

side if it results in the volunteer's seeking out more frequent off-duty contacts with his hosts.

Another cultural difference requiring personal adjustment overseas is the unavailability of recreational facilities which the volunteer would consider "normal" in his home community. Even remotely comparable facilities will not be found in many areas. Yet, the volunteer should recognize from the outset that his own recreational needs -- change from normal routine, relief from pressures and annoyances -- cannot be ignored.

> My study and work periods had increased, while time given over to films, loafing, and so on, had greatly diminished. At last it caught up with me. The point is that people in the missions must make some allowance for their own personal needs and personalities. If they don't allow themselves things that fit their personality, they won't be able to relax at home in the evening. And soon they'll find themselves hanging on by their toenails.
>
> * * * *
>
> I was living in a Chinese home near the market town. My classes with the women and children during the day -- which started at 7:00 A.M. -- alternated with visits to other homes and receiving callers. At night many gathered for a general talk and then I continued with a small group, sometimes until 10:30 P.M. Before I had had much experience in this type of life, I failed to arrange for a short but definite time in the day for a period of privacy to pray and collect my thoughts. I became, not physically so much as spiritually and mentally, weary. Soon I began to forget the Chinese vocabulary and to become impatient with people. I should have had an understanding with the people of the house and gradually with the others who came, that I needed this time in order to be able to give my best to them.

Regardless of one's location, one can find leisure time activities. However, it may be necessary to develop some new interests. If sports car racing is not possible, rock collecting may be. It may be even more effective to participate in indigenous social pastimes. The general requirement is straightforward: Either one should bring with him recreational resources that are compatible with the locale or one should develop new local interests. Local activities are sometimes not basically different from those to which the foreign technician is accustomed. Consider the following incidents:

> A group of girls in town decided to form a softball team. I was asked to join them and accepted. I used to play ball with the school children and I feel that the people appreciated the fact that I was interested enough in their town to join the team. It seemed as though everyone in town came to see the American play ball.
>
> * * * *
>
> For the most part, no one was ever bored. Life was very interesting. On weekends, holidays, or in other spare time, we hunted and fished, swam in rivers, sea and canals, went on picnics and hikes, visited the homes of Vietnamese friends, gave

dinners and parties for Vietnamese friends, and had long talks in cafes with our Vietnamese friends. We were usually so busy we had not a minute to be depressed, homesick, or bored. We made a lot of very good friends.

* * * *

After a couple of years in Ceylon, my family decided to schedule a skin-diving expedition once every other weekend, starting on Friday afternoon. We would bargain for a catamaran and its crew, and catch fish, some of which we shared with the villagers for watching our car and for helping us with our children and equipment. We allowed our children to play with the villagers and their children, ate the coconuts furnished us by the villagers, and so forth. This process helped our well being and morale by getting us away from official and social pressures. It increased our knowledge and appreciation of the habits of the local people. It also exposed Ceylonese fishermen in out-of-the-way places to Americans who were in their most relaxed and friendly moods. The fishermen and their families were almost always very friendly, hospitable, and eager to help.

* * * *

My Nepali counterparts and workers, Nepali friends and I played badminton and canasta, gave dinner parties, swam, went on picnics, hunted, and went to town to see a movie, shop, and so forth. These activities broke the monotony of life in a remote area where every day is about the same and helped to bring about a better understanding of the cultures of the East and the West. These leisure-time activities also helped to break down the reserve of the local people towards an outsider and they realized that we had many interests and enjoyments in common.

There remains one class of cultural differences involving physical objects which should be mentioned before we turn to a discussion of adjustments to disparities in ideas about people and their relationships. In certain areas overseas one's senses may be assailed by foul odors, raucous noises, dirty and disorderly streets, buildings and clothing. The American will probably see persons grossly disfigured by disease. He may see dead animals, heaps of dung, rotten vegetables, nudity, and so on. These things cannot be changed overnight. The American should simply ignore unpleasant or repugnant sights, sounds and smells about which he can do nothing effective. They will do him no lasting harm and may rekindle a waning desire to be of service if an appropriate attitude is taken toward them.

Adjusting to different ideas about human beings and their relationships is usually a considerably more difficult process than adjusting to different things. How people may treat each other in the various degrees of kinship and friendship, who defers to whom, who takes responsibility, how behavior is controlled, where loyalties are placed, when apologies are necessary, what is funny or tragic, why persons are indifferent or hostile, what is correct and what is intolerable in social situations -- these are but a few of the thousand and one questions that mystify the alien but which must be at least partially answered if he is to avoid ineffectuality.

It is admittedly difficult for the American to change the habits of a lifetime, but it is many times more difficult for him to change the habits of an indigenous person, living in his own environment, whose behavior is reinforced at every turn by his countrymen. The principal burden of adjusting is obviously on the stranger; it is he who must make most of the changes and compromises.

Adjustment to the social environment depends largely on the alien's continuing ability to understand and sympathize with strange attitudes and behavior, to learn to turn novelty to mutual advantage when possible, and to accept it without grief in any case. Tolerance alone is not enough. Too many things will be mystifying and most human beings can tolerate mystification only so long. Sooner or later it nourishes the seeds of doubt and anxiety. But mystery impels curiosity, too; and curiosity leads to learning. The volunteer must be concerned with the causes that underlie appearances; he must understand new ideas, strange acts, and the reasons for them before he can actively enjoy them. And effective adjustment lies in the ability to derive satisfaction from many of the very things that create difficulty.

Clearly, the Peace Corps Volunteer should be prepared to recognize the relativity of behavior and opinion. He must understand that many of the things he does and believes to be good may be considered by persons with a different cultural heritage as good, bad, or merely indifferent. Conversely, he must understand that he will tend to judge others' behavior from his own cultural point of view. In general terms, the culture of a society or of groups within the society sets certain standards or norms of behavior, and although individual habits vary to some extent about these norms, most persons never conceive of the possibility or desirability of deviating substantially from them. What they do and how they think feels "natural" and is supported as "right" by others in the society. For example, most individuals habitually stand within certain distances from others while conversing privately; most tend to keep to the right (or left) in walking or driving; most tend to find humor or tragedy in the same situations and to show deference to the same class of objects or persons. Such behavior is not likely to change, certainly not within a short time or without compelling cause. The next accounts contain examples of other culturally common behaviors which differ from ours. Many more will be found in succeding chapters:

> We showed up at the scheduled hour like prompt Westerners, which was not wrong by itself, but we made our annoyance at the long wait felt by the workmen when they arrived. The workmen were then uncomfortable and yet saw no reason for our impatience since they had been timely by their standards. There was a general uneasiness which could have been avoided. We could have recognized the differences in the concept and meaning of time and not have set expectations by our concept alone.
>
> * * * *
>
> As a teacher, I acted as chaperone at one of my pupils' dances. I couldn't understand the reason for the presence of their parents. I failed to understand their custom of chaperonage for girls. I had to learn to take what you find and turn it to good. Eventually, I did learn this, and at the next social, I danced with the boys and their fathers, who chaperoned the dance.
>
> * * * *

I was on a trip with several Hindus. I carried a package of sandwiches made up by my cook. One of the Indians asked if he could try one. I handed him one. He opened it, took a big bite, and remarked that it was very good. He then asked, "What kind of meat is it?" I looked and saw that it was roast beef. I told him I wasn't sure what it was and that he would have to ask the cook the next time he came to my house. The man would have become sick if he had known the meat was beef. As I didn't tell him, he forgot all about the matter. I, however, made a mental note never to carry beef on future trips with Hindus.

These incidents involved particular individuals in a particular country. Other individuals from the same cultures or sub-cultures could have been substituted in these situations and the reactions and observations of the American would have been essentially the same. Much behavior in any society is found almost universally in the habit systems of its people. There is another class of behavior which is common to many individuals but hardly universal. Two or four or five meals may be eaten rather than our customary three; a paternalistic relationship may exist between employer and employee, so that an employee, though perhaps exploited by our standards, is usually provided with a job; purchases may carry an additional fee for the purchasing agent (which to many Americans might look like graft); and marriages may be arranged without either or both parties being consulted. Such behavior may vary not only between persons, but also may differ from time to time for a given individual.

In adjusting to the behavior of an individual of a different cultural heritage, it is necessary to discriminate between those habits of his which are strongly culturally determined or conditioned and those which are often or usually personal, i.e., behavior that frequently differs from person to person within the culture or sub-culture. Furthermore, it is necessary to discriminate between personal habits that are considered "normal" and those that are considered eccentric by others in the indigenous society.

Perhaps a hypothetical example will clarify these differences. Let us assume that a male Peace Corps Volunteer is working in a country where there is strict separation of the sexes. He needs someone to cook for him. He would hire a male cook. Hiring a female cook would be out of the question because of institutional practices with respect to sex separation. Assume that the cook he hires does not wash his hands before handling food because he does not think it important. However, he may wash his hands if told to do so; he knows that many local townspeople are as careful about such matters as the volunteer. The cook has a personal habit which is tolerated but not approved by many others in his society, and there is a fair chance that this personal habit can be changed. But now let us assume that the cook was a person who never bathes, never washes, and is considered filthy and strange because of this by his own townspeople. Effecting a change in this second cook's habits, while not necessarily hopeless, would probably be much more difficult and would take longer than the volunteer's tour of duty.

Now let us look at the obverse of this situation. In the first instance, the volunteer must accommodate to the indigenous customs. He need not invariably adopt them but he must take action appropriate to them. To persist in an attempt to hire a woman cook would be a grave and perhaps disastrous error. In the second case, the relations between the American and his cook are personal matters. The American may compromise, perhaps by failing to notice infractions or by taking specifically appropriate action such as offering the cook an incentive for washing. There is

considerable room for adjustment on both sides. But in the third case, neither the American's behavior nor the cook's is likely to change. No one in the society would expect the volunteer to accommodate to the cook's eccentric ways and he, for his own peculiar personal reasons, will probably not change his ways for the American.

Unfortunately, the problems are not often as clearly defined or readily solved as in our example. It is sometimes very difficult for Americans to accommodate to deeply ingrained indigenous ways. For example, in some societies, methods of controlling and disciplining behavior appear to be very harsh to American eyes. Permissible and expected punishment may be hard and swift and may involve manhandling and physical injury. Yet certain persons in these same societies are (in American eyes) overly sensitive about human relations, and may follow elaborately formal and highly ritualized procedures in dealing with others. Americans may have relatively little trouble in adopting a more sensitive and formal approach to human relations (though few may find it comfortable). But are Americans justified either in actively adopting such punitive methods or in interfering with them when they are used by indigenous people?

Consider another example: An American teacher was invited to participate in graduation exercises at a school where he had taught. The exercises included a Buddhist religious ceremony. The American excused himself and walked out because he belonged to a Christian sect which prevented him from participating in other religions. His indigenous colleagues were insulted. His behavior was reported to us an ineffective. Some might argue that he should have compromised with his principles, that the issue was of no great importance and that he might have participated with private reservations. However, the point is that, for this man, it was a deeply important matter of personal conviction, and he was faced with an extremely difficult conflict. The following incident poses another difficult intercultural problem:

> A Muslim opposed our pure water project on the ground that the Koran states water is pure only if it is running. Actually, this was an illiterate twist of the real Koranic statement, which is that in order for water to be pure it must run for a certain distance and have no color and no taste. We were able to solve this problem by letting it be known that we knew the Koran and that the actual words in it were to our advantage.

In this incident, the Americans came into the conflict with deeply ingrained institutionalized indigenous behavior (accepting the Koranic dicta) which materially interfered with their purpose of improving health standards. The Americans were able to accomplish their ends, however, by taking advantage of the indigenous habit of obeying the authority of the Koran. Their success, of course, required that they be familiar with the habit and with the Koran itself. Had the Muslim's knowledge been correct or the American's wrong, the problem might have been far less easy to solve.

One of the most difficult problems in adjusting to the overseas environment is that of anticipating the impact of an innovation which one wishes to superimpose on existing institutions. The innovation itself may be readily accepted but its consequence may conflict with deeply ingrained habits. The following incident illustrates

this point well:

> We recruited men from all over the country. But the absentee problem was terrible. Though some of the men had their families with them, they would pack up and go back home to their ancestral graves and shrines for a couple of weeks at a time.

The general principle of adjustment in cases of this sort is simply stated but is not always easy to follow: The American should attempt to predict the impact of his procedures on indigenous institutions and should modify them when they are likely to conflict with such institutions. The specific methods must suit the particulars of situations and may call for considerable knowledge and ingenuity.

In summary, the essence of adjustment to deeply ingrained cultural differences requires that the stranger learn enough about the culture and its people to discriminate culturally determined from personally determined behavior, that he learn enough about the culture to capitalize on its features in creating a change when one is necessary, that he refrain from locking horns with unchangeable ways, that he change his own behavior when this is necessary and permissible and, finally, that he find ways to accommodate to unchangeable indigenous patterns without violating his own basic principles and beliefs. To fail in any of these matters is to court ill will, frustration, and isolation from the indigenous population, and ineffectiveness in carrying out the mission. This, then, would be maladjustment.

Unfortunately, maladjustment feeds on itself and tends to become worse instead of better. Once it has taken root -- when one is convinced that his sources of satisfaction will not be found even in part in the local life about him -- it becomes easy and somehow rewarding to pick at the errors, the inefficiencies, the strangeness of local customs and attitudes, and to attribute maliciousness, indifference, and incorrigibility to one's indigenous associates. The bugs and smell take on annoying importance, the heat becomes intolerable, hygienic precautions become greater nuisances, and the visitor cannot wait for the tour to end. He is likely to antagonize his hosts and he becomes a real danger to himself and the American program.

CHAPTER III

DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE HUMAN RELATIONS

Americans believe themselves to be friendly, kind, and gregarious. One would expect that they would have no difficulty in establishing and maintaining fruitful human relationships overseas. Yet, many an American is often a lonely stranger in a foreign land. Why? Consider the case of Mr. B, a technical adviser who has been in Southeast Asia for ten months.

Mr. B. has not one Asian friend. He sees his three Asian colleagues almost daily, but has never visited their homes nor have they visited him. He knows little about them and nothing about their families. Apart from his three colleagues, his other contacts with Asians are limited to the houseboy, waiters in the local Chinese restaurant frequented mostly by Americans, a couple of money changers (illegal), several bartenders, a tailor who has made some shirts and shorts for him, shopkeepers from whom he has bought knick-knacks for his home, and the omnipresent pedicab drivers.

Mr. B's recreation is confined to siesta-time volleyball with the other Americans, an occasional hunting trip, a good deal of reading, and a nightly game of backgammon with his American roommate. His chief joy is crossing off his calendar the remaining days of his overseas tour each morning. The daily ritual began at the end of his fourth month overseas. At first he made his mark at the end of each day. Now he does it in the morning.

He is not a happy man. Although he is too polite to express his dissatisfaction openly, his manner is grave, his demeanor quiet. He expects fewer than half his technical recommendations to be accepted by his indigenous colleagues, chalking off the unsuccessful ones to the vagaries of the Oriental mind. He early took on an air of resignation which he calls patience. His Asian colleagues are perfectly aware of his attitude toward them and their country.

Mr. B's American team members find him a pleasant and kindly man. A good card companion, a willing volleyball player, and an interesting conversationalist, he has a knack for pointing up the differences among Asians and Americans. He can regale visitors for hours with anecdotes drawn from his experience with waiters, pedi-cab drivers, and servants.

Mr. B is only a minor official who does not formulate policy. Like the Peace Corps Volunteer, he has a technical job to do and, according to his supervisor, is doing this adequately although without spectacular success. Yet one need not be an expert on foreign policy to realize that the image of Americans which Mr. B will leave with his indigenous colleagues when he has finally crossed off the last day of his tour on that calendar will be somewhat less than satisfactory. Mr. B, who has had the opportunity to learn much about an ancient and complex culture and its people who are struggling with the past to gain a foothold in the future, has instead allowed his life to become bogged down in a routine of mediocrity. He might

have done many things to become more effective, but one of his principal deficiencies was his failure to establish a truly personal relationship with even one citizen of his host country.

How far does Mr. B's responsibility go? He was sent overseas to give technical assistance through a complex process of legislation, planning, and orientation which explicitly spelled out his role in solving a given technical problem in the host country. He offered his assistance -- was it his fault that it wasn't accepted? Not entirely. But because high officials in government, corporations, or volunteer service organizations have agreed that an American's services are to be made available, it does not follow that the people with whom he works face-to-face will "buy" what he has to offer. They must first develop confidence in the "seller" -- his motives, his intentions, and the value of his product. And frequently there is a backlog of historically rooted suspicion to be overcome, a distrust of foreigners which must be counteracted, before the American is able to begin doing his assigned job with any degree of effectiveness. He must often prove to those he meets daily that he is a rational and benevolent human being whose judgment is reliable and whose goods and services can actually make positive contributions to their lives or to the life of their country. Necessarily, his period of trial cannot be very long and unless he furnishes this proof, he might better have stayed at home since he will become a cipher or even a negative quantity in the overseas equation.

In essence, the American is required to become someone who can be respected and trusted, whose behavior can be predicted, and who is pleasant to have around. Under circumstances in which many of our routine actions constitute peculiarities of behavior because of the cultural gap, this usually requires more than a simple workmanlike attitude and manner. The indigenous person must understand why we do things as we do and feel sufficiently confident and well-disposed toward the American, as an individual human being, to accept his services and judgments as useful and beneficial. The following two incidents express the problem well. The first is from an agriculture leader in Asia, the second from a community development worker in Latin America.

> New university team members were coming to India to work under my direction. I got the Indian officials together with the new team member for a full discussion of his program, as well as personal matters, before the man undertook any work whatever. It gave the Indian officials a sense of complete identification with the work of the new team member, and it gave them a feeling of confidence in him because of his knowledgeability with respect to his job.

* * * *

> We had just moved into a village. One of the projects that we had been asked to undertake was the cleaning up and leveling of a street. I commenced to visit all the houses on the muddy, filthy street in question, trying to arrange a meeting in which we could discuss the project. No one arrived at the scheduled time. What I failed to do was to wait until I knew personally most of the people on the street. They were naturally suspicious of a stranger, particularly an American. In spite of my usual American enthusiasm or because of it, the street project was a topic that could never draw a response again.

> By the time I had won the good graces of the villagers, we had worked into several other prime projects concerning the school and a fresh water system.

In addition to establishing a feeling of confidence, personal relations serve to ease many other overseas adjustment problems. After all the books have been read, the lectures heard, and the inter-cultural problems have been searchingly discussed, it is by means of close personal communion with indigenous persons that foreigners must really learn about the habits, hopes, and desires of others, as well as the rudiments of living in a strange environment. Where to live, when and how much to tip, where to find food and clothing, where and how to go places, what to see, the host of questions which, if left unanswered, stifle action or consume time and lead to doubt and anxiety, become trifles when one has an experienced friend to turn to for guidance. Most of us dislike exposing our ignorance even when it is legitimate, and in the overseas situation our ignorance of even the simplest matters can be profound. To obtain information on delicate and hazardous questions of attitude and motive is even more difficult without the ease which comes from personal regard. Unless there are friends whom one can ask literally hundreds of questions without feeling that one is imposing or exposing oneself to ridicule, most people tend either to limit their activities or to make the many "little" errors that sum up to pictures of crassness or incompetence in the eyes of the indigenous onlooker.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Americans tend to segregate themselves in colonies where it is easier to know what to do and how to act. Unfortunately, such colonies tend to perpetuate the constricting cycle of ignorance and inaction. Even the old hands frequently know very little about the local people and what they do know is often misleading.

To citizens of a host country, these American colonies are like passing ships of strange voyagers seen from afar. Although Americans are physically and professionally in their presence, they are psychologically remote. One need reflect only for a moment in order to realize how profitable it would be to explain ourselves and our civilization if we but knew people well enough to talk to them as friends. America can be a fascinating subject; yet most Americans use only a tiny fraction of the thousands of hours available to them to discuss it in the course of their tours of duty abroad. Indeed, some proudly report a half-hour's conversation about America with an indigenous person and make it clear that even this is unusual.

Most of us work no more than eight or ten hours a day, five days a week, at home or overseas. At home, we have developed complex leisure-time routines which are often far more varied or intensive than we recognize. Overseas, time often hangs heavy, recreational opportunities are limited, and the round of social activities with other Americans tends to become flat with repetition and monotony. Indigenous friendships can enrich the overseas stay through the normal give-and-take of human interaction. The opportunities for traveling together, dining together, engaging in mutual hobbies and sports, developing and fulfulling common interests, and the simple conversations and silences of a sympathetic fellow being are available, but all too frequently not taken. An American technician who worked in Turkey writes:

> We invited the members of a Turkish family to join us in visits and sightseeing trips into the historic countryside. They got to know us well -- we shared mutual family travel jokes, delightful

adventure in new areas, and mutual trials. This made for strong bonds and endearing friendships. (I still hear from them now, ten years later, and have gotten in touch whenever I have crossed Turkey.)

Difficulties in Forming Friendships Overseas

Why are Americans so often remiss in establishing personal relations with persons overseas? For those who don't understand the importance of friendship the answer is clear -- they see nothing to gain and it is easy to become immersed in the activities of the American colony. But what of the others? The answer for them is not simple. It is often difficult to make friends in a foreign country. We are faced with a paradox: friendships lead to understanding and confidence but understanding and confidence are also necessary to achieve friendship. Consider the report of a nurse who worked in Uganda:

> In the beginning, before we had any of the nurses living with us, in the evening I use to go to their room (partly to see what they were doing) and stand awhile to talk. I could not stay very long as there seemed to be little in common. There were few things to discuss. They did not talk so freely as they did before and after I left. There was a certain climate of suspicion. Why had I come anyway? Gradually, we had more things in common -- patients in the hospital, staff matters, mission matters, church feast days, and it became easier. Also, one was better able to express oneself and understand the language. This was important in Uganda with the women.

Friendship is preeminently a matter of personal taste and personal tastes are obviously more divergent when people are from dissimilar cultures. Second, friendship requires more than casual contact unless there are immediate bonds of common interest and purpose. It generally takes time to appreciate the many facets of the human personality, and to develop or discover common interests. Third, it is sometimes difficult to make contact with persons who may have similar interests or with whom such interests can be developed. Sometimes differences in sex or social status preclude even casual acquaintance. Historically-rooted discriminatory attitudes and practices can form real barriers in some regions. The following incidents illustrate the diversity of such problems:

> We were giving a party for a group of nationals and Americans. Wives of the nationals were especially invited. None of the wives came, probably because first, the husbands did not want them and second, because perhaps the poorer individuals could not afford to dress their wives so as to compare favorably with the others.
>
> * * * *
>
> We failed to invite a very important chief or leader to our party because we felt we were too humble for such an important man. He was very much offended.
>
> * * * *

We tried to work jointly with the Colonial powers and the Africans in developing the skills of Africans. A party was held for all segments of the host government. Mostly Europeans showed up for the party. Only a few Asians and no Africans. The Africans probably didn't come because they knew the Europeans and Asians were coming. Many Europeans still refuse to go to a party with Africans.

* * * *

Aside from the Tennis Club, I had very little contact with natives outside of the office group. The social barriers were very real. They harbored a real resentment against gringos. I failed utterly to make any dent in the barriers. Eventually, I gave up trying, and with most of my colleagues at the Mission and the low-echelon personnel of the Embassy, settled down to spending all the recreational time in activities available to Americans.

Another difficulty may lie in the paucity of social institutions which permit the development of friendship with strangers. In some parts of the world, truly personal relations are confined almost entirely to the family, clan, or tribe. Here the avenues of contact are limited. Friends are either kin or companions of life-long standing. The alien must make considerable effort and sometimes use unusual ingenuity to break into such clannishness or to draw a member out of it. Consider the following incident:

Most Afghan women lived in complete "purdah." I arranged for my wife to take a group of Afghan women to the Afghanistan International Fair and then to our home for tea. We won their friendship and gave the Afghan women insight into our lives; later when they invited us, it gave our family knowledge of how Afghan families live.

Finally, the pressure of work and personal responsibilities sometimes limit the time which one can spend in cultivating friendship. The job setting may be fraught with difficulties which make it impossible to deal with anything but technical problems. The following incidents illustrate how apparently legitimate such problems can be:

When I took over the job everything was in a mess. Funds were missing, the staff was bickering and hostile factions were rife. I felt I had to work day and night and refused all social invitations which only made things worse in the long run.

* * * *

I was invited to a party by my indigenous counterpart. I had to refuse because I had to meet my mother who was coming in that day for a short visit. I know he was displeased because he never invited me again, though our relations were good till that time. Maybe I should have gone anyway and arranged for someone else to meet my mother.

Some Principles and Methods for Forming Friendships Overseas

The methods for developing friendships overseas vary considerably and the appropriate one will naturally depend on the situation in which one finds oneself. If particular difficulties are encountered, it is of course necessary to take the trouble to analyze the specific situation in order to determine the reasons for such difficulties. It goes without saying that a prerequisite for developing friendship is a willingness to seek it out or to accept it when offered.

Each of the following incidents illustrates a common first principle: The foreigner should make himself accessible to indigenous persons so that further interaction can take place.

In Philippine villages, people spend about two hours -- from five to seven o'clock each evening -- on the street exchanging gossip. I made it a point to join various groups on the street each evening. The Filipinos like this gesture of friendliness. Many times they invited me to join them in drinking their native beverages, which I did, with enthusiasm.

* * * *

I spent a great deal of my free time visiting the small towns and traveling in the country. I arranged to go where there were friends of friends and I was always careful to show interest in them and not to look down upon or be distressed by any lack of conveniences. I became quite well known in the southern part of the country as an unusual person; perhaps a little odd, not an American stuck with the Embassy crowd in the Capital City. I was, perhaps, the only American woman these people had ever met.

* * * *

We attended many social functions of the native population. We went to weddings, funerals, ceremonies, sporting events, etc. It showed the people we were willing to meet them at their own level.

* * * *

Throughout the period (15 months) that I was in Korea, I invited my counterpart and my interpreter to my quarters from time to time for a drink or to dinner. I bought magazines, such as Newsweek and Life, and gave them to the interpreters. I also took them to dinner occasionally, to the movies, and on trips to Korean temples and other places of interest. I established excellent rapport with my interpreters and counterparts. They saw something of the United States through magazines and some of the movies. They enjoyed the beer, meals, movies, magazines and would question me at great length on the United States, our government, schools, etc. It improved our day-to-day relations and the interpreters became more fluent in English

* * * *

My wife and I often picnicked in the shade of Buddhist temple trees. We had been assured by government officials that it was quite all right, yet none of the temple dwellers, either adult or children, did anything to make us feel welcome. We listened to the songs the children sang in playing games near us until we could remember the melody of one song. My wife asked her Cambodian teacher about it and hummed the song for him. He recognized it and taught her the words. The next time we went to the temple, my wife was able to join in with the children. After this, we were no longer the strangers we had been before. Everyone came to talk to us and showed us all through the temple compound. They were delighted to see us after that.

This principle is so simple as to be a truism. Yet a considerable number of our respondents have cited various actions illustrating both its effectiveness and the fact that they or other Americans failed to follow it. As simple as it seems, occasionally it is not an easy one to follow as can be seen from the next three incidents:

I went to a Pan African student seminar in Leopoldville. Members of student federations from 12 African nations participated in this seminar; I came into the group as a new individual, as an outsider. I attempted to gain acceptance among this newly formed community of students, but did not succeed. Apparently the two aspects of actual behavior, which made the establishing of warmer relationships more difficult, could have been easily avoided: 1) Used my camera too early before I actually met the participants as individuals. This seems to have created the image of a wealthy American who simply did not nor could he fit in that newly formed group of people. 2) I bought a round of beer for all present. To some this reinforced the image.

* * * *

During an international meeting an American representative wanted to be very informative about his organization and to contribute to the success of the gathering by being a constructive participant. He attempted to present an exhibit, rather common in conventions in the United States. However, in that context it was completely out of order because no other individual federation made an attempt to display informative material about its activities. The exhibit was received with a considerable degree of mistrust.

* * * *

In the village we found ourselves something of a spectacle. Many of the people had never seen an American. As we were watching the activity around the village well, an old man came alone to draw water. The well was deep and it was necessary for him to walk with the end of the rope about 25 yards to draw water. Seeing the laborious process and intending to be

friendly, we stepped up and helped pull the rope and fill his container. Instead of a smile of thanks, we were greeted in a harangue (in an unintelligible tongue). The old man was insulted by our actions of rather obvious paternalism and immediately poured the water we had drawn back into the well to draw it himself.

In all three cases, the Americans acted with that innocent directness that many foreigners view not as a token of good will, but as a kind of naive insensitivity that lets us make a display of our wealth and efficiency and, what is worse, suggests an unconcern for the customs, feelings, and opinions of others with different cultural heritages.

The next group of incidents illustrates a second principle: The American should make his own interests known. People can develop relationships on the basis of specific points of interest. Physical presence alone is not sufficient, and the neutral topics of social small talk may be unstimulating or even detrimental to future relations. It is only when curiosity is aroused or a common interest is exposed that further interaction is likely to be sought.

I was pursuing my hobby (bird-watching) when Chung drew near to see what I was doing. I handed him the binoculars and pointed out the bird. I talked about birds with him, giving him the English name according to my "Birds of Burma." We found a common interest from which a close friendship formed.

* * * *

I had the usual American interest in photography and carried this equipment wherever I went. I used this interest as a central point with indigenous acquaintances whom I knew to be interested in photography. We discussed equipment and the results I was getting. This was a good and effective point of contact and led to much mutual sharing of interest that gave opportunities to increase fellowship.

The third principle: Americans should willingly offer information about themselves or the United States if even the slightest indigenous interest is evidenced. The next incidents sum up the importance of this principle:

Being assigned to the Royal Irrigation Department in Bangkok, I was introduced to a group by the Director General, who left shortly after a brief introduction. There followed a long pause; none of the Thais seemed to be inclined to engage in any conversation or to ask any questions. I finally addressed the group, telling them about myself, my family, my technical training, my former professional engagements and practical experience in the United States and foreign assignments in South America and Europe. Telling them freely about myself broke the ice. They soon interrupted me frequently to ask questions about particular phases of my work and showed more interest and friendliness. Several officials approached me after the meeting and invited me to the Clubhouse, where we spent several hours in the most friendly discussions of all subjects.

* * * *

I lived first in a village and later in a city (Hilla) south of Baghdad. A great deal of the time I talked with people and drank coffee, tea, and cokes with them. This would lead into discussions of our customs in America. I began to see that my effectiveness lay not only in the techniques that I had come prepared to bring, but also in the friendships that were made. People were interested in sitting down and talking about America and the other countries that I had seen. They were eager for information and they appreciated being listened to. It became a matter of give and take, and out of this came a mutual respect and admiration.

The fourth principle arises from incidents similar to those presented below. Americans should actively develop and show interest in indigenous persons, activities, and customs. People are generally delighted to talk about their own cultures and folkways, particularly those customs and beliefs that they consider especially worthwhile or superior. Genuine interest in indigenous persons and ways usually implies esteem and shows willingness to engage in more than perfunctory relations. Furthermore, indigenous persons are apt to feel that they are on an equal footing with the American when they can teach as well as learn:

In general, whenever I showed an interest in the language and culture of the country, people became friendlier and were willing to show me around and help me learn. Also, my interest in Lebanese folk songs and Arabic music in general created better feelings between me and my friends.

* * * *

Since arriving in Ceylon I had been interested in the procedures adopted by the devil dancers in trying to exorcise spirits from the sick. I jumped at the chance to watch them at work. An acquaintance who had cancer hired a local group and staged the so-called treatment locally. I tried my best to show him that I respected the age-old traditions of his country. It was not difficult to do as I enjoyed myself very much. The ceremony was extremely colorful and an experience. Later I was to go to many of these, many times being the only person from a Western country. The inhabitants of this area were impressed that I would be interested in their methods of curing the ill. The entire region knew of my interest and sympathies. They immediately became interested in my work, and cooperation in that area was greater for me than in any other area I went into in Ceylon: this in spite of the fact that it was considered by others as a very difficult area to work in.

* * * *

I was interested in the indigenous art and handicrafts and I usually made it a point to ask local contacts about them. They were very eager to discuss them with me and this not only led to a number of lasting friendships but also permitted me to learn a great deal about the country's history and culture.

Willingness to discuss oneself or to bring a stranger into one's own personal problems varies considerably from culture to culture. In general, the American is more willing to discuss personal matters than persons from most other cultures. But an offer of direct help to overcome a particular difficulty is usually readily and gratefully accepted. However, one should show judgment and good taste to avoid actions which might be interpreted as prying into the personal life of another.

> My driver got sick. I visited him in the native quarter and gave him some medicine and a few dollars as I knew he was almost destitute. Word got around and all the other drivers made it a point to thank me for what I had done.

* * * *

> A rickshaw man whom I had used on a few occasions had his cycle smashed in a very bad accident. This was his only means of making a very meager living. Credit facilities for such a person were practically non-existent and it appeared that he would have to work at manual labor for a year or two to obtain the capital necessary to purchase a new cycle. When I found out about his plight I reasoned that the investment which was so large to him was indeed small for me. I loaned him the money. It was very effective in raising the opinion of a number of local people of the host country regarding American people's willingness to help.

Knowledge of indigenous matters is, of course, even more effective than mere interest. Not only does knowledge of indigenous political, economic and cultural affairs provide ready conversational topics, but the effort on the part of an American to learn about them is almost invariably recognized and appreciated, as the following incidents illustrate:

> During our informal exchange of ideas at a party, I was able to discuss intelligently the political history of Chile as well as the writings of some of their leading authors and political leaders. The Chileans were impressed that I knew a good deal about their country and culture. They later commented that, while most educated Chileans (Latins in general) know much about the U. S., few North Americans know even a minimum about Latin America and that even fewer appreciate and respect Latin American thought and culture.

* * * *

> Most Indian officials are deeply interested in their country's religious and historical heritage. Indian history and religion are extremely complex. The officials like to discuss these matters frequently and appreciated our having as much knowledge on the subject as possible. I failed to visit as many places of religious and historical interest as I should have done, especially at first. The Indians did not identify me with themselves and their problems but thought of me as an outsider until I had achieved a deeper knowledge of their culture.

The American should adopt indigenous social forms and conventions when appropriate. Behavior which reduces the perception and feeling of strangeness is likely to increase rapport. Every peculiar act is likely to detract from the feeling of confidence and dependability. Hence, the active use of indigenous customs and manners reduces the aura of unfamiliarity and strangeness which surrounds the foreigner. Furthermore, the effort to act in accordance with the local conventions often indicates good will and esteem for the individual and his country which may provide an immediate focal point for development of further interaction.

The following incidents illustrate the effectiveness of using indigenous customs and manners:

> Trying to drive from Singapore to Bangkok, the car broke through a bridge over a shallow stream, in sparsely settled semi-jungle country, well after dark. Eventually, our headlights attracted a group of villagers who approached under the leadership of a group of Buddhist priests. I remembered some of the strictures on behavior of women in the presence of Buddhist priests: to talk through a villager, until the monk addressed me directly, to offer cigarettes to the monks, but lay the package on a rock (a priest may not accept anything directly from the hand of a woman) so they could pick them up from the rock, and return the package and lighter to it, not to me. Similarly, in offering coffee later on to an elderly headman, when this group had gotten us through to a village up the way a bit, to remember to touch the fingertips of my left hand to my right elbow when extending the cup with the right hand.

* * * *

> I learned to sing some Chinese songs and was accepted very quickly by the young people and their elders, too. In connection with our work, there were many evenings when we dined with the local people. Our ability to sing a couple of Chinese songs with them put everybody in a happy, cooperative frame of mind.

In general, it appears that although American adoption of indigenous customs is usually appreciated, the failure to do so is not necessarily deplored. But, if the American fails to respect or inadequately understands customs and beliefs which deal with the essential structure and functions of the society in which he is a guest, he is likely to arouse suspicion and hostility. We refer here to customs involving such matters as sex, kinship relationships, politics, and economic practices. The following incidents illustrate the problems which can arise as a result of such disrespect or misunderstanding:

> The team riding through a village on donkey back. We Americans waved and spoke to two women on a house top who were watching us. Moslem culture disallows strange men talking to their women on a simple "friendly" basis. The husbands of these women questioned our intentions.

* * * *

> Because of the heat, most of us resorted to shorts. This was effective for us in helping us to be a bit cooler, but it was very shocking to the natives who lived nearby and saw us dressed in such a fashion.

The principle of adopting indigenous customs should be followed with discrimination. The insincere and the show-off are quickly spotted. Moreover, the volunteer need not violate the customs stemming from the fundamental structure of his own society. Generally his adherence to his own basic forms will be respected if it is suitably explained to his hosts. The adoption of indigenous customs is a delicate matter. Although uniformly cited as effective behavior, there are certain obvious difficulties. The American, for example, need not take concubines because he is working in a polygamous society, but whether he should continue the easy and informal interactions between the sexes that characterize our society is a more difficult question. The basic issue of adopting and respecting indigenous customs will be treated more fully in Chapter IV. It is mentioned here to indicate its importance in establishing human relations overseas.

It is necessary to make repeated contacts for friendship to develop. Before persons can develop confidence and trust in each other or can discuss delicate questions related to their inmost beliefs, there are cues of behavior which must be understood. This is particularly important and difficult where there are wide cultural gaps. One must know, for example, when a smile is more than an act of common courtesy and represents real pleasure, when a pause represents thoughtfulness rather than puzzlement, or when an invitation is a sign of personal interest rather than a vehicle of basic contact. One must be able to predict what one can do and say, and what one can expect of another person before embarking on certain courses of action. Knowledge of this sort can only be induced from varied experiences, which give each person opportunities to learn the habits and subtle cues of the other. This requirement leads us to our next principle: The American should have repeated contacts with indigenous persons. The methods are varied and cover a surprisingly large range of activities. Some Americans have offered English lessons or have requested to be taught the indigenous language; others have joined local clubs or societies, or have taken formal classes in various subjects. Many have organized or participated in projects of mutual interest that required extensive international interaction. One group formed a Chinese-American bridge club, another hired a USOM car to take Koreans on trips so that they could see places that would have otherwise been prohibitively expensive. The following incidents illustrate some additional courses of action which met this requirement:

> My counterpart wanted to show the country to his guests. We wanted to see the country and to picnic. We went on long, arduous and sometimes hazardous jeep trips, his family and mine. We usually provided the picnic lunch and took pictures, which drew the families together and introduced peanut butter sandwiches into the cultural pattern. We gained an insight into their people and their country and in turn we built a close relationship between the two families which still exists.
>
> * * * *
>
> We got to know a family of Iraqi peasants well. Often we had them to our home for tea and for a meal. They welcomed us into their mud hut and shared their food and thoughts with us. It

gave us an intimate look into the cultural behavior of the average Iraqi. We began to understand the thinking of the common people.

* * * *

I was a sixth grade teacher in a small mountain town outside San Juan. I had some Spanish courses on the undergraduate level, but had not acquired any great degree of fluency. I therefore made it a point to study the language when in Puerto Rico. I requested help from the townspeople by asking for corrections in grammar or pronunciation. I did my lesson plans in Spanish as well as English in case the children could not comprehend English. The townspeople began to accept us as members of the community; we lost our identity as "foreigners." As this occurred, the parents of the pupils were free in coming to us for help for their children.

* * * *

My wife taught English conversation to Korean high school girls. We had parties for them at our home and got to know them on a personal, intimate basis. They were a jolly group, much like American teen-aged girls except much more bashful. Over a period of time, the school girls got to know us better and gained an understanding of how we lived in our personal lives. The girls have kept up a correspondence with my wife and are now speaking of the "good old days" when they used to come to our house.

* * * *

We took a young Jordanian girl into our home for two years as a companion to my wife and to help her with her English. After we moved to Libya we gave her a year in the American school, paying her tuition and keeping her in Libya. She graduated from a Jordanian school in the spring of 1960 and was presented with a diploma from the King's mother for being the best student in English of the 6,000 graduates. She gave us credit for helping her.

It is relatively easy to confine one's relationships to persons with whom one works, particularly if they have developed favorably. Yet it should be recognized that work contacts are likely to be from only one or a few segments of the society. But American presence in a country is generally a matter of interest and concern to most segments of the society. The Peace Corps Volunteer should remember that in his mission he represents the United States. If he confines his relations to one group of persons, he may become identified with them only. Moreover, what he learns about the society will tend to be severly limited. Consequently, the Peace Corps Volunteer should develop an extensive variety of indigenous friendships. The value of such behavior is well expressed in the following incident:

I was visiting a Latin American country with a friend who had relatives in the country. We stayed at their home. They were the wealthiest and most socially prominent family in the town.

They very much restricted our contacts with the "ordinary" people in the town. I made friends with their chauffeur by requesting many sightseeing trips in the local area which often involved just him and me in the car. One afternoon I asked to stop at his home on the pretense of being very thirsty. I met his wife and large family. I stayed for a long time taking portrait photos of the family collectively and individually (enlarged prints were sent to them later from the United States). I was invited back again several days later. I became a friend of the family and as such was taken into their confidence on many matters. I learned more about the country as a result of my association with them than in all of my other months of living and traveling in the country put together.

The closeness of friendship varies. An overseas tour is usually far too short to establish more than easy companionship which will be severely limited in many ways. Contrary to popular misconceptions, a few meals together, a formal "initiation into the tribe," some exchanges of gifts, do not, as a rule, make men blood brothers. Moreover, the personal relationship overseas will tend to be precarious even after relatively firm friendships have been established. Nor should this be surprising. After one, two, or three years the foreign visitor packs his bags and goes home or to another station. His lasting loyalties and the fulfillment of his basic ambitions still belong to another culture.

The major factor contributing to the tenuous nature of friendships with foreigners in the cultural gap. Although it is likely to have diminished considerably with the establishment of friendship, it still poses problems. Similar words and actions carry different meanings and implications to persons of differing cultural background. Implicit assumptions and attitudes continue to be at variance. From time to time something will be said or done which will reveal a different conception of the world and may unintentionally give offense which, because it exposes a deeply pervasive difference in philosophy, is more than a triviality and may be far more disruptive than a similar offense in one's own country. The following incidents illustrate this problem:

I was in search of an apartment and after much difficulty located one being built by a private individual for his own use. The daughter of the family was the only one who spoke English. I made arrangements for rental through her. After I had moved in things began to go wrong with the apartment. In the course of trying to get these repaired, I found our relationship undergoing a distinct change. I failed to take into account the indigenous attitude toward young women, the daughter's feelings as an educated, westernized person, and her feelings that her status had changed from an admired person to a semi-servant. I was too friendly at first, and then too unfriendly. We soon had a terrible fight, to the point where my children's lives were in danger. We were living in 100% indigenous neighborhood and our position as American residents, who had been easily absorbed into the community, was weakened.

* * * *

My indigenous counterpart wrote to an indigenous superior attending school in the United States to mail any items bought

in the United States to me. When I received the packages I returned them to the sender and explained my reasons to my counterpart. Up to this point we had been the best of friends. He understood my position but I had caused him to lose face with a senior. Our friendship ceased. I thought I had made it clear by my past actions that I would have no part of any blackmarket activities. Probably I should have made this point stronger. The fault, however, I feel was on the part of my counterpart. Had he asked me I would have told him my position.

This leads us to another principle: The American, realizing the pitfalls resulting from cultural differences, should scrutinize his relationships with indigenous persons and be sensitive to potential or actual disruptions. Furthermore: The American should take pains to explain fully his actions and motives when difficulties have arisen or may arise.

Casual Indigenous Contacts

Related to the problem of establishing friendship are the problems of establishing less intimate human relations, e.g., the need to make contact with total strangers when traveling or as part of the job. Many Peace Corps Volunteers will find themselves in regions which have suffered physical and psychological depredations by invaders or former rulers, or where the people have never seen a foreigner. They will have to deal with people who are justifiably timid, suspicious, or even hostile. The volunteer must make clear his benign intentions, even his essential humanity. The following incidents illustrate this point:

> We got to a village where we wanted to spend the night. The villagers stayed in their huts and seemed to be afraid of us. We began to horse around and act like clowns among ourselves. Soon they began to come out of their huts and were standing around us laughing. That broke the ice and we were then able to show them what we wanted by signs.
>
> * * * *
>
> I went to the Meo (mountain tribe) New Year's celebration. I was watched very closely by the women -- but from a distance. I gradually moved closer to the group of gaily clad women, smiling. After a bit, I admired the heavy silver necklaces of one young woman. She immediately took off the necklace and put it on me, and I was accepted by the whole group which no longer stood aloof.
>
> * * * *
>
> In the evening the young man in charge of Fundamental Education in the village of Gongowalita was showing a film strip to the people. We were visitors -- strangers to the villagers. At first they stayed in the background and did not come near us. After a little, a baby came up and put his hand on my knees. I picked him up and held him on my lap and played with him. As I did so the women began to come closer and closer to us.

> Presently I felt a hand touch my shoulder and then it was quickly removed. I stayed very still and then it came back. This time I reached up and patted it and smiled at the young women who by this time had surrounded me. This broke down their fear and they gathered around me, stroking my cheeks, feeling my earrings, feeling the cloth of my dress and stroking my hair. So I turned around and felt their hair and examined their earrings and bracelets and we were friends. The next morning we were invited to be present for a special ceremony.

* * * *

> In July or August of 1959 we were in a country where we hadn't been before. People were shying away from us and seemed to be hostile. We saw a few children looking at us anxiously. We offered them some candy and were friendly to them. Soon the people lost all their reserve and gave us food and lodging for which we paid.

Most jobs overseas require the cooperation and assistance of strangers. Hence, the basic problem is to establish rapport and confidence without benefit of long-term personal relationships. Overcoming this problem requires certain critical elements of behavior: to make clear that one's specific purposes are worthwhile from the other's point of view, and to establish one's competence to carry out the specific project under consideration.

The most expeditious way to meet these requirements is to utilize an indigenous person in making contact as a sponsor, advocate, or agent. An indigenous intermediary can lend immediate credence to one's purposes and competence. Moreover, he is likely to know the best approaches to make in specific situations, the proper social forms to use, and often the appropriate persons to speak to.

Not the least of the advantages gained by employment of an indigenous intermediary is his ability to speak the native language accurately. In such short-term contacts, it is essential that misunderstandings be kept to a minimum. The inappropriate use of even a few words by a foreigner who has generally good command of the language may disrupt an otherwise successful operation. The following incidents illustrate the value of an indigenous intermediary in preventing misunderstanding and allaying suspicion:

> We were engaged in the distribution of surplus food. Our plan of operation was to undergo a policy change that would affect the system of distribution conducted by hundreds of the local field workers. I arranged meetings with our field workers throughout the country and had my counterpart explain personally the necessity and modus operandi of the new policy. Our field workers were informed of the change by one of their own people in their native tongue rather than through translation. The policy change, therefore, did not appear to be foreign-dictated and was more readily acceptable.

* * * *

> I was traveling with a local companion to a village near town. We had not reached our destination when we were caught in a heavy downpour of rain and stopped for shelter in a local home. We did not know anyone in this village. There were some courteous, but not too friendly, old ladies, and some children. The children seem to be afraid of the strangers. We chatted. I let my companion take the lead in getting the old ladies to talk about the village and letting them know something about me. I joined in occasionally, then gradually took more part. By the time the rain stopped, we were all good friends.

However, one must exercise caution in selecting an indigenous sponsor. He must in fact be acceptable to the people with whom one wishes to make contact. Consider this incident:

> I was visiting the slums of the city with some influential friends. Our objective was to work out a cooperative housing program for our organization's personnel in collaboration with local leaders. The local influential friends were identified with selfish economic and political interests. My introduction to the area and poor people was identified with their interests. Once identified with such self-interest, it is hard to win the confidence of the leaders of the workers and poor. This is especially true because of communist infiltration of worker areas and organization. It is doubly true when we are from the states as "tools of Yankee imperialism." We should have begun our personal visits in the company of some of the local cooperative and credit union leaders who were working through the local parish program and whose work was enthusiastically backed by the local parish priest.

It is always necessary that the appropriate contact be made with influential persons on the local scene -- that is, persons who can effectively gain the cooperation of others or who can impose limitations on their actions. Village elders, tribal headmen, provincial officials, and so forth, should generally be won over or at least made aware of what is going on. Consider the following incident:

> Our group failed to contact the Chief of Province when we moved into the Province. We did not know that we should. Since we were loosely attached to an agency of the indigenous government for refugee relief, we were under their protection, but when they pulled out, we were more or less on our own. We were asked to leave the area ostensibly because of danger from the Communists.

The Peace Corps Volunteer should take appropriate measures to prepare indigenous persons for dealing with specific business issues. It is usually desirable to "pave the way" before addressing oneself to business matters overseas. Sharing meals, discussing matters having nothing to do with the business at hand over tea or coffee, dealing with problems that are of concern to the indigenous person, however unrelated they may be to one's immediate purposes, performing services, giving gifts or medical assistance -- all have been found to be effective preparatory measures. The general practice is, of course, also customary in the United States, but it may be necessary to devote far more time to such preparations abroad. Indeed, sometimes weeks may be consumed in careful development. Also, the forms that preliminaries

must take in order to be effective overseas sometimes differ substantially from those that are customary in the United States. An idea of the variety of specific preliminary measures can be obtained from the next set of incidents:

> We wanted to set up agricultural demonstration plots in several villages. The provincial leader asked us to improve his own well first. We showed him how to cover the well and got him a pump in a few days. After that he gave us his full backing in the villages.
>
> * * * *
>
> Wherever our team went we carried along first aid supplies and always offered to assist the villagers with them first. We did this unostentatiously and we always got cooperation from them.
>
> * * * *
>
> I carried little inexpensive gifts with me that I gave to the women and children. This was greatly appreciated by all and smoothed the way for us.
>
> * * * *
>
> A rug dealer had come to my house to display Oriental carpets. There is a traditional ritual to such situations. I knew the ritual in advance and followed it to the letter in the Turkish language. I also invited several Turks to be present and take part in the ritual and help me select the most suitable carpet. The bargaining was carried on in national linguistic and structural terms at a pace suited to the culture and not in terms of getting something done. I made a half dozen new friends that day.
>
> * * * *
>
> I wanted to study the social customs of the Mbukushu tribe along the Akavango River. This small primitive Bantu tribe had never been studied. They had frightened away all missionaries attempting to Christianize them or establish a mission. They were suspicious of all Europeans because they did not want their customs interfered with, especially their custom of brewing and drinking great quantities of Kaffir beer. I met the headman. I immediately bought large quantities of kaffir beer. I invited all the elders of the village, sat down in front of the beer pots and dipped out the beer in calabash cups and passed it out, observing seniority. When the dancing commenced, I took off my shirt and did a Sioux Indian war dance. This met with great approval. I was immediately accepted as a friend and was permitted to make my study. I left the tribe five months later with regrets. These people were my friends. I found them to be a moral, friendly, and cooperative people. If I had known some of their language at the time, it would have been helpful. However, I soon learned some of the language and had a good interpreter.

It is important to make clear precisely what one wishes to do and precisely what one expects the indigenous persons to do in furthering a project. Unless this

is done, one may find that agreement has been only at the general level, that, in fact, one has only established good will and not gained active cooperation. Furthermore, unless purposes are made clear at the beginning, the likelihood of misinterpretation and later ineffective action is very great. Consider the following incidents which illustrate these points well:

> I was writing a paper on the regulations of the indigenous country to include an historical background. I needed certain information and I knew where this information could be obtained. However, I did not know if this information would be made available to me. I contacted an official in the government. The official was highly receptive after I explained what I was doing. He made all the information I wanted available to me and he put me in touch with other indigenous individuals who were also very cooperative.
>
> * * * *
>
> We wanted to organize a 4-H Club. We held a meeting with the village elders where everything was discussed fully until they understood what we wanted to do and what they needed to do. They gave us full cooperation.
>
> * * * *
>
> We moved into the town without any prior introduction. Nobody had told the people why we were there or what our purposes were. We should have told them ourselves immediately, but didn't until much later on.
>
> * * * *
>
> We visited the headman who lived in a distant village. He had heard of us and asked us to set up some demonstration plots for him. We asked a couple of the boys whom we had trained and who lived in this village to set up the plots since we had to return to our own village. After a year nothing was done about this. We neglected to explain to the boys how important it was to do this for the headman.

In conclusion, we have been discussing a general problem which is well-recognized by most overseas authorities, but whose solution is not easily perceived or applied. The essence of the problem is to establish and maintain a human relationship with indigenous persons as a means by which confidence and cooperation can be developed. The relationship ranges through many degrees of depth, from the expression of simple good will, the basic impression that one is also a human being without hostile intent or ulterior motives, through various degrees of acquaintanceship to deeply-felt friendship and loyality. The closeness of the human relationship that is desirable or necessary obviously depends on the nature of the specific situation in which one finds oneself, and the varieties of specific behavior appropriate to the various types of relationships and situations vary tremendously. Regardless of variations, all activities are intended to meet certain common essential requirements, namely, to give indigenous persons opportunities to learn that the alien is a creature of good will, to make clear what one's purposes and

motives are in dealing with them, to establish that one is indeed competent and capable of providing worthwhile goods and services, and finally, to establish that one is a trustworthy, reliable, and sensible person.

Any summary would eliminate the essential details contained in the incidents that illustrate the general principles. Instead, the Peace Corps Volunteer is urged to review principles and reread the incidents. It is well to remember that some of the techniques used or implied in the incidents might be highly inappropriate if followed exactly even though the principle they illustrate is valid. Techniques for developing and maintaining friendships in another country should be helpful, yet they will not substitute for a basic desire to be genuinely friendly and of service to one's hosts.

CHAPTER IV

RESPECTING HUMAN DIGNITY [1]

Almost any discussion of effective overseas behavior will ultimately lead to the conclusion that creating a mutual feeling of good will, respect, and regard is essential. The simple idea of respecting people, protecting or increasing their dignity, their pride, and their status is basic to almost all of the behavior principles discussed in this book. This chapter deals with some of the problems, difficulties, and implications involved in this kind of behavior overseas. It provides specific principles and methods as a guide to the many possible behaviors affecting fundamental interpersonal attitudes.

The attitudes aroused by the Peace Corps Volunteer are likely to be directed not only toward the volunteer himself, but toward such groups as "Peace Corps Volunteers," "American Technicians," or very simply, "Americans." Thus, not only his immediate task, but his group's mission and even the entire idea of the Peace Corps in a given locale may be accepted or not accepted because of his actions. Thoughtless actions or careless neglect of common courtesy may close the door to understanding, friendship, and cooperation. Reopening the door may require great effort or may even be impossible.

> We were living in a peasant village and were engaged in community development work. We were attempting to create an impression of equality and friendship. When a high U. S. official was invited to visit the camp, he arrived in a fancy Cadillac with an entourage of staff, etc. During the meal he made some unlikely remarks about the native people, several of whom were present. The impression left upon the villagers and those present was devastating! It was difficult to convince the nationals that those people had been our guests and that we were not working out of the office from which they came.

A useful starting principle is to act as if every contact with an indigenous individual is of critical importance to the success of the U. S. mission. Potentially, it is.

We have all heard the comment made in regard to people in the Far East or in Africa, "They all look the same." This statement is particularly common during the initial phase of contact. The comment is not made, of course, about the English or the French, except perhaps by visiting Japanese or Nigerians. Underlying such remarks is the fact that persons in environments greatly different from their own direct their attention to the most obvious difference between themselves and others -- facial characteristics, skin color, style of clothing, etc. It is only when the strangeness of these things wears off that persons become aware of the more individual aspects of a culture and its people. Only then do they differentiate within the culture rather than between their culture and another. Moreover, the greater the differences between the new environment and the old, the more inclined one is to think in terms of the contrasts between them. There is a tendency to

[1] This chapter was written by Stanley Lichtenstein

perceive one's uniqueness and to lump all others together as being "not like us." Under such circumstances it is difficult to show awareness of the feelings, ideas, and personality of the indigenous individual. We are likely to fail to pay attention to a man's "face," both literally and figuratively.

To be recognized as a human being, as an important individual with thoughts, feelings, wishes, and uniqueness, is a common and a fundamental wish. Unfortunately, people are more likely to become aware of it when the recognition is absent than when it is present. Most are quick to notice and quick to resent being ignored, slighted, insulted, talked down to, or treated as members of a class or group, rather than as individuals. Extreme cases are labeled as "sensitive"; others are said to have "pride." We all try to maintain or to increase our psychological status, our feeling of being a worthwhile person, and we are largely dependent upon the real or the imagined opinions of others, as revealed in their actions toward us, for our impressions of our own worthiness.

The importance of the whole concept of individual status and identity comes into focus when we consider that Peace Corps personnel will be engaged in furnishing other people aid or assistance in one form or another. This alone constitutes a threat to psychological status, since it indicates that there are deficiencies present that we can help correct. Which of us can "take" criticism? We may differ in our overt reactions to criticism and in the use we make of it, but it is never as pleasant to be told we are wrong or inadequate as it is to be told we are right and capable. Thus, the very presence of the Peace Corps may threaten the self-esteem of of host country people and their reactions to this threat may create interpersonal problems for the Peace Corps Volunteer at the very beginning of his assignment. In addition, there may be pre-existing unfavorable attitudes concerning the United States, and the Peace Corps Volunteer may be unfairly prejudged as prejudiced, intolerant, bossy, or inconsiderate. Early in the service period, when the volunteer is apt to be under careful observation, concrete demonstration of positive regard or disregard for others is apt to have widespread effects in dispelling or confirming such attitudes. The host country people are as likely as anyone else to judge an entire group by the behavior of one person.

Attitudes toward Americans and toward the United States can be intimately tied to attitudes toward the individual Peace Corps Volunteer. As already implied, his behavior is the key to both sets of attitudes. He can make his overseas experience a pleasant and productive one if his actions show him to be a kind and considerate person -- one who acts with common decency and with respect for the feelings and customs of others. He can also exaggerate his own inadequacies and increase his frustrations by creating ill will and discouraging cooperation through thoughtless actions:

> I treated my Nigerian co-workers as well as I knew how. My wife and I swam, danced, ate, and played with them in a perfectly normal manner and all of us benefited. My own effectiveness and happiness, and that of my Nigerian co-workers were increased for obvious reasons.
>
> * * * *
>
> We had a general handy man who cooked and washed for us in Laos. Men in that part of the world do not wash women's clothes. One day he refused to wash a pair of underpants, and the owner

slapped his face. This was the culmination of several instances where the woman would not consider the customs of the people. I returned her to the States. This pleased many people, not because they disliked the woman, but because they wanted the right to have their own way of life recognized.

Perhaps the word "action" deserves further discussion here. It is by our actions that we are judged. The most laudable intent can only be demonstrated by outward behavior. A sincere desire to do the right thing only puts one part way to the goal. To go any further requires that acts be performed which show one's attitudes of good will and regard for others. The Peace Corps Volunteer must ask himself, "Would I want to cooperate with a person who does this?" "Does this look like callousness or disregard for another's welfare?" "Does doing this show that I have this person's interests in mind?" "Is this the way I would want to be treated?" Extenuating circumstances, such as difficulties in adjusting to a new environment or personal problems, will often not be sufficient to undo the damage of a discourteous act.

Opportunities for the volunteer to demonstrate his concern for others will occur in almost all of his interactions with indigenous people and in his interactions with other Americans as well. For example, housing arrangements may impose burdens on others, work requirements may necessitate an implied threat to a person's status or self-esteem, work assignments may appear to be inconsiderate, or a method used to point out or correct errors may insult the person being corrected. On the positive side, however, it is apparent that actions which clearly show genuine esteem for others may have favorable implications extending well beyond the immediate context in which the actions occur. Enhancement of individual feelings of worthiness may in many instances be the principal reward available to many of the people with whom the volunteer interacts. An individual's self-respect is frequently his most important personal possession. In some areas of the world, it may be the only important possession he has.

Existing Patterns of Interpersonal Behavior

In all societies, there are customary ways for members of one group or class to treat members of another. Frequently, these prescribed ways of interacting tend to devalue or deny the individuality, worthiness, or self-esteem of those in a socially or economically subordinate group. For example, it may be common, expected, and socially approved for the leader of a work group to behave in a brutal manner toward his laborers, or, in less extreme cases, not to show any interest in their welfare or do anything that indicates friendliness, kindness, or even what we term common courtesy. Such a situation may raise the questions in the mind of the volunteer -- "Should I give this crew a ten-minute break?" "Should I adopt the ways of the indigenous crew leaders, or should I treat them with decency, respect, and kindness -- a way that they have almost never been treated before by an outsider?" "Will I get the crew's cooperation at the expense of the cooperation and good will of the indigenous crew leaders?" Most accounts of effective behavior overseas

indicate that acting with kindness and friendliness in such circumstances had favorable results and did not damage relations between the American and the indigenous group whose customary behavior pattern is different from that of the American:

> I was a crew leader on a survey on the Copper Belt. I had a crew of eight Bemba tribesmen. Other teams were led by young Afrikaner geology students. They shouted at, cursed, and occasionally kicked their crewmen. I treated my men as fellow human beings. I offered them cigarettes every time I smoked. I shared my food with them. I learned some of their language. I let them pick wild fruit along the way. We were all soon very good friends. When it was time for me to leave, I put on a big farewell party at the camp village. The South African Afrikaners wanted to get in on it. We bought quantities of Kaffir beer and meat. The Afrikaners brought brandy. Soon we were all very merry around a big fire. All reserve and ancient Boer tradition broke down. The Afrikaners had their arms around their black crewmen. There were speeches of good will; there were gifts exchanged. It was a memorable event. I am sure those Bembas will never forget the American.

* * * *

> We were on an outing accompanied by our chauffeur and the servants of the school where we stayed. When it came time for lunch, we invited the servants and chauffeur to join us. At first they were reticent, feeling that they were just the servants and could not sit with us because of the feeling among their own people -- that the servants were not on our social level. However, we insisted and the lunch was greatly enjoyed. It may have helped to dispel their feeling that Americans are aloof and that we are all segregationists.

It should be noted, however, that while treating people as equals may be well accepted when the American does it, it is hazardous to expect or require indigenous persons themselves to act in this manner. This is illustrated by the following example:

> We had invited the boys from a neighboring country school with their teachers to come to our town for a ball game. We also served them lunch. As we looked on the whole affair as a picnic, we served the teachers with the boys, using paper plates and the same service for the teachers as for the boys. We did not know it at the time, of course, but in this particular country teachers consider it an insult if you serve them along with the children. They deduce from this that you do not have much regard for them, i.e., you are trying to lower them socially. They were very offended. The ball game was a very strained affair, and needless to say, we felt very bad.

A further problem arises when existing patterns of interaction conflict with American humanitarian views. On the one hand, the American is generally supposed to accept indigenous patterns; he is not expected to interfere with these patterns or to show that they are repugnant to him. On the other hand, he is supposed to represent the United States and to demonstrate in his actions the fundamental

beliefs of a democratic society. In the following example, the American chose to come to the aid of one man even though it meant interfering with an indigenous practice and lowering the status of another man:

> In the Far East, I saw a soldier hit a laborer in the face with a yo-yo pole. I grabbed the man to prevent him from hitting the laborer again. Even though it was an internal problem, it was necessary to save the man's life and to show them that we didn't believe in this kind of thing.

In another situation, the American handled the conflict by pretending not to see an act of brutality, believing that to notice it and not to intervene would imply support for the action, while intervention would damage his relationship with the person committing the brutal act. While proper action in situations of this kind cannot be stipulated in advance, the United States and the volunteer himself would probably best be served by intervening where life or health are at stake.

Existing patterns may also cause conflict when the foreigner is urged to follow customs that clash with his fundamental beliefs or practices. The problem then becomes one of finding a "diplomatic" or inoffensive way of refusing to violate one's fundamental mores, to change a deep-seated habit, or to overcome a fundamental aversion, as in the following examples:

> The people in this area were polygamous. They wanted us to marry a few more wives. We didn't want to insult them and cast about for an appropriate reason for refusing. We finally explained to them that our religion forbids us to marry more than one wife and that it would hurt our wives at home to break this rule.

* * * *

> One of the most difficult things the worker had to do was eat with the villagers when he went to their homes. One time he was offered fish heads as a special honor. He said that in America special delicacies were reserved for the women and that he would appreciate it if his hostess would oblige him by having the fish heads herself.

The alternative, of course, when only a personal inclination is involved, is to accept the offers despite personal discomfort or inconvenience:

> We were clearing land for an experimental farm near a native village which was rather primitive in customs. We were asked in to the headman's house. We underwent a rather uncomfortable initiation into their tribe or village and received bracelets as a sign of being one of them.

* * * *

> My counterpart invited me for lunch as the sole guest of 15 to 20 government officials. I was asked what kind of food I preferred, local or U. S. I said, "Local, of course." Although

my natural inclination was for U. S. food, particularly because of the unpalatable nature of the local food, I found that it was a good decision, for everyone present expressed deep satisfaction.

Personal Stress

The deprivations, hardships, and frustrations likely to be encountered in the course of the volunteer's overseas service are treated at length in chapters 2 and 6. It is appropriate here to point out that it is realistic to expect that under such stresses there will be occasional irritability or thoughtlessness, leading perhaps to inconsiderate acts. Since mistakes will be made, efforts will be needed to rectify them or to smooth things out after they occur. These efforts should clearly demonstrate that there is still positive regard and good will despite the momentary lapse from acceptable standards of behavior. If these lapses are frequent or severe, however, the volunteer's potential effectiveness in the job may well disappear, regardless of the technical skills he possesses.

> Local farmers would allow their animals to enter a fenced crop area to feed. Although the instructor couldn't speak the language, he tried to tell the man to get his animals out. The man, not understanding English and remembering his herds were free to feed there before the Americans put up a fence, seemed to object and argued back. The American instructor struck him, knocking out three teeth. The herder's employer got in touch with the foreign office which in turn issued an order to the effect that either the American was to make a settlement to the satisfaction of the herder or he was to leave the country in 24 hours. This situation could have been avoided by a calm request, preferably through an interpreter.

Individual Differences

Ideally, each person should be treated in accordance with his own needs, abilities, habits, and status. To come even close to this ideal it would be necessary to obtain a great deal of knowledge about every individual one is dealing with -- an obviously unrealistic expectation. Further, efforts made to obtain such information may themselves constitute a disregard for individual dignity and privacy. The alternative is to be on the alert for evidence of individual differences, to acquire information without "prying," and then to utilize the information for the benefit of the individual.

It is often assumed that people will react to a situation on the basis of "common sense," and that they will do what "anyone" would do. In the following example, the respondent failed to respond to an individual's need for special attention:

> I was Directress of a little school. I had asked all three of our teachers to come to the school to help in preparing for a party. One arrived first and I immediately put her to work.

> Likewise the second. When the third one arrived, we were in the middle of everything and I took it for granted she would start helping out, using a bit of initiative of her own. But she did not. The fact that I did not recognize the third teacher hurt her and gave her a feeling of not being wanted. She felt that I had slighted her, and was giving preference to the other two. Although that was farthest from my mind, that was the way she looked at it. She did not come forward to help but stayed in the background until I noticed it and went back to her. But by then I could plainly see that she was hurt.

Usually, the Peace Corps Volunteer will lack detailed information about individuals. It is fortunate, however, that the needs for good will and preservation of status and dignity are so universal that the volunteer's common courtesy, decency, kindness, and interest in the welfare of others will almost always be the appropriate mode of behavior.

Consideration for others is the central theme of this chapter. This theme is mentioned again and again by experienced overseas personnel and is contained in a wide variety of acts, ranging in complexity from offering guests tea or a soft drink to such efforts as the following:

> A USOM technician and his wife had a retarded child whom they had taken with them. Both had been active in work for retarded children in the United States. Upon their arrival they found a practically moribund organization carrying on this work privately. They set to work to invigorate the organization, applied U. S. management, organization, and fund-raising techniques, enlisted the aid of top level officials and set the entire nation-wide program on its feet. This did far more to engender affection and respect than did many of the more ambitious and expensive U. S. programs. The institute is now an established institution, and is enjoying the confidence and financial support of the public and professional segments of the population.

One may show consideration for others by the simple act of refraining from taking a picture or by saving someone's life. One may go out of one's way to do someone a special favor, or one may merely change an unfair procedure, as in the following example:

> It was the practice in our office for Koreans to sign in in the morning and out again in the evening, while it was not necessary for the American employees to do so. This was creating much bad feeling among the local staff and I abolished the system. This showed they were as trusted as the American staff to be on time.

In the discussion which follows, some of the many specific ways of showing consideration, respect, and sincere regard for others, are grouped together under behavior principles. While these principles cover a wide range, including such topics as "making others feel important" and "maintaining patience and self-control," the reader should remember that all the behaviors cited are fundamentally alike: the effective behaviors demonstrate a positive regard for others, and the ineffective behaviors demonstrate either a lack of concern for one's fellow man or an insensitivity to the consequences of one's seemingly innocent actions. Whether the

ineffective behavior comes about because of thoughtlessness, momentary irritation, lack of knowledge, or some other factor, is perhaps of less importance than its interpretation as ineffective behavior by the people involved.

Equality

The people of the lesser-developed nations generally have had a great deal of experience with prejudice and discrimination, whether based on color, religion, economic or social status, or some other factor. In fact, the memory of past prejudice, the observation of current prejudice, and the fear of future prejudice are important factors in the push for political and economic independence. Since the problems and events pertaining to racial desegregation and integration in the United States receive considerable publicity in these nations, it may be assumed that the Peace Corps Volunteer will be carefully observed for signs of prejudice and discrimination. It is also likely that such signs would be magnified by others and used as propaganda material in local, national, and even international political battles. As a representative of the United States, it is incumbent upon the Peace Corps Volunteer to demonstrate, in his day-to-day contacts, that he believes in and practices the egalitarian ideals of a democratic society. This includes efforts to eliminate inequality based on religion, class, race, and ethnic grouping. Examples in the last three areas follow:

> There was an automobile accident involving a person obviously well-to-do and a peasant driving a cart. I identified the peasant to the police as being blameless, in spite of the initial reaction of the police to place the blame on the peasant. This impressed both the police and the peasant as an example of American justice. (The person of means acknowledged blame).
>
> * * * *
>
> On this country's Independence Day, the American technicians usually held a reception for the "white collar" and "blue collar" workers separately because of the obvious class distinction. In order to do away with "separate but equal" parties, we decided to have one affair inviting both "white collar" and "blue collar" employees. This was accomplished by having an outdoor barbecue at one of the local country clubs. The people were impressed with the informal hospitality of the technicians and their families who mingled with the messengers, mechanics, porters, secretaries, and local technicians and counterparts. The Minister of Agriculture participated in folk dances with the clerk and secretaries as did the "blue collar" workers.
>
> * * * *
>
> We bought 3rd class train tickets -- the class usually set apart for Africans only -- and found an empty compartment. Soon an African man came to ask very politely if his wife and two baby daughters could share our compartment. We agreed gladly, and then stood at the window talking with the

man and his wife until departure time. The wife was holding the smallest baby, so I held the other little girl so she could see and talk to her father. His face beamed and he exclaimed with surprise and joy, "You're holding my little girl!" I am sure no white person had ever done so before. Surely this man will now help counteract the idea that all Americans hate Negroes.

* * * *

Our United States team of technicians had a celebration of someone's birthday in the house of one of the United States families. It was strictly a "gringo" affair, with none of the local leaders invited. We thus belied by our actions what we say with words, namely, that we were sharing their lives.

Accepting Local Practices

Sharing indigenous experiences -- participating in local customs, recreation, or other practices -- is tangible expression of equality and respect for the other man's way of life. Failure to accept local conditions or to adopt indigenous practices usually implies feelings of superiority. Open disapproval or interference are demonstrations of arrogance, intolerance, and disregard that are interpretable only as belief of indigenous inferiority.

Sanitation, housing, food, transportation -- the physical attributes of a society -- will be considerably different in many countries from those the Peace Corps Volunteer has been accustomed to. It is in these areas, perhaps, that he will be put to one of his severest tests:

A missionary friend of mine was to work with the Masai in Tanganyika and Kenya. My friend went out and lived with these people even though conditions were difficult. It meant living in low houses made out of dung with the animals and the people living in the same room and many, many flies which collect around a person's face, mouth, and eyes especially. It meant eating the food that the Masai eat which is primarily sour milk carried in gourds which are very unclean by our standards. Unless the person can totally accept their hospitality, they will never accept him as a friend.

* * * *

Limited funds and a desire to see as much of the country as possible induced me to travel "inter"class (between 3rd and 2nd) on the railroad. It was very crowded. I mixed in with the native people on an equal basis, stood to sleep when necessary, let a little, dirty unkempt girl use my back as a rest, used the messy toilet, etc. My personal willingness or ability to tolerate a degree of filth and inconvenience was evidently unusual.

* * * *

Went to a cinema, and afterwards the picture of the local king was flashed on the screen and a patriotic song was played. We rose with the local citizens and clapped. The local people beamed approvingly and seemed to feel that we were right in honoring their national custom.

* * * *

The five Koreans on my staff were taking me to dinner in a Korean restaurant shortly before my return to the States. I bought and wore a new Korean dress for the occasion, much to the surprise and delight of both the Koreans with me and those we saw along the way. Many came up to smile and speak to me.

* * * *

As a special treat I had been invited by some Eskimo fishermen to join them in a fishing expedition. The result was a welcome batch of edible fish. In my eagerness to relish this treat, I took my catch and brought it to my cabin, where I proceeded to store the fish and to begin devouring some of them. What I had miserably failed to do was to remember the widows and sick of the community. To do this is a custom which has always prevailed -- and to overlook it is a miserable failure in consideration of one's neighbors. The first move of every fisherman is to divide part of his supply with the community. It took time to overcome this failure of mine. "Why don't you remember the sick? Don't you care?" Comments of this kind were heard.

* * * *

We were given a schoolhouse in which to make our quarters, but no beds were available and cooking facilities for a group of our size were most inadequate. We slept in our bed rolls on the floor and in the schoolhouse yard. We improvised on the small stove available, used a neighbor's stove when necessary, and revised some of our cooking ideas and plans. Because we were recognized as sharing in the same problems as the people themselves, eating their food rather than having special food shipped in to us, our actions made for good relations with the local people.

The last incident contains a key statement, "...eating their food rather than having special food shipped in to us." Following local practices serves to reduce the differences between the foreigners and the indigenous people; this is effective because people tend to admire most those who are most like themselves. They are apt to dislike particularly those who are different when the difference accentuates their "have not" status. Sensitivity to this generalization is shown in the following examples:

The excessive heat of 124 degrees is a constant annoyance. Having our office located in the host government Ministry required our being tolerant of facilities which we, as Americans, considered inferior. Air conditioners were offered by our mission to make our particular office more comfortable. Rather than have this one area air conditioned, when all

other offices housing Sudanese are hot and uncomfortable, we refused the installation of the units. Because we refused the units, the Sudanese felt we were showing equality. A wonderful relationship existed between the Americans and host government workers.

* * * *

I was the only North American. I noticed that I received an egg for breakfast every morning. The others ate the usual bread and coffee. I explained that I did not want to be given special food. From that time on, I ate what everyone else ate. Possibly my action helped make our unity stronger and removed a possible barrier to being fully accepted by those with whom I was living and working.

* * * *

Wife of a young American in Latin America expecting a baby soon. Despite poor medical standards in hospitals for working class people, she declined an offer to have her baby in the American Embassy Hospital. She and her husband were therefore more accepted by the local people because of this closer identity with them and their lives.

There are many customs or practices which the volunteer may not be expected to follow, but it is important that he show respect for them. For example, he may not be expected to take part in certain religious practices, but he would be expected not to desecrate or otherwise interfere with local observance of them. Americans have been observed to ridicule religious ceremonies, upset funeral processions, and vandalize graveyards. They thus indicate the attitude, "You people are uncivilized and greatly inferior. The common courtesies therefore do not apply." Lack of respect for indigenous ways is shown in the following examples:

American guests attended a religious procession. Because these are different from our, it is easy to forget that they are religious ceremonies. The guests laughed, talked, and took pictures. They even had a snack during the procession. One comment was, "Pagans would not act like that at a Christian procession."

* * * *

Our next door neighbor had died. The next day I played records as I generally would in the afternoon. This was considered the height of thoughtlessness; they believe all should share in the other's mourning. This sharing consisted in part in playing no music for ten days after the person's death.

When the American chooses not to follow a local practice, he should avoid insulting those who believe in it. He may find a polite or discreet way out, as in the polygamy incident, or he may indulge his own ways in privacy. To flaunt his disbelief or to accentuate the differences would be disrespectful.

I "fell in love" with one of our work directors. We held hands in the bazaars and public places, even though I was told that this was shocking to the Moslems.

* * * *

Shorts or jeans for women were considered immoral. Casual boy-girl relations were considered both immoral and dangerous. We lived within our living quarters -- out of sight of the nationals -- as we thought proper and conformed with local customs on the outside.

* * * *

The time was Lent. It is the custom that no dancing occurs during this season. At a social club in the town a number of men asked me to dance and I accepted their invitation. The next day all the people in town were talking about the American who was dancing the evening before. Although I felt I did nothing wrong, my actions were considered to be scandalous.

Concern for Others

A young woman from a village several miles away had begun to study at our Centre, but later suddenly stopped coming. As soon as regular classes were closed for that season, I took time to call on her. Older women in the house wanted to know what we wanted her for -- they did not seem too friendly until we explained our acquaintance with her. "We are looking for Wong Tai Sao; she studied with us for two days but returned home and never came back again. We wonder if she is ill or has had some family trouble." "You came all this way to inquire?" When Wong Tai Sao came in, she was beaming. "You came all this way to look for me?" Everyone was beaming. Tea was served. Wong Tai Sao made new arrangements to study and her mother-in-law came too. Her sister-in-law followed in the next session after Wong Tai Sao had returned home to cover the duties.

In making initial contacts with individuals, it is of course necessary to be polite and to abide by the formalities of the society governing specified types of interaction between people. In order to maintain good relations on a continuing basis, it is necessary to demonstrate something more. The Peace Corps Volunteer must be seen as a person who is genuinely concerned about others. He does this by making positive contributions to the welfare of the community and to the status or self-esteem of individuals. He does people favors. He preserves people's dignity. He neither threatens anyone's social position nor usurps anyone's authority. He goes out of his way to help others. In brief, he is kind and considerate. Several of the specific factors in showing concern for others are discussed and illustrated below.

In dealing with individuals, there are frequent opportunities to recognize a person's achievements or contributions, verbally or otherwise. These actions serve to make others feel important or appreciated. Although some problems may stem from the fact that the Peace Corps Volunteer may have high status in the eyes of the indigenous people, his position also serves to enhance the effect of making others feel important.

> A new official had just been installed and I happened to be in the ministry building at the time. Upon meeting the new official in the hall I stepped up to him and congratulated him on his new position. The official never forgot me as the American technician who had been first to congratulate him on his new job.

* * * *

> A portion of the United States staff was working with the national government staff in developing plans. I failed to recognize one of the staff officials as one of my former students. The official sulked and opposed United States recommendations. At the outset of the conference, I should have stated, so that all could hear, that I considered it fortunate indeed that we had one of my former students present.

* * * *

> The women of the division held a coffee in her honor. In the course of the event, they reviewed some of the things she had done to help make their tenure in a new environment more enjoyable. She felt that whatever contribution she had made had been appreciated.

It is sometimes necessary to forego credit for one's own accomplishments in order to see a project through to effective completion. The Peace Corps Volunteer should recognize that persons who have adopted a suggestion as their own are likely to believe that they have contributed to its fulfillment and that they deserve credit consequently. Furthermore, merit is not always easily attributable to one individual or another when both have worked on a joint effort, although each may feel that his own contribution was of paramount importance. Finally, it may sometimes be judicious to allow someone else to take credit even if it is not clearly due. At least one should refrain from becoming "highly incensed," as in the following incident:

> An American technician developed a program for improving potato cultivation. His counterpart discovered a draft of the proposed program, and was so convinced of its merit that he included it in a long memo to his superior. When he found his counterpart would now get credit for the development of the program he was highly incensed. This led to strained relations with his counterpart and finally the government requested that the technician leave.

Closely related to making others feel important is the matter of according to others the courtesies due them as a result of their position in the community. This includes courtesy calls on local officials even when they are not directly involved

in the work at hand, and other acts such as extending invitations, which indicate respect for a person's position. Such acts are indicated in the following examples:

> Failed to invite a senior government official to a party, although his subordinate was invited. Mistakes in protocol are extremely serious, especially in a rank-conscious country. Maintain an up-to-date list including name, agency, and rank.

* * * *

> The chief engineer and I had promised the chief of the district that we would stop and visit him on our way through his village. He was not there when we arrived and he would not be in for about two hours. We left our cards and went on our way. We should have waited to see him. He was an important man and a very sensitive man.

* * * *

> In making trips around the countryside, the technician made a point of visiting major, local representatives of the central government and the president of the labor center. Sometimes they would have coffee together or retreat to a local inn for a drink. Sometimes an item would appear in the local newspaper, probably because it meant prestige to local officials.

A major principle involved in demonstrating concern for others is to preserve or not to threaten the status of others. Threats to status are especially likely to occur in work situations, such as those involving the use of others' ideas, assigning tasks, or correcting errors.

There is frequently an indigenous counterpart or other key person whose position is made insecure by the presence of the American worker. The importance of obtaining the counterpart's good will and cooperation, as well as methods for doing so, are treated more fully in chapter 3. Here the emphasis is on maintaining his status and helping him to maintain his self-respect by using his ideas, asking for his advice, and otherwise accepting his direction and leadership.

> There were leaders in our work camp who were experienced in some aspects of foundation work and building. The community also had a man whom they called a "Building Master." The problem was -- who was to determine policies and direct our work. We agreed that we would welcome the Building Master as our leader, abide by his policies and directions, even though they did not seem best to us. We had the enthusiastic support and good will of the community and we increased the prestige of the Building Master. We also learned he had some good reasons for his policies.

* * * *

> Developing a home economics extension program which involved Ministers of Agriculture and Education -- one had responsibility for program personnel and one for the program supervision. I secured the services of a technician to advise in the establishment of a good home science program. The individual in education responsible for the recruitment of personnel failed to act favorably because he was not consulted at the beginning. I should have insisted, through my counterpart, that more group planning be undertaken in starting a program of this nature.

* * * *

> Group of 40 young people, various nationalities and races, were working at an empty government prison camp, to turn it into a youth camp for various religious, private, and government-sponsored programs. I worked under a Chinese-Malayan-Mohammedan work boss, cheerfully, and came to look to him as a real expert in his field, and did not try to assert myself or "take over" as it had been feared an American might grasp any chance to do. Built a good relationship between the two of us, and helped to put the other Asians at ease.

Threats to status are particularly likely to arise when people are asked to perform tasks that they consider beneath their rank -- whether this is their actual rank in the community or the rank they are trying to achieve.

> One of our men was teaching the best way to put bedding down in the barn. He insisted that the chief of the station take a fork and show him that he understood how to do the job, with all the men and coolies looking on. As this man was one of the Government officials, it made him lose face with the men to be the student to the American. It crossed up the set way of working in that country where the boss class doesn't do any work that should be done by the coolie class.

The importance of this line of distinction is shown vividly in the following example:

> We had need of both drivers and interpreters in our local office and in the field. We lumped these two qualifications because of lack of funds. We could not afford to hire two people for the one position although driver and interpreter are worlds apart in the local social scale. In introducing my interpreter I sometimes referred to him as driver. Suddenly his social position was lowered and even though he was also the interpreter he was unable to fulfill his duties through being slighted by local village officials.

As can be seen from the last incident, status indicators may also develop with respect to tasks that are relatively new to the society, such as office work or driving. A chauffeur in Vietnam assigned to drive Americans refused the American's request that he drive some Vietnamese staff members home during a heavy rain. Here the status of the American was a key point and this status may be used to advantage by the volunteer who is aware of it, as in the following incident:

In the absence of the boy messenger (the lowliest position in the office) it was necessary to have one of the typists take over his duties, thus in her mind "losing face" by doing a lowly task. I did the first messenger run myself, and the second time took the typist with me, and the third time sent her alone. She and the others on our staff saw that an American was willing to do this chore and instead of "losing face," the typist ended up by rather enjoying the change in duties.

Situations involving criticism of others or correcting errors made by others can be particularly threatening to status. Each emphasizes wrongdoing and may lead persons to interpret momentary acts as signs of general disregard. Criticism need not be direct to be interpreted as such. Taking over a man's task or giving overly detailed instructions may also be viewed as criticism, and at times it may be better to sacrifice efficiency or to endure some extra inconvenience in order to preserve the dignity of the other person.

My counterpart was making arrangements with local industry for our teachers to visit their plants. One establishment was owned and operated by a third country national. My counterpart was very upset and angry that he should be refused admittance to their plant. I said that I would go see the owner that he would certainly see me. The owner, of course, when he found out the purpose of the teachers' visit, personally came and invited our teaching training class to visit. Although my counterpart conducted the visit he was piqued that I should intervene. My counterpart was even more upset because he felt I was being superior to him. I unconsciously "talked down" to my counterpart when I said the owner would not fail to see me! The incident could have been avoided by more careful planning. My hurried response would not have been made if I had given the matter deliberate thought.

* * * *

Traveling with the Director of Agriculture and another American, we got stuck in the sand. The Director was driving. The other American could not drive, but he wanted me to drive the jeep out of the sand which I could easily have done. Although we were about 30 miles from a village, I didn't attempt to drive out. I calmed the other American and prepared to spend the night in the bush -- which was what we did. This was, of course, after the Director had tried several times to get the jeep out of the sand. The Director did not lose face and we had a chance to become better acquainted.

* * * *

The driving of a jeep on a very deep rutted jungle road. People involved: my counterpart, who was doing the driving, two villagers and myself. My counterpart, who had little driving experience, was having much difficulty in driving and we were continually becoming stuck. I told him that I would drive as

I had more experience in driving on difficult roads than he. I drove the remainder of the trip. It caused my counterpart to "lose face" with the other two passengers in the jeep.

* * * *

We were having guests for Thanksgiving. I could not leave it at telling the cook the menu and giving cooking instructions. I supervised the meal too closely. The cook became sullen and uncooperative. The cook took pride in his ability to prepare the food and when he had a real chance to "show off," I didn't trust him. It permanently damaged our working relationship.

* * * *

Twelve local employees and local engineer. I changed the assignment of local employees without consulting the local engineer. He felt humiliated before his subordinates. I apologized to all explaining I was overly enthused about the work. The subordinates felt less secure. The local engineer bore a grudge. I had caused a local professional man to be embarrassed.

Direct criticism given in public is as hard for indigenous people to take as it is for us. It assumes special importance overseas, partly because of greater personal sensitivity to public criticism, and partly because status and authority lines are more sharply defined and the effects are therefore likely to be more severe. For example, in some cultures knowledge and power are supposed to go together; if you are in authority, you know everything. If you are publicly criticized, the implication is clear that you should not have the authoritative position. Hence, the covering up of mistakes and the extreme embarrassment when criticized, particularly if criticized openly.

I was asked by another technician to advise him and his counterpart about the water supply for an airport project. The man in charge of airports attempted to answer my questions regarding the existing situations. Various answers failed to check with each other and my visual observations. I asked to speak to the man under him who worked directly with the water supply. He informed me in no uncertain terms that the man in charge knew all about everything in his agency or "he wouldn't have been in charge." I failed to obtain the information we needed to advise them.

* * * *

A vehicle broke down during a demonstration held in honor of a national minister. It was obvious to me that a mechanic was at fault and I mentioned it to his superior. He beat the mechanic with a crop until he drew blood, as punishment. It took quite a while to regain a good relationship between myself and the workers.

* * * *

Two of the translators in my section came to me and complained about their supervisor. I called in the Chief Translator and my counterpart (the ranking national in the office). I outlined the complaint I had received without mentioning names and asked for an explanation or justification for his actions. He proceeded to cry and between the tears asked to be excused. The counterpart explained to me that his people have a lot of pride and that to reprimand in front of another, even though he was his supervisor, was wrong.

An additional status problem arises from the reluctance of indigenous officials to appear to be depending upon the advice or guidance of others. In the incident concerning manual labor by the Chief of Station, the point is made that the official lost face also because he was put into a student relation to the American. Sensitivity to this type of problem is shown in the following incidents:

An enlisted man was instructing a class. We invited the officers to attend a class as observers. They weren't questioned about the material, and they were never called upon to recite in front of their men. They were thus exposed to the material without embarrassing them.

* * * *

My counterpart was difficult to understand and, although courteous, would not ask questions for the first few weeks. The physical set-up was bad from the standpoint of easy conversation between a division chief and a foreign adviser as we both had desks at the front of the room in plain sight of the workers. Had I insisted at the first, it would probably have been possible to have a screened-off space for our desks.

Concern for others is most vividly demonstrated when there is an opportunity to help individuals in times of personal difficulty. These actions usually take place outside of the formal work setting and show the American's personal concern and interest in the problems of his associates. Appropriate actions of this kind, stemming from the individual's desire to help rather than from his job assignment or a policy of his government, would probably be universally recognized as evidence of respect and good will. The actions include giving medical assistance, offering financial aid, and organizing assistance for the benefit of a specific family or individual. In the following examples the Americans made sacrifices in order to help:

One of the Americans was stricken with polio and had to be flown out to Beirut. He had visited a large number of villages in the area where the sanitary conditions were very poor. An Iraqi herd boy had been with him. The medical corps in our mission gave me vaccine for our group but gave none for the Iraqi personnel. I felt personally that I was probably old enough that I would not get the disease and because everybody knew that we had medicine, it seemed to me that there was only one thing to do, i.e., use my vaccine for the Iraqi boy.

* * * *

The uncle of our interpreter died in the morning. His body was already on the way to the grave when the interpreter heard about it. I drove our interpreter to the funeral site and also drove around to inform several of the other relatives and to bring them to the funeral. This action was deeply appreciated.

* * * *

I was working with a Philippine official in Bohol Province. Late one night he received a message that his daughter had died. I made an immediate decision to accompany him on the overnight boat trip to his home. The personal concern and interest in the welfare of the official and his family in a time of sorrow helped to establish a lasting friendship.

* * * *

A three-year old African baby of Moslem parents was admitted with cerebral malaria. Two of us, both professional nurses, were on duty at the time. We gave the necessary medical treatment and stayed with the child and his parents. About 2:30 A.M. he died and we were with them until they left the hospital. Although this seemed to us the normal thing to do, the parents were apparently surprised and touched by our concern. We learned that the father had written an article in a local paper describing that we had not only treated his child but remained with them after its death, thus indicating genuine concern.

Many more specific examples could be given. In one case, free transportation to the United States was arranged for a five-year old boy who required heart surgery and funds were raised for hospital and other expenses. In another case, a wheel chair was built for a twelve-year old who had lost both legs. In the following example the American showed his concern by sympathetic counseling on personal problems:

I was a math and physics teacher for a church-sponsored school; I listened to two of my students who wanted to talk about life. One was an 18-year old student who was preoccupied with sexual matters. I tried to point out to him that humans are made for other things too. The other student was flunking out of school basically because of psychological reasons resulting from traumatic home experiences. This was effective because it gave the students a chance to talk to someone whom they respected about their problems.

Personal concern may also be shown in efforts to provide assistance to needy groups. These efforts may range from simple morale-boosting, such as giving a party at an orphanage, to organized fund-raising or instituting procedures to encourage major self-help programs:

In our school there were several students who were having a hard time meeting financial obligations. We bought several newly-born pigs and gave one to each of the students. They fed and raised the pigs, and then at slaughter time, the sales were

divided between them and us. This plan follows local custom. The students, who were too poor to be able to get up the "capital" to buy a young pig, were able to reap the benefit from the sale. They were able to meet their obligations and they had the feeling of being able to help themselves. We were tempted to give them the whole amount of the sales, but we realized that it would be better training for the student if he had some obligation to us. It was much more effective that way.

* * * *

An appeal was made by a technician to his home community for certain kinds of books to help stock a new library at the National Teachers College. Over 500 books arrived. Most were in good condition and there were a goodly number of new recent editions. It demonstrated one of the characteristics of Americans in lending a helping hand for a worthy cause.

* * * *

I had worked with an orphan home outside Cairo. They needed more money to use for supplies, etc. Planned a tea dance to raise money and invited both Egyptians and Americans to take part. The Egyptians were pleased that we would go to trouble to raise money for one of their charities. Had great support from some USIA people and the Egyptian American University Council.

* * * *

The project distributed animals to needy farm families who had lost everything in the war. The policy on which distributions were based is: a) the family was to be without animals, b) the family needed to be able to stable and care for animals, c) the first healthy female offspring was to be returned to the committee for a gift to another worthy family. Point c) has become a very popular principle in that recipients share in the program by becoming themselves contributors. Here the stigma of charity is nearly eliminated.

Direct improvement of community conditions is shown in the following incident, as a by-product of another project:

There were no adequate bathing facilities for our unit, including both American and Iraqi personnel. We installed a 2-inch pipe from a spring above the village to the houses we were living in, putting in several faucets along the way for villagers to use. Our houses were sufficiently lower than the spring to give good pressure and we installed a shower in one of the rooms which had a drain. Solved problem of how to bathe in a hot and dusty country and also provided villagers in vicinity with running water by their houses.

It should be pointed out that charitable acts may at times lead to unfortunate results. A personal handout to one of a large number of needy people may result in hurt feelings or actual violence among those who were left out. Care must also be exercised with regard to the cultural implications of the action and the future expectations of the people receiving the help.

> My wife and I were sitting on our garden terrace, which overlooked the street. We were eating candy. Three children showed up in the street and watched us. We offered each child a piece of candy. Five minutes later 20 children were screaming at us for candy. We gave them out until the box was exhausted, but the crowd grew and grew and so did the clamor. All the children were mad at us. Those who had already received and eaten their candy screamed the loudest that they hadn't received any and that we were cheating them out of their share. We had to go inside the house to put an end to this demonstration.

* * * *

> Our houseboy announced that his cousin was going to visit him and that he would sleep in our house for a day since there was enough room. Trying to be a good fellow, I said all right even though he had made a statement rather than asked for permission. Two days later the cousin was still with us and our houseboy was disgruntled because we did not see fit to feed his cousin. I had to tell him to send his cousin on his way, and that I would have no more visitors. Our houseboy thought that he was a member of the family, and therefore his family was our family. Accordingly, we were, in his view, failing in our obligation to provide food and shelter for our family. I should have foreseen that acceptance of the first request would only bring dissatisfaction when subsequent requests were refused.

Even simple favors demonstrate concern for individuals. The fact that extra attention or kindness is shown is often of more significance than the actual behavior itself, which may be quite simple.

> A Chilean businessman I had met socially mentioned that he was leaving on Sunday to go to the U.S.A. on a business trip. My wife and I went to the airport to give him some letters of introduction to some people we thought would be helpful to him in the U.S.A. This type of courtesy is greatly appreciated and word quickly spread among the man's friends and business associates that I was a "simpatico" gringo.

* * * *

> I drove past an elderly man on a road, who was pleading for a ride -- even to the extent of holding out folded hands as if in prayerful supplication. I remembered the unwritten law that crippled and elderly people on the highway who ask for a ride must not be by-passed. So we turned around and drove back

a few miles to pick up the man. He ran toward the car and jumped into it as if he were a madman. "I have forgotten my package in the car ahead. I got a ride in that car and when I left it I forgot the package," he screamed hysterically. The driver was willing to race toward the car, which we overtook, and the package was safely delivered into the hands of the old man. I was curious to see its contents -- two eggs and a small piece of meat. It was Easter morning and he had left his detention camp to walk to the camp of his daughter to give her this offering. The man's gratitude was heartwarming, and the story got into the press.

* * * *

While on one of our trips to a small city, I made friends with the station master there. He asked me to send him a certain history book when I returned to this country. I failed to make the effort to find the particular book and send it to him. I should have tried to find the book he wanted and perhaps even send him others which would have helped him in his studies.

* * * *

Local transportation to the office was not very efficient. Two local engineers could have been accommodated in my car on the way to work. For several weeks I decided not to pick them up because of the potential liability which might be involved in the case of accident. This aroused deep resentment on the part of the local engineers. I later changed my mind and each day carried them to the office. As it turned out, there were no accidents and the attitude of the engineers was improved.

A special form of favor is intercession on behalf of other persons:

An official was berating a female local employee of the USOM Training Office for a mistake she had made in his processing for departure to U. S. The girl was in tears. I entered the office and said that it was I who had made the mistake and that it was not the girl's fault at all. It saved face for the girl and in turn made the man ashamed for carrying on as he had done.

Dealing with Invitations and Gifts

In most of the world, as in the United States, an individual's standing in his community is affected by the prestige of his visitors. In most countries where the Peace Corps will serve, it sometimes may be a mark of distinction for an indigenous person to entertain an American in his home. Unexplained refusals of invitations, or failure to appear after accepting one, would thus represent a personal insult:

Town fiesta -- home town of a government official, and my family. Due to illness in the family, we did not go to

the town fiesta after accepting an invitation. There was no way to communicate this to the official who had invited us. He had informed his friends that I and my family would be there. I should have gone alone, if just to stay a few minutes, so he would not "lose face" with his friends.

* * * *

While staying at a seaside rest-house for a weekend, a school principal walked up to us, after first having met our children, introduced himself, and invited us to tea at his house that afternoon. We were reluctant to go, but finally relented at his insistence. When the principal's messenger arrived at our house to say that the tea was scheduled for 4:00, we wrote a reply saying that since this was our first little family vacation for some time, and the children wanted so much to stay in the water because we were departing that evening, we would hope to visit him at a later date when we had more time. He had probably already asked friends to be there, and probably intended making it into a big affair. Since we were probably the only Americans with whom he had come into such close contact, he probably thought of us as an example of rude Americans. We should have accepted his invitation.

Consideration for both pride and material welfare is aptly demonstrated by the next incident:

A teacher in the local technical school invited a party of four of us to his home for dinner while we were temporarily doing some work in his town. I knew how little he earned and that such a party would cost him almost half a month's salary. I informed him that we were occupied every evening while in town, but that we would be happy to come for Sunday afternoon tea. We thus satisfied his desire to extend hospitality without it costing him a sum beyond his ability to spend.

Giving gifts to indigenous persons ordinarily show thoughtfulness and good will. However, there is a possibility that the gift will be looked upon as unnecessary "charity," or as a suggestion that the recipient is lacking in some material way. In our society it is sometimes considered bad taste, for example, to give money as a gift, even though in many cases this is the most logical thing to give. In the following examples the gift-givers took care to prevent damage to the pride of the recipients:

A Chinese official wore an old worn belt. I wanted to give him another as a token of friendship. I procured a "Sam Browne Belt," but had to be careful how to give it to him without drawing attention to his old and worn belt. I waited until an occasion arose (some festivities) when it was natural to give a present. He was able to accept the present and wear the belt without losing "face" about his old one.

* * * *

> We had portions of animals -- pigs and buffaloes -- that we couldn't use. We wanted to give this food to the laborers and the merchants we bought it from. I told them this was in return for some favors they had done for us, such as entertainment, or some arrangements they had made for us. It prevented loss of face to put it in terms of payment rather than as a gift.

Several problems may arise in accepting or refusing gifts offered by indigenous persons. Offering to pay for what was intended as a gift or a friendly gesture would not only insult the donor, but would also emphasize the American's great wealth relative to that of his indigenous hosts. Refusal of a gift may be necessary because of an agency policy or because of our traditional view that the recipient of a gift enters into the debt of the donor. A delicate situation of this kind is described in the following example:

> In 1947, I was prosecuting a camp commandant and his staff for war crimes against Allied prisoners of war. One evening during the progress of the trial, the wife of the camp commandant came to my home in Japan and offered an expensive kimona to my wife. At first my wife, after consultation with me, abruptly refused and the camp commandant's wife appeared to be bewildered. Since we did not speak Japanese and the camp commandant's wife did not speak English, and for fear that she might get the wrong impression of my wife's refusal, I asked the camp commandant's wife (by motioning to her) to sit down and my wife offered her some tea and cookies. I called for the Japanese interpreter in our billet and through him explained to her that while my wife and I fully appreciated her generosity and the custom of her country, our custom, considering the situation, does not make it right for us to accept gifts, and asked her to please understand our situation. She left our home feeling that her custom was not wrong and was respected, and our custom to us may not be wrong and she respected it. We parted on a friendly and cheerful note, both sides feeling that some good in human relationships was accomplished.

An additional problem in refusing gifts involves consideration of the value of the gift to the donor and finding tactful ways to avoid offending him while not accepting the gift. Note that in the second example agency policy is also involved:

> At a dinner party at the home of the provincial Governor, I admired some native pottery of rather good design. I was presented with the pottery immediately. I was loathe to accept but did not want to offend. I finally explained to him that I was traveling by plane and I feared that the piece of pottery would break on a plane. I requested the name of a merchant who handled this in the capitol city so I could buy it there. This he gave me and we wrote him and thanked him for the name and information when we returned.

* * * *

> The organization discouraged the acceptance of gifts from the people with whom we worked, especially those which were clearly given in the hope of favoritism or remuneration. I tried to direct the gifts into services rather than tangible items. For instance, when an embroidered dress (perhaps an old folk costume) was offered, I asked -- instead of parting the donor from the family treasure -- that he show me how the embroidery was done or help me to cut a pattern.

Common Courtesy

In addition to the delicate and more or less intricate problems involved in demonstrating regard for the dignity and well-being of others discussed above, the alien is faced constantly with day-to-day situations calling for simple courtesy. The behaviors required are not essentially different from those he is expected to exhibit at home. However, physical and cultural differences often create unexpected pitfalls demanding a greater degree of sensitivity, thoughtfulness, and self-restraint. Courtesy takes many forms. Perhaps most importantly, overseas, it involves respect for indigenous practices or beliefs, shown principally by not voicing any criticism of them:

> Many times while traveling in these countries I have witnessed odd practices, customs, and conditions which would provoke comments by Americans to natives and other Americans. I was very careful to respect all native explanations or maintained silence on these subjects. By laughing at oddities, showing contempt for folkways, etc., I might have hurt my friends' feelings and our relationships of professional dignity and fellowship.

Inadvertent signs of surprise, shock, or repugnance may also be discourteous, as in the following example:

> After dinner, we sat around and talked. When the baby cried, the woman began to breast feed it right in front of my eyes, as is common custom. I couldn't manage to conceal my surprise and shock at this. It stunted all conversation.

Thoughtless misuse of language, however innocent the intent, can be deeply insulting:

> I was eating supper with a group of students in the hotel where I lived. The cook served the meal and as the dishes were being passed around, several students took most of the food. I was a little irked at this and said something to a neighbor like, "Those pigs are taking all the food down there." A pig is one of the lowest and most disgraceful forms of life to a Middle-Easterner and they thought I was entirely serious in calling them "pigs."
>
> * * * *
>
> In contacts with Africans in general in South Africa in conversation, I have avoided the use of the terms, "Native," "Bantu," and of course, "Kaffir." To the black African in South Africa, these

have unpleasant associations. I have generally used the term "African," specifying black, if necessary. This terminology does not have unpleasant connotations -- conveys the human dignity to which the African knows he is entitled. One would prefer not to always have to specify the color of the person involved, as in many cases it ought not to be a relevant point. In South Africa, it is a vital point in any discussion.

Prying or blatant curiosity is another form of discourtesy, most frequently mentioned in the form of taking pictures of people and their belongings without permission. Some consequences of excessive prying are shown in the following examples:

> We had many visitors to our project. One day a famous sociologist arrived and asked a number of questions. Some of them were of the kind that I felt were a bit too searching for a stranger to ask. We were never able to work in that village again.

* * * *

> Sightseeing in a local market place. I took a picture of a native open-air soup kitchen and the proprietor appeared and threw hot soup on me. I lost my temper, hollered at him and called a police officer. The officer quietly spoke to the proprietor and courteously persuaded me to leave. There should have been common courtesy on my part in introducing myself to the proprietor and asking permission to take the picture -- leaving if permission were not granted.

To flaunt one's superior wealth, whether by living relatively luxuriously, giving expensive gifts, or by buying or using expensive merchandise is not only discourteous but also demonstrates tangibly the economic inequality that exists between Americans and most other peoples and tends to set Americans apart socially as well as materially.

> None of our students from the U. S. A. had large amounts of money but what they had was astronomical compared to the economy of the common man. Our shopping expeditions for souvenirs, etc., did not create a good impression. In this aspect of our experience we were the wealthy foreign tourists spending money "freely" on non-essentials when people were starving and living on the edge of existence.

* * * *

> We arrived with a supply of clothing designed to last three years. We made a point of wearing only about three dresses each. We felt that had we worn many outfits it would have been a point of division or envy.

In our society, we have learned to admire and to expect efficiency, punctuality, comfort, dependability, and many other attributes of a technologically developed and generally affluent community. It is understandable that people who are upset at not making a green light would find it difficult to accept the breakdown of a bus

that is scheduled about once a day, on the average. The too common reaction to such frustrations is irritation and overt signs of ill temper. These failures in maintaining patience and self-control are apt to be insulting even if no specific indigenous individual is directly involved. They show dissatisfaction with the indigenous society and are interpreted rightly or wrongly as signs of feelings of superiority:

> I had gone to the telephone office to make a long-distance call. I got impatient with the delay in getting a call through. I believe that it simply must have confirmed the suspicion that all Americans are in a hurry and are more concerned with results than with people. They naturally reacted to my fury with a certain amount of uncooperativeness. I could have gone to the head of the village and requested that he put through the call for me. He would have been more reasonable in his demands and we could have had a leisurely glass of tea together while the call was going through. It would have left a better impression.

* * * *

> I was starting out on a field trip and was hurrying to get off when my driver was late, and then when I arrived at my counterpart's home, he was not ready. I showed too much impatience over the delay and lost my temper. Where time is not as important as in the U.S., they do not consider a few minutes or even an hour or so a delay of much importance. I should have had more patience.

* * * *

> In building a school with native personnel, the construction engineer lost his temper because of the inefficiency and lack of aptitude of the indigenous workers. He expected more than he should have. He should have been patient -- realized the lack of education of local personnel -- that deadlines don't have to be met as in the United States.

A great variety of overseas conditions can cause irritation, including excessive red tape, traditions which make for inefficiency, dissatisfaction with living conditions, or dislike for local customs:

> I had been assigned a hut in the midst of the settlement. The natives wandered in and out of this hut and would settle down for hours at a time, just to stare at me, without talking. I allowed myself to become irritated and uncomfortable about this lack of privacy, so that I arbitrarily left the hut and moved to a central hotel at some distance. I lost the rapport with the natives and the opportunity to be one of them. I had failed to accept their own customs and to understand the reasons for their kind of behavior, which was actually meant as a courtesy.

* * * *

A very new concept that was difficult to adjust to was the custom of heatedly bargaining before transacting any business deal. A group of us wished to hire a taxi. The Arabs in the group were doing the bargaining and succeeded in using 45 minutes of our precious time to save only a few cents on the deal. It was a temptation for the efficient Americans in the group to step in and take over. After all, it seemed much more practical to us to spend a little more money and save a lot of time. However, we held our tongues and let the Arabs take care of the deal. To have stepped in and taken over would have been a salient mark of our feeling of American superiority. We had to realize that our way of doing things was not necessarily better -- only different.

Inebriation leads to insults, violence, destruction of property, and injury, and the hurts inflicted on others while one is drunk are likely to have significant effects on subsequent work or social relationships:

The Division Engineer had invited me and another highway engineer who had just arrived in the country to dinner one night along with some of his key personnel. After dinner he suggested we go to one of the beach clubs for a nightcap. The other engineer proceeded to get roaring drunk. His conversation was getting loud and insulting to the indigenous engineers. They were astonished at this American's action. He was not only insulting in his manner but could not be controlled and became belligerent. He finally got mad at me and left in a huff in a pedicab. This engineer's effectiveness was immediately damaged beyond repair. The indigenous engineers could never respect his professional decisions.

It should be unnecessary to mention wilful rudeness in a manual written for adults. Yet it occurs and of all behavior is most damaging to good will and to the image of America overseas. One rude act can spectacularly vitiate years of decent, benevolent behavior. The next incidents need no further comment:

An American rode his horse down a crowded roadway at a gallop scattering and frightening the local people. All the while he was shouting to them to "get the hell out of my way!"

* * * *

A group which came last summer was a very poor representation of American youth. The supervisor of the project had to keep apologizing for their behavior. They put on a big show of words and no work. They lived like pigs. I was afraid and deeply embarrassed when my counterparts saw the new dormitory where these people were living. This was the first time anyone had lived in that dormitory. To be frank, they kept the place filthy. The girls left dirty undergarments on the floor; the men and women slept together and shared the same toilets after we had provided separate facilities. This same group had an open forum. The United States Ambassador and the Director of

the USOM were on the panel. The embarrassing remarks and criticisms of our government and our USOM that this group made in front of the nationals, and the outright blasts at the Ambassador -- it made one feel pretty low as an American. It was the talk of the mission and nationals for a few weeks after. It was a pretty poor show of American college students.

* * * *

One of our more vehement, boisterous, and unrepressed technicians found himself one day in his car at a service station unable to back away so as to continue his journey because a Nigerian chief in his car was in the way. The technician bellowed at him to "get out of my way, you bushman!" He would also bellow in our main office in the presence of four to six Nigerian office personnel that "all Nigerians are stupid!" Also, I am reminded of the American technician who thought nothing of driving his big American car swiftly down dusty roads, spewing clouds of dust on protesting Nigerian pedestrians.

While most of the examples given are instances of discourtesy and lack of self-control, it should be recognized that their opposites constitute a principle of effective behavior overseas. Behaving calmly and patiently or reacting gently to the antagonism of others is often an effective means for overcoming another person's hostility or lack of cooperation.

I went to see an official in the Department of Immigration because I wanted some statistics and other information. I could tell at once that he was quite anti-U. S. and that he was not disposed to make any information available. I spent the first several visits discussing anything but the subject, concentrating especially on his country's history, and I let him work off steam with some antagonistic remarks about the United States. After he saw that I was not going to react to his anti-U. S. remarks, and after he had observed my knowledge and understanding of his culture, he became very friendly and gave me useful information. I had become the "exception to the rule" in his concepts about North Americans.

* * * *

I met the chief of the office and my counterpart, was duly given a nice desk, a "boy" to keep my tea hot and run my errands, plus a car with a chauffeur -- all the privileges of an indigenous official of similar rank. I knew they resented foreign experts and I decided to sit tight. For three months during the hot summer, both my secretary and I reported to work. Nobody came near us in the sense of work. Yet we were both invited to all feasts. Finally, one day in September, the chief accountant brought me some documents and quietly asked how I would record them. I gave him the best advice I could. However, days of desk-sitting went on. Yet as time passed, more and more of my advice was sought. By waiting, and giving quiet advice, I was eventually accepted as a qualified person who was not there to throw his weight around.

The ideas of courtesy, decency, and respect pervade this chapter and are involved in the behaviors cited in other chapters as well. There are many synonyms for these concepts, and the ones we have used by no means exhaust the possibilities. It is to be hoped that the central ideas of regard and concern for human well-being and dignity will permit the Peace Corps Volunteer to use informed judgment in determining specific ways to carry out the principles discussed. Although specific acts will depend on particular circumstances, the volunteer should always remember that attitudes of good will toward others, combined with specific cultural knowledge, are the first requisites to acting effectively overseas, regardless of the situation, the technical job, or the area of the world.

TEACHING AND ADVISING

The Peace Corps Volunteer will inevitably influence the indigenous persons he contacts during his overseas tour. Whether he does so for good or for ill will depend on what he is, what he does -- and how well he can teach. For whatever his allotted job may be, he will also perforce be a teacher and an adviser. Many volunteers will be assigned to formal teaching jobs, but those whose missions are carried out not in classrooms but in fields, factories, and offices will find that a major part of their overall task is that of teaching new methods and ideas.

Thus, as a matter of course, every volunteer should think of himself as a teacher, for it is by teaching and advising that he will build a reservoir of new skills to leave behind him when he returns to the United States.

Many basic educational problems and techniques differ little overseas from those in the United States. Information must be conveyed by lecture, demonstration, and discussion. Skill must be developed by practice and practical application. Students must be motivated and their abilities and progress assessed. And discipline must be maintained. Consider, however, some of the factors which often complicate teaching overseas: In many countries facilities and training materials are likely to be inadequate or non-existent. The disparity in background between the alien teacher and the native student, language difficulties, the unusual heterogeneity of students' abilities and achievements, and the frequent lack of fundamental skills all serve as barriers to effective teaching. Some solutions are simple in concept but require long hours of extramural work; others entail the resourcefulness and ingenuity that can turn challenge to satisfaction in ways that are rarely experienced at home.

As a first requirement, the overseas teacher must also be a learner. He does not transmit information to a faceless mass. He teaches individuals who have desires, abilities, habits, points of view, and backgrounds of information and misinformation, all having as much to do with learning as the teacher himself. Unless the teacher learns to know his students as individuals and adapts his methods accordingly, he cannot do an effective job. Admittedly, this principle will be difficult to put into practice, but it should never be forgotten, however difficult it may be to follow. At home, the wise teacher develops an almost unconscious alertness to the individuality of his students. Overseas, the cues to individuality will be fewer and frequently misleading until the teacher is able to develop a "feel" for the signs that are peculiar to the indigenous culture. In one society, a nod may mean, "I do not understand," and a "no" may mean, "I understand well enough to disagree with you"; elsewhere each may signify something entirely different. Besides the culturally different cues that the teacher must learn to recognize, there are still others peculiar to each individual student that must also be learned.

It may be necessary to determine what students wish or expect to be taught. The foreign teacher is likely to take up his assignment with a preconceived idea of what indigenous persons need to know, probably based on abstract and general beliefs

about the needs of the country and its people held by relatively high-level government officials. But between the teacher's goal and its accomplishment are the individual students who may have only a very limited view of national purposes, but who do think they know what they want out of life. For example, a group of Americans established an academic high school in a Latin American town. Attendance was good until a trade school was set up nearby, when virtually all the students changed schools. Most of them were poor and too realistic to entertain thoughts of college. Obviously, this idea cannot be taken to its logical conclusion. One does not ask an illiterate six year old what he wishes to learn; but it is just as absurd to assume that the other extreme is valid. More than one adult literacy program has failed completely because no one bothered to find out what the students really wished to learn or to point out the advantages of what a teacher was prepared to teach.

Students may fail to understand the value of the subjects they are offered. The Peace Corps Volunteer should explain the practical implications of his subject matter and should show specifically how his curriculum will fit into the students' lives. The methods vary. Some teachers find it effective to pose interesting practical problems to their students with examples of how learning a subject will enable them to solve such problems. Some take students on field trips to arouse interest by practical demonstration of ultimate benefits.

> We were giving instruction in improved ceramic methods to a group of local potters who wanted to export to nearby countries. They had no accounting system and I wanted to teach them some basic commercial arithmetic, but they were not interested. They couldn't see that they needed it for expanded operations. So I asked them how they would figure out how much to charge for various quantities of urns to be shipped to different places. They couldn't do it. After I showed them how to break down their costs systematically to arrive at an accurate estimate, they became interested in this part of the course.
>
> * * * *
>
> I tried to get my counterpart to learn our cataloguing system for the film library. He thought his own system was good enough. I challenged him to a race to see which of us could find a particular set of films faster, each using his own system. I found all ten before he found one, and after the demonstration he agreed our system was worth learning.
>
> * * * *
>
> In 1957, I was trying to interest police executives of an Asian nation in starting police training schools. They had none and maintained that such was a luxury only the "big" countries could afford. I took three of these executives to nearby countries -- Thailand, Hong Kong, Japan, Philippines, and South Vietnam -- and arranged for them to see the police schools these neighbor countries of Asia were operating. They saw that the police of neighboring countries were busily training, and that luxurious buildings were not required. They helped from then on in getting a training school going in an abandoned brewery building.

The following incident brings up the related matter, particularly important in informal teaching, of considering the convenience of the learners:

> A number of families in a village twenty miles from our center had asked for instruction. A native companion and I went to live there for several two-week sessions. We suited our times of instruction to the convenience of the different groups involved. The instruction was given as follows: Very early morning -- to school boys, because they had no duty in preparing the morning meal; after my breakfast -- to the sick in their own homes; late morning -- to old ladies who were minding very little children; after the noon meal -- to young women relaxing from their field work or fuel-gathering trips; mid-afternoon -- to old ladies (often assisting them in their housework) and to others in their homes; late afternoon -- to young school children, now home; early evening -- to the older school children; later evening -- to all in a general meeting which men might attend if they wished; then younger women for as late as they wished. This showed that we appreciated the urgency of their work for their families' welfare and respected the dignity of each one's duties. It also showed that we were not there for a holiday and that the matter of our instruction was a way of life, not just theory. Our actions would have been improved if we had brought some reading or pictures for the men. We also should have made ourselves more aware of the position some of the men held in the village or district. This would have made the men more friendly.

Determining aptitudes and achievement levels is a burden which falls heavily on the teacher overseas. Individuals differ with regard to the rate at which they can learn as well as in the amount of knowledge and skill each already possesses. In the United States, we make elaborate use of tests and counseling to solve this problem. Even so, we have limited success. Overseas, valid formal tests will probably not be available. Ordinarily, the teacher will have to rely on getting a sense of the student's competence and progress through the quality of volunteered discussion, direct questioning on subject matter and practical demonstrations of skill.

Effective assessment cannot be based on occasional momentary evaluations. A bright student capable of mastering materials quickly may, at any given moment, be considerably more ignorant than a duller one who has had more opportunity or inclination to learn. Furthermore, in order to assess current ability and potential progress, it is necessary to have active student cooperation. The student must display his knowledge and potential before the teacher can evaluate it, and, in some areas, students are very reluctant to answer questions or volunteer information. Also, there may be a differential inclination in some countries for students to participate actively. In India and Ethiopia, among others, it has been found that women are more reluctant to recite than men. This does not necessarily indicate that they know less or can learn less quickly; it is rather a product of woman's traditional role. In some societies, it is considered rude to excel in a competitive situation; in others, most people have never been exposed to any sort of group discussion and as a result are very shy about volunteering information, though they may have it on the tips of their tongues. Such cultural factors must be actively considered by the teacher when evaluating student development and potential.

The distinction between current competence and future ability should be borne clearly in mind. A student's present knowledge can be determined by written, oral, or practical tests. How fast he can learn or what materials he might learn best, however, can be determined in the absence of aptitude tests only over a period of time during which several findings are compared.

The fundamentals of his subject must be unusually well understood by the overseas teacher. Because students may lack the most elementary skills which are ordinarily taken for granted and because their general backgrounds may differ vastly from the teacher's and their range of experience is likely to be far more restricted, the foreign teacher will find he has fewer meaningful examples and analogies with which to illustrate new concepts. Consequently, he must be able to divest himself of all the frills, complexities, and non-essentials that surround virtually every subject, and go directly to the heart of the matter. Consider the following account by a man who taught in Asia:

> I was a geometry teacher. The class was getting nowhere. I soon realized that they didn't know the difference between the basic geometric shapes -- squares, triangles, rectangles. I had to go back to the beginning and just define them, and I had a hard time doing that.

The amount of planning and preparation necessary before teaching can be effective may be far greater overseas than is customary in the United States for similar curricula. Preparations must often be telescoped into a relatively short period, sometimes even after teaching has begun. The American who is teaching or advising overseas should establish a training plan taking into account the various delaying factors which will develop. The teacher will often find that he must add fundamental material. He will probably want to reorganize his usual lesson plans, starting at a more elementary level and taking care to move from basic to complex points in smaller steps. He will also have to allow for more frequent opportunities to check on students' understanding, with sufficient time allowed to go back over material not learned as rapidly as anticipated:

> I was teaching an automotive maintenance course. We had to take things one at a time and go back to earlier material again and again. They did learn but it took much longer than I expected. You have to keep checking.

A teacher may have to obtain instructional materials, texts, notebooks, demonstration models, etc., that are suitable for his students. However, the indigenous economy may not be able to provide them. Consequently, the teacher may well have to develop instructional materials himself by adapting such local resources as are available. Some teachers have found it necessary to revise an old textbook completely or to write an entirely new one. Others have translated or arranged for the translation of texts and other classroom materials. Still others have had to revise diagrams or draw new ones and construct models that were suitable to the levels of experience found in the overseas settings. The following accounts will give some idea of the scope and variety of techniques used in this connection:

> The country had received substantial quantities of training equipment in the form of parts and components of American equipment. The problem was to design "training aids" from all these bits and pieces of equipment and to integrate the "trainers" into the mechanics school for training purposes.

I supervised the operation of collecting all the equipment into kits, organized and set up a "training aids production shop," assisted in the design of "trainers" to be constructed and in preparing hardware, lumber, tubing, etc., necessary for constructing operational models. The country had previously been denied all but obsolete or salvaged materials for training purposes. The training equipment on hand was very limited and of little value for training mechanics in modern-day maintenance techniques.

* * * *

I wrote my own elementary accounting book and had it mimeographed. The members of the class expressed continued interest in pursuing advanced courses in accounting. Since I wanted to continue further training, I ordered a number of American textbooks to be sent to Vietnam.

* * * *

There was no time to order materials from the States. In the handicraft class, we helped the children make puppets using locally available materials.

* * * *

I rewrote lesson plans and programs of instructions for a Chinese school. With the aid of translators, they were then modified to suit the local situation.

* * * *

I took the film produced in the United States and dubbed in adequate local dialogue.

* * * *

I wrote a seminar manual which eventually became a book of ten chapters on "Cost Accounting and Cost Control." Three thousand copies of this manual were printed and have been distributed to manufacturers, chambers of commerce, etc. It was translated into the native language by an assistant.

Some teachers overseas have made the mistake of using training materials and training aids that were far too elaborate or otherwise inappropriate to the overseas situation. Consider the following incidents:

Another young American and I were sent to a city in Egypt to help start a pioneer project. We built a demonstration farm in a village twenty-five miles from the city, where we carried out extension projects, including improving, by cross-breeding with high-quality animals, Egyptian cattle, goats, and poultry. We

also worked part-time with crop improvement, machine introduction, sanitation improvement, and a first aid program. We had too much money with which to build the demonstration farm facilities and could have been more effective had we built them on a level nearer that of the peasants. Less "Americanization" and more "situation-ization" should have been the rule.

* * * *

I used a 3-D viewer to show a group of Ceylonese pictures of New York City. They had never seen a viewer before and seemed delighted with it. Later I heard their comment, "Just a lot of high buildings." I had failed to show pictures that were within their range of experience and interest. I failed to see that their real interest was in the viewer and not in the pictures. They had never seen high buildings or large cities and were disinterested in them.

* * * *

The women of the village where we lived asked me to teach them to cook. I attempted to teach them by demonstration and explanation (through the interpreter). They were very interested in the lessons but they had very different equipment and tastes for food. I had limited access to the local foods and could do very little experimenting. They showed great interest at first, but it tapered off.

* * * *

In the Philippines, the language used as the medium of instruction is English, though this language is foreign to many of the people. Our school was poor and we had to use many books sent to us as gifts from the States. Our programs were often based on American themes with a great deal of emphasis on customs that were quite foreign to the people with whom we worked. We realized that our students and the townspeople as a whole were not getting much benefit from the studies and programs because they were almost completely centered on customs and values that were foreign to them. They had not yet reached the level of education where foreign studies would really be of benefit to them. Therefore, we helped prepare special texts adapted to the Philippines and also new courses of study. One of our teachers translated particularly good plays into Visayan (the dialect in our town) so that the people could really enjoy them and benefit from them. He also wrote his own Visayan plays that were completely based on the customs of the people.

* * * *

I did not realize the differences in culture between us and the Koreans. I committed an error by translating our regulations about religion and diet word for word. The element of religion

that is provided in our "Regs" is not applicable to the Koreans nor is the 2,800 calories in each meal. My counterpart rebelled against me, took a "hard nose" stand, and broke any esprit de corps I had managed to build. I should have worked with my counterpart on the translation and adapted only those sections of the regulations that could be used by the Koreans. After my departure, this task was finally completed to the satisfaction of all.

While new lesson plans and instructional materials are being developed, the teacher runs considerable danger of marking time or fumbling before the more suitable materials become available. Students' interest and respect may be lost, and the teacher's prestige may be damaged. Every experienced teacher knows how difficult it is to reestablish prestige with a disaffected group. It is not an easy problem to solve. If possible, the prospective teacher or adviser should get in touch with his predecessor or other knowledgeable persons before he begins his job in order to determine, at least in a general way, the characteristics of his prospective students, the training methods that have been effective, and the teaching materials he should prepare. In any case, he should expect, at least in the beginning, to put in long hours after the normal work day in preparing appropriate materials.

We had just started our high school. I was teaching high school math for the first time in Spanish. My students would have to be presented before a Chilean board from the local public high school. I spoke beforehand with the teachers of math in the public high school, exchanging ideas with them, finding out the techniques and methods they use in their subject, their manner of presentation, terminology, etc. I also had a Spanish Sister from a neighboring girls' academy take over my class to see how the children were. As a result 60 out of 66 of my students passed, many of them with a note of 7, which is the highest note, and the Chilean board congratulated them.

Beyond the elementary school level, and in most informal advisory situations, training groups are likely to consist of students and colleagues with heterogeneous abilities and achievements, making for inefficient training units. Advisers and technicians frequently have considerable choice about the size and composition of the groups they organize to train. Sometimes the teacher in a formal school setting may also be given such freedom in organizing his classes. Some teachers were able to establish two or more relatively homogeneous groups from a single heterogeneous class. By doing so, they were able to adapt the pace and subject matter to the needs of the students more effectively than would be possible in a class of students with disparate abilities.

I was training a class of thirty to fifty men with considerable variation of backgrounds and intelligence. I divided the men into several groups according to the speed at which they seemed to learn and appointed a group leader for each. This saved considerable time since I trained the leader and then he would train the rest of the men in his group.

* * * *

The students were supposed to get training on many different subjects. We decided to split them into smaller groups first,

> teach each group one subject, then combine them and teach both groups both subjects together. When the groups were combined, they would teach each other while getting further training.

This approach can soon get out of hand, and the teacher may find himself responsible for two separate classes instead of one, with all the separate problems of preparation and instruction that are required by two different courses and learning groups. As a general principle, however, the volunteer should try to organize and teach homogeneous groups whenever it is feasible to do so.

Some have taken advantage of heterogeniety and employed the more capable students informally as teaching assistants. This approach has several advantages. First, more advanced students learn by teaching. Second, the teacher gains time to concentrate on special problems and to improve his own materials and techniques. Third, the advanced students may well be able to convey certain points better because they are not beset by language differences and have backgrounds similar to their fellows, which permit them to draw on common cultural experiences. Consider the following incidents:

> My counterpart served as an assistant in teaching a class in electricity. After the lessons were prepared, I explained the material to him, always including something new. When I taught in Lao and was stuck, he would explain to the students. In the next class he took more responsibility for teaching.

* * * *

> It was always difficult to get things across to the class as a whole. There were, however, always a few brighter students. I would pick out one such student and explain things to him through the interpreter. This man would then pass on his knowledge to others. Through this individual training I managed to get a larger percentage of well-trained people than I would have otherwise.

As in virtually all overseas undertakings, the communication problem poses major difficulties. Teaching is pre-eminently a communication process. It should be a first principle to minimize language difficulties before attempting to convey new substantive information. It is useless to try to teach if the students simply do not understand what one is saying. Solutions to the problem are clear-cut but not necessarily simple. If one is teaching in English and the students do not know enough English to understand, one may find it necessary to teach English first or to make arrangements for the students to learn it elsewhere before going on with the primary subject matter:

> In Bolivia, we organized private classes in English for the pupils we had in everyday classes. It aided our students greatly in their class work.

Alternatively, the teacher, of course, can learn the indigenous language or a second language which is common to him and his students:

> I was an English-speaking teacher confronted with a class of thirty-six Spanish-speaking children. I had the disadvantage of not knowing a word of Spanish. In the beginning there was

a complete lack of communication in my classroom. I lived with a Puerto Rican family. The oldest daughter in the home was an English teacher in the town's high school. Every night, as I made my lesson plans in English, she translated them into Spanish. I also studied Spanish grammar and she helped me with this.

* * * *

I studied French, which most of my students understood. I couldn't have learned Vietnamese in the time available to me.

Although partial mastery of the indigenous language is better than nothing, and while it may be useful in private conversation or an occasional lecture, it is generally not adequate for teaching an entire course.

I was teaching operational procedures to pilots. They learned very little from my ground instruction or blackboard exercise, primarily because of the language barrier and frequent misinterpretation. I had to show them how I accomplished various things by actually flying with them and demonstrating.

Another solution to the problem of language differences is to use an interpreter, although this is not always satisfactory. Consider the next incidents:

I was teaching instrument training procedures to Thai students in a classroom. I used a U. S. text and lectured through the best available interpreter. But the technical terminology apparently became misinterpreted. I would have been more effective with an accurate translation of the U. S. text.

* * * *

We had selected bright, literate people for special training. Our interpreters were limited in their dialects and as a result much of what was said was going over their heads. A good interpreter would have caught this situation. We were in a sad fix. The students and interpreter were embarrassed and I was disgusted.

Some teachers have employed one of their own students as an interpreter.

The men in my class in field training had difficulty understanding what I wanted because the interpreter didn't seem to make it clear. There was one man in the class who spoke some English. I explained things to him, and he would explain it to the class.

If an interpreter is used, the teacher must take special care to check on the students' understanding and in particular the understanding of his interpreter. Some have found it effective to teach the interpreter a block of subject matter beforehand and then to permit him to teach the class rather than to employ him for a word-by-word translation.

We had a problem in training in that no one was familiar with the device involved. We trained the interpreters and after they were sufficiently proficient we worked with the trainees.

In actual instruction, certain elementary and universal teaching principles should be followed. The teacher's pace must be commensurate with the students' abilities. If possible, the individual student should be taught at his own learning rate. One point should be made at a time, and each deficiency should be corrected before going on to another point. Subject matter should start simply and become progressively more difficult. Basic terms should be clearly defined and understood by the student before more complicated material is introduced. Weights and measures, colors, shapes, numbers, basic processes such as arithmetic operations -- in short, all the primary terms that one tends to use automatically in explaining other things without taking the trouble to define them -- should be made explicit and clear before going on with new material. Explanations should be made in detail in terms that are comprehensible to the learner. Students may be extremely reluctant to show that they do not understand; they may assume a "look of comprehension," nod in assent, or pay seemingly close attention in order to be courteous or to save face when they understand practically nothing being said, perhaps hoping that what is said later will clarify their misunderstandings. This, unfortunately, is most unlikely; rather, they will probably be further confused if, in fact, the subject matter becomes progressively more difficult.

All the "props" in support of abstract verbal instruction should be used as freely as possible. One should make liberal use of examples, drawings, diagrams, pictures, movies, models, analogies, practical demonstrations, field trips, and so on. The next incidents illustrate the effectiveness of these devices:

A foreign doctor spoke at a meeting on diseases caused by malnutrition. Everybody understood him. He used Sinhalese names and used examples of local diseases and local foods that could prevent them.

* * * *

In India I was called to one state to find out what was wrong with the mimeo machine. I found that instructions were all in English. The operator couldn't read English, and therefore, didn't know what to do with the machine. I took it apart, showed him all the parts, and how they went together. He grasped an understanding of the machine that he had never had before, and they have been turning out beautiful work ever since.

* * * *

I was teaching the disassembly and assembly of various kinds of equipment. I used large wooden models to demonstrate. It showed the students the internal workings of each item and gave a logical sequence to things only half understood because they were heretofore unseen.

* * * *

We were in a small village in Iraq and were asked to give a pruning demonstration to about seventy-five people. We selected a tree and proceeded to tell what should be done as the local people executed our instructions. Each cut was suggested and the reason explained. We had the participation and interest of those attending.

* * * *

While giving a class in still photography, a question was asked which made me realize that they had no conception of the speed of light. Generally, they had little awareness of the technical matters. I explained by working out with them the speed of a bullet, and then comparing it to the speed of light. I got the point across by relating it, an unknown, to what they already knew.

* * * *

I was demonstrating the need for accuracy in adjusting a piece of equipment. I moved the knob far out of line and asked how far off the result would be. They understood the exaggeration and thus were able to understand the more common error of minor maladjustments.

* * * *

In Nepal, we showed a number of films in the native language to thousands of villagers -- most of whom had never seen a movie. We were readily able to show them modern methods of agriculture and extension methods used in America. The interest was great and we were invited back to the villages to show other movies.

Student participation in the form of questions, practice, discussion, seminars, and so forth, should be strongly encouraged.

We spoke to a group of some five hundred boys in an assembly at a high school. Before the assembly when we requested a question period, we were told by the principal that the boys, not being used to such things, would not respond. But to the surprise of ourselves and everyone else, we had an amazingly successful question period, lasting long beyond schedule. Even after the assembly had been at last declared closed, we were besieged in the compound by questioning boys.

* * * *

In Ghana we were very effective in teaching the villagers by putting on puppet shows and by getting some of the villagers to act out little plays which was something they were used to and liked to do.

Active student participation in the classroom, as was pointed out earlier, may be a particularly difficult matter in many parts of the world, since students will not wish to stand out, are afraid of being embarrassed, or fear they will expose their ignorance and lack of progress. It should be recognized that in certain parts of the world, education is the primary if not the sole key to success and advancement. Students in such areas have a great deal at stake in passing a course, and for many, passing is far more important than learning. In many countries the students have never met people who hold the kinds of jobs for which they are preparing and have little conception of the problems which they will meet in such jobs. Hence, they also have little conception of what they must learn in order to deal with such problems. To them, their first and perhaps their only task is getting the certificate which will lead to a job and they will do nothing to jeopardize this. Consequently, the teacher may find it exceedingly difficult to get such students to take the risks inherent in active class participation.

In some regions the formal classroom setting will be completely new and unfamiliar to the students. Here, as elsewhere, the teacher should take every opportunity to make learning interesting and rewarding. In education as in most other endeavors, success leads to further action and to a willingness to take risks. The teacher should attempt to induce a fondness for learning by arranging for students to be successful early in the course. He may find it effective to start out with extremely easy material and tests designed to insure that students get the right answers and thus gain confidence in themselves. He should be liberal in his praise in the beginning even if accomplishments are minor. He should be extremely tactful in correcting errors and deficiencies, whenever possible noting and appreciating achievement while making corrections:

> When a student showed himself to be proficient or above average, we singled him out, citing him for his proficiency and praising him in front of the others. This gave him a sort of dignity with his classmates and made the others strive to attain the same praise.

Often motivational devices thought most appropriate for elementary school children are also effective in gaining the interest of adolescents and adults. Consider the following accounts from various parts of the world:

> Language lessons are deliberately punctuated by songs and dance numbers, everybody returning to vocabulary drill with renewed zeal after such an interruption.
>
> * * * *
>
> When I saw the students getting a little restless, I used to joke around with them or let them run around for a while. I made some jokes using a few local words. They got a kick out of it and would ask me questions about America.
>
> * * * *
>
> I was lecturing on malaria and how to avoid it. The class seemed to be disinterested at this point. I used a humorous example. In describing the size of a mosquito, I told them

that we had them the size of airplanes in the United States. They all laughed and interest was restored for the remainder of the class.

* * * *

While training a small group of doctors at night in dermatology, occasionally the teacher would interrupt his technical discussion to tell a story. They liked these stories. This made the training sessions easier -- the young doctors would sense that the teacher was human and really not so different.

Because the motivational problem is of such fundamental importance, teachers may tend to neglect the most important part of their job -- to convey information and develop skills. The very devices which are effective in creating a fondness for learning -- frequent praise, minimizing deficiencies, breaking up the learning sessions with interesting extraneous activities, easy tests and so forth -- can actually impede progress if the students are not also seriously taught and realistically evaluated. As a general principle, the relatively extraneous motivators should be used most heavily at the beginning of a course, with serious tests of accomplishment being introduced gradually. Hopefully, the students will have developed sufficient pleasure in learning, confidence in themselves and regard for the teacher at the beginning of a course to be able to cope later with some of the more serious aspects of schooling, particularly if they see the value of improvement and can actually measure it.

The foreign teacher is presumed to be an expert who is worth the trouble and expense of importing him. His initial prestige will certainly tend to be high. But he must also take active measures to maintain this prestige if he is to do his job effectively. First, of course, he must know his subject, and know it thoroughly enough to explain it in more ways than one. But beyond this he must also maintain an orderly class in which students respect him and remain interested in what he is teaching. He must maintain high standards of personal deportment, dress, and manner. Students are quick to exploit personal foibles and will often gain an impression of ineffectualness or incompetence from minor and irrelevant personal characteristics. Consider the following incident:

I was asked a question by one of my trainees to which I did not know the answer. I said that I did not know the answer. My interpreter explained to me that no adviser should ever admit to his Persian trainees that there was something he or she didn't know. The adviser was supposed to know everything!

The problem of discipline may be particularly difficult in a strange culture. Classroom discipline usually involves some form of threat or punishment which should be neither too mild to be effective nor so severe as to gain the abiding ill will of students, parents, or the community. The following incidents illustrate some disciplinary problems and methods.

We took over a school that had been administered inefficiently for many years. The students were not serious about their studies. They had bad study habits and were not accustomed to discipline. When we saw the laxity on the part of both teachers

and students, we set about establishing firm discipline immediately. The teachers and students were both antagonized. The teachers did not enforce the regulations, not because of ill will, but because they had never studied under disciplined conditions themselves and couldn't see the need. Besides that, they really didn't know how to cope with the situation. The students did not respond and many transferred to other schools that did not enforce discipline. We would have been more effective had we proceeded more slowly and enforced the new regulations gradually. We did actually let up a little on enforcement of regulations and changed some of the punishments which were not severe, but which people considered so.

* * * *

The indigenous food service director did not require workers to attend sanitation classes and was often absent himself; the classes were suspended.

* * * *

The students were slow and dragging their feet on getting the training completed, no matter how much the adviser tried to hurry them. We planned a "graduation" ceremony and invited a very important dignitary. The students worked day and night to complete their training so that they would look good before the dignitary.

* * * *

Nothing would work in disciplining the boys until the teacher began using the feminine form of address to speak to them. This was immediately effective.

In sum, teaching overseas is not basically different from teaching in the United States. Essentially the same requirements exist for preparation, instruction, evaluation, motivation, and discipline. However, because of fundamental gaps in knowledge and skill, the language differences, the disparities of general background between teacher and students and the general lack of training resources in certain countries, the teacher overseas must be prepared to take special measures and make many adaptations to local conditions. But to teach effectively overseas may be correspondingly more satisfying than teaching in the United States where less adjustment on the teacher's part may be necessary. The indigenous response to the effective foreign teacher is usually one of overwhelming good will and appreciation. Many a foreign teacher has been gratified indeed by his former students' remarkable personal dedication to the welfare and improvement of their people.

CHAPTER VI

MOTIVATING

The American working overseas often finds that, despite host government sponsorship and his own willingness to offer assistance, the individual national with whom he deals from day to day is often disinclined to accept innovations or to furnish the cooperation that is essential in implementing approved projects. The American may believe firmly and see clearly that the project offers the means to a better life -- the knowledge, skill, and tools that lead to richer diets and less illness, greater convenience and, hopefully, the benefits of democracy. However, to the individual foreign national these benefits may be difficult to imagine, may be too little or too diffuse to be of much personal importance, or may lie too far in the future. The value of material products is readily understood and the goods are desirable. But it is not so easy to adopt the methods that make them possible. Moreover, people are understandably impatient to enjoy the full fruits of an industrial society. They want cars and radios, refrigerators, airplanes and computers, and are disappointed when offered more modest assistance that is suitable to the present state of their national development.

Many developing peoples know of Americans only through the movies or hearsay. In some regions, America itself is unknown and its products and methods inconceivable. Our technicians are far from being considered experts, because the people are unable to imagine what they can be experts in. To them, the American may be no more than a somewhat peculiar-looking representative of their national government.

For these and a variety of other reasons, the American must often motivate his hosts -- he must induce even people who may have been fully and effectively trained to do things that they are disinclined to do. And he must do so with tact and caution in order to prevent antagonism. The need to motivate is a common theme that runs through a considerable number of the reports of experience overseas. The following accounts are typical of scores of others:

> The vehicles were completely immobilized because the indigenous supervisor insisted that he had been given the wrong oil and consequently that all his vehicles would be ruined if allowed to move. The situation had been thus for several months. The supervisor had political friends and his superiors would not intervene. Although it had been proven that he had the proper oil, he could not be swayed. Approximately three months after coming abreast of this situation, we got a new adviser. I apprised him of the situation and asked that he go out of the way to be cooperative and friendly with the supervisor but do nothing to try to get him to use his vehicles. Apparently the supervisor had become resentful of the high-pressure Americans and he had chosen this method to show his independence. After a time, seeing that there was no pressure but lots of cooperation, he started using his vehicles.

* * * *

A few weeks after our arrival in Uganda, we were faced with a sort of rebellion over the food which the hospital had supplied the staff, although I had personally checked the rations and had seen that they were more generous than before we came. I called a meeting and in halting Luganda, but with a firm manner, I told them that we would give them a stipend and they could buy and cook their own food. This they did not wish to do because of the inconvenience and the time element. We decided to share the African diet which was quite palatable but heavy and to eat it in the African style. This solved the problem.

* * * *

I was a materials engineer adviser to the Public Works Department. I was trying to teach the indigenous engineers how to use heavy construction equipment and American methods of building and maintaining their highways. I first tried telling them and showing them exactly what to do, including the drawing of pictures on a blackboard. I would spend all day giving explicit instructions on what to accomplish during the interim period I was away checking other projects. When I returned I found (much to my chagrin) that my instructions were not carried out. After this had happened a number of times, I spoke to my interpreter in a rather loud voice, trying to get him to get an explanation for me. After my interpreter told me that the indigenous engineers' construction foremen thought I was angry with them, I changed my tactics and exercised more patience and spent more time with them on the project. The results improved. They realized that I was not trying to make them accept my construction methods, but was only trying to help them improve theirs. After this project proved so successful, I had no further problems in getting them to follow my instruction.

* * * *

One of our locals who spoke little English was a young boy with considerable energy and enthusiasm. His job was to type purchase orders from draft copies and to circulate copies of these orders to the responsible offices. His typing was slow and inaccurate. The inaccuracies were brought to his attention many times. I explained the process to him and pointed out exactly what responsibilities were his. I made these points to him repetitively through an interpreter, yet he was still lax in his work and often was caught reading a newspaper. I informed my boss and he in turn notified Personnel. Personnel had a talk with the boy concerning the points we suggested, such as learning the English language and shouldering the responsibilities he was charged with. He immediately started English language lessons, became more interested in his work, and took greater pride in preparing neater and more accurate documents.

Indigenous attitudes that hamper effective performance are extremely varied and range from indifference to open antagonism. Friendship, genuine respect for indigenous feelings and ideas, and sincere regard for the welfare of indigenous individuals tend to develop cooperative attitudes. These attitudes, in turn, serve as general motivators that either reduce the need for specific motivation or make it easier to employ specific motivational techniques when these are required. But when they are necessary, the Peace Corps Volunteer should attempt to employ motivational techniques suited to particular difficulties.

This is a singularly difficult precept to follow. People do not ordinarily express their motives openly. As a rule, conditions affecting motivation are likely to become apparent only when people are sufficiently irritated to complain about an unhappy situation. Before specific complaints are made, an alien especially is often unable to determine particular indigenous wishes, expectations or intentions from appearances, and, in any case, may not know the specific acts or words that are appropriate in dealing with them. The outsider's disadvantages in this matter are illustrated by the following incidents:

> We two young Americans, along with our two Egyptian colleagues, decided to explain our ideas by showing colored slides. We showed these pictures to the villagers but failed to take into account the many who had never seen such an apparatus and who hindered our showing of pictures, and also the young students home from the city university who were disappointed because they thought American pictures meant sexy girls. The crowd raised a fuss to the point of an all-out riot which wrecked our equipment and caused hard feelings. We should have investigated ahead of time the effect of picture showing by using a smaller, controlled group.

* * * *

> Our school is located in a rural area where the people are very provincial-minded. They especially resent outsiders. They think outsiders are taking jobs from the townspeople. The fact that the outsiders are better qualified and could really help improve the community is not considered. In the school were two excellent teachers, but they were from another town. Because of their excellent teaching we put them in charge of many activities and had them represent the school at various meetings; we gave them responsibilities that the other teachers were not really able to handle. The latter resented the seeming favor shown the outsiders. Instead of trying to imitate their methods and improve their own teaching, the local teachers began to gossip and to do other things which eventually forced the two outside teachers to resign from the school and go to another town. Perhaps if we had gone more slowly in giving the outsiders responsibility, the local teachers would not have become envious and resentful.

* * * *

We couldn't tell why they were resisting resettlement in the highlands where the land and climate were better. Finally, one of the missionaries who had been in the country over 30 years told us that they were afraid of demons who supposedly lived in the highlands.

Although it is a difficult task, it may be possible to determine factors that are obstructing a desired course of action if one has a sensitivity to behavioral cues and a knowledge of indigenous customs and individual circumstances and needs. Once the obstructing factors have been determined, it is sometimes possible to remove them or to employ any of a variety of techniques to overcome them. Specific situations requiring motivation are so varied and the techniques that can be employed are so diverse that it is exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to establish principles that would be widely applicable. It must be recognized that while one particular motivator may be appropriate or maximally effective in any given situation, a variety of others might also be successful. People have complex and often competing needs. For example, a man may be reluctant to work at certain times because his wife wants him to be at home. But he can be induced to stay at work if he is offered sufficient incentive. The incentive might be monetary, or perhaps it might be the promise of a promotion, the threat of firing, a personal appeal for his help, or any of scores of others.

We shall therefore not attempt to formulate general motivational principles for the specific types of situations. Rather we shall discuss the kinds of obstacles that are reported to arise overseas, and shall attempt, by means of incidents, to indicate various motivators that have been effective in each type of situation.

What are the specific obstacles that block innovation? Let us consider them in roughly ascending order of difficulty. First, and perhaps most widespread is the matter of simple indifference to the alien's projects and purposes. Indigenous persons have concerns of their own which claim their loyalties and efforts. At minimum, the alien trying to overcome indifference places demands on the indigenous person's time or energy. Speaking very generally, these demands, as well as more elaborate and costly burdens which may be imposed by a request or a suggestion, must be compensated in order to gain cooperation. The following incidents illustrate the variety of rewards that have been effective in gaining cooperation in many situations. Some of the rewards are monetary; others are psychological and serve to fulfill such needs as a rise in status:

I had some heavy gear to be carried and could only get one coolie. I helped this man with the gear and paid him a little more than the going rate. He stuck with me and would do anything from then on.

* * * *

We had finally gotten a generator and had to move it up a steep hill. We engaged some laborers who promised to come the next day. They didn't show up, and after each request we got another broken promise. By offering a big bonus we got them there right away and they polished off the job in no time.

* * * *

G. and I were in the field. We stopped for food at a home and were told that none was available. G. noticed that one of the locals had an infected toe. G. said that I could cure his toe. The man agreed to submit. First I mixed a solution of potassium permanganate which turns water red. This impressed them very much. I then sterilized the tip of my pen knife on the flame of my cigarette lighter. The lighter really impressed them. I then pierced the toe and made him soak it. All this was impressive enough to get them to fix some chicken they managed to find somewhere.

* * * *

We arranged to have little awards made up for the men who did particularly well in certain classes. These awards were presented in a ceremony, and about 10% of the class got them. In one instance it was a pin of flags made out of tin; another time it was a small gift of a choice food. They appreciated being rewarded and tried to qualify.

* * * *

Sanitary conditions were poor in the local tavern and food establishments as well as in the respective owners' homes. I visited the merchants with an interpreter. First we paid a social call, going through the usual ritual of complimenting them upon their family, business house, etc. This was always done over a cup of tea served in their best quarters. When the social call ended, we would leave. Then we paid a second call to express the business at hand; namely, to improve the conditions of their business places. This was also done over a cup of tea. At this time I made an all-out effort to compliment them again about their home and establishment but offered suggestions for the improvement of the latter, pointing out how we improved our establishments back home. I then offered window netting, etc., free of charge, explaining its use and purpose. Now and then we even helped with their homes. The end result was to establish these persons as community leaders who would in time get others to cooperate.

* * * *

Our washerman's son had about given up schooling. This boy had been working with us part time but we really didn't need anyone to work for us at this time. We made a bargain with this boy, who was about 10 years old, that if he went to school we would continue to hire him part time. He was anxious to continue his job and did continue his schooling -- at least while we were there. The boy in this way got more education than he might have otherwise, and at the same time he felt proud to work for Americans.

* * * *

I insisted on promotion from within the organization, which resulted in recruiting messengers from the chauffeur staff. This was infinitely more effective than I realized when insisting on it, since it broke across social barriers. Drivers were generally regarded as members of the peasant class, and they regarded it an emancipation to move into white-collar work.

An explanation of potential practical benefit is sometimes effective.

Our number one boy failed to boil the water for twenty minutes and the entire camp was sick. I explained to him, with help, that men who were sick could not work at the jobs which were intended to help his country. After he saw the damage he had done to the camp, he realized the importance of boiling water, and from then on he did it correctly.

* * * *

Our job was to introduce a sanitary drinking water program in the villages. Through the use of visual aids, film strips, and by allowing villagers to look at a sample of their contaminated water, we convinced them that their water was not clean. We then informed them of the diseases that are water-borne and spread by drinking unsanitary water. After they realized the dangers of drinking unsanitary water, the villagers were anxious to correct the situation as soon as possible. It was at this point that we explained our sanitary tube-well program to them. Our program was readily accepted.

* * * *

Before attempting to start a project or hold a meeting in any village, it was our policy to inform the village leader (or leaders) of our intentions and give him as much information as possible as to what we hoped to accomplish. This was effective because it put the village headman "in the know," and made him feel like he was a part of our team, which in fact he very often became.

Tangible demonstration of desirable or potentially desirable items or conditions can be useful in overcoming indifference.

In a rural mining region, missionaries teaching children in the mission school noted that the children came largely from dirty, unkempt, and unattractive homes. The missionaries attributed these conditions largely to apathy and lack of incentive on the part of the housewives plus a lack of knowledge. They arranged classes in sewing and cooking at the mission, which also allowed the housewives to contrast the bright livable mission house with their own unattractive homes. Slowly a change resulted -- curtains and drapes appeared in windows and clothes became neater. Husbands began spending more time at home and less in community cantinas; they began working on gardens and lawns.

Establishing competition for awards is sometimes successful. There are, however, certain societies in which competition should be avoided. In parts of

Indonesia, for example, it is considered an impropriety to excel at the expense of others. If the volunteer has determined that competition is acceptable in the region to which he is assigned, he may use it to good purpose, as is illustrated in the following incidents:

> There was a terrible rat problem, and the locals just accepted the situation. I offered a watch with the President's picture on it to the houseboy who killed the most rats. This increased interest and motivation.
>
> * * * *
>
> Americans were training Chinese. We offered some money to the group of men who put their equipment together the fastest.
>
> * * * *
>
> We were training a group in field first aid and told them that the best students would be given first aid kits upon completion of the course. At the end of their training period I told the group they all had been such good students that we had to give everyone a kit. Although they had been competing throughout the course to save face, when the time came to get the kits no one lost face and they all felt they had achieved a great deal.
>
> * * * *
>
> Our village development school had about 20 boys -- average age about 20 -- and each boy had a vegetable demonstration plot to take care of. This provided a friendly competitive spirit among them to have the best plot. This encouraged the better raising, care and growth of vegetables and crops and the dignity of labor. It was a process of learning by doing. In most cases each boy tried to do his best on his plot, and when his training was over he took the information gained back to his village.

The volunteer should always attempt to use positive means in motivating. However, it may be appropriate on rare occasions to use ordinarily undesirable negative means, such as implied threats. Negative measures should be used only in extreme cases with a full realization of the danger of destroying good will and reinforcing uncooperativeness:

> I had contracted to have a communications building put up. The local contractor promised to have the building done in three days. In three weeks it still was not done. I made arrangements to have some other contractor do it. They started it and this alarmed the first man who felt ashamed. The first contractor completed the building in short order.
>
> * * * *
>
> We were setting up an airport on a little peninsula. One of the natives had promised to see a friend to get us quarters to sleep in. When the time came for us to go there, he failed to do anything about it. Instead of getting mad, we just teased him a

little. As a consequence the fellow tried to make up for his negligence in every possible way.

* * * *

The neighbor next door had what seemed like excessive celebrations with loud wireless, screaming and shouting. I made threats to report them to the housing authorities, but no good was accomplished; only hard feelings, resentment and more noise resulted. Then I introduced myself and asked for cooperation on their part, and the trouble stopped.

* * * *

While driving our car for the first time in the country, we were stopped by a construction truck which, according to American standards, entirely blocked our passage. The driver of the car in back of us became impatient at waiting and bumped gently into rear of our car. In all good nature, I pointed to the truck parked across the road in front of us. Then the driver in back of us backed up and really plowed into us, throwing my wife forward against the windshield. I got out of the car and was met by the driver with his fists doubled ready for a fight. The language barrier made reasoning impossible. My wife, witnessing a very unpleasant incident brewing as I was threatened by a man a foot taller than I, and seeing a mob gathering, sensed that a show of authority might avert further trouble. She took out our official identity cards and wrote on the back of them the license number of the car of the offending driver and then walked up beside him and obviously started to write a description of his appearance. The crowd immediately dispersed and the driver got back into his car and meekly waited until we could move. Further experience in the country showed us that driving techniques and notions of courtesy were very different from ours.

* * * *

The effectiveness of training was progressing at an acceptable rate until the indigenous director of instruction was replaced by another who did not supervise the actual instruction. In a short period of time, standards degenerated. Nothing I could say or do had any effect on the training. The new director merely gave lip service to the problem. I wrote a letter to my superior officer, requesting that I be relieved from duty at that station due to my inability to advise my counterpart properly. A copy of the letter, translated, was handed to my counterpart with whom I had established very close official and social relations. We had a great deal of respect for each other. He begged me not to forward the letter, promised to correct the situation, and followed through on his promise. The situation was corrected, but it cost us a few months of poor performance.

Patience is a primary requisite. Many times waiting for suggestions and requests to be accepted is the only course that is ultimately effective. However,

the patience that is implicit in persistence and a willingness to follow through to see that work is being accomplished is also required:

> I attempted to introduce standard nomenclature to medicinal products in the country's supply system. Two medical workers were briefed on what, why, and how. I instructed, demonstrated, and supervised initial attempts closely. Once close supervision stopped, all activity stopped. I never had the time on this assignment to develop the close personal understanding needed to get the response desired. They worked as long as they were supervised, but I always had the feeling that if I could only analyze their thinking I might be able to do a more effective job.

* * * *

> Our mission had a small teacher's text book in English which we wanted to have translated. I took it to a native with whom I had worked on a previous project and who had proven herself to be a capable translator. After looking the book over, she said she would be able to translate it without help, and would let me know as soon as the first few chapters were finished so that I might check them. Time passed and I did not hear from her. I hesitated to contact her as she had said she would get in touch with me as soon as some of the work was completed, but finally I did so, only to find that she had been too busy to do the work and had turned it over to a friend. The friend had practically completed the translation, but since her English was poor she did not get the correct meaning of words and the translation could not be used. Time and money were wasted, and our relationship with the translator to whom we gave the material in the first place is not on as good a basis now as before the incident occurred.

Persistence and close supervision are delicate matters. Persons often resent the lack of confidence that is implied by close supervision and dislike repeated pressure to engage in activities which may be unrewarding to them. But persistence is sometimes cited as effective, particularly in repeating requests that some matter be expedited. Repetition makes it more likely that the indigenous personnel will understand what is wanted. Sometimes they do not realize that the American is seriously concerned about a matter until he has made several requests. Sometimes they have simply forgotten and need to be reminded.

Persistence, if interpreted by counterparts as pressure, is usually cited as ineffective. The alternative and considerably more subtle approach of attempting to gain cooperation by indirect action appears to be almost uniformly successful. People usually need to feel that they and their work are important. If a proposal can be introduced to an indigenous person in such a way as to make him feel it is his idea rather than another's, he is more likely to accept the proposal and want to carry it out. Consider the following incidents:

> While on an inspection trip with an official of the country's Water and Power Commission, I was asked for advice on a problem in gate maintenance at a certain dam site. I asked to be shown the defective parts and asked the maintenance people for their suggested corrective action. I made a few suggestions for them

to consider. The suggestions were made in a fashion to make the engineers feel it was really their own idea and that I concurred in their suggestions. Feeling that it was their idea, they set to work on the corrections.

* * * *

The National Media Production Center was not operating effectively. Employees were selling publications to markets for making paper bags; equipment was missing; procurement practices were questionable; absenteeism was high; cars were diverted to personal use. Rather than present a report on my findings, I suggested to the secretary of the department that a number of things should be looked into by a member of his staff, and offered my services to guide the individual designated. He agreed, and assigned a staff officer. After this person made a cursory study and oral report, the secretary sent a team of four members of his legal staff to conduct a thorough study and fix responsibility for conditions. In this way, the secretary and the other officials were more inclined to take action on facts they revealed themselves than if I had given them the facts. Also, I could maintain good relations with the National Media Production Center as an adviser in implementing the reforms ordered by the secretary.

* * * *

My objectives were the establishment of a soils and materials laboratory and training in modern methods of sampling and testing highway materials. The local engineer -- my counterpart -- was somewhat antagonistic to the adoption of new methods. Our contact was made more difficult by the fact that he did not speak English and I did not speak his language. My position was made somewhat easier by the fact that the chief engineer of highways was an Englishman. He appointed another engineer, who spoke English, as a subordinate to my counterpart to work with me and to act as an interpreter. Although a large part of my work was with the English-speaking engineer, I made it a point to consult with my counterpart on numerous occasions. In setting up training programs, I always consulted with him and got his approval on contemplated actions. I also always asked him to accompany us on field inspection trips. This gave my counterpart a sense of participating in the program, a part of it being his idea, and it did not lower him in the estimation of his subordinate. We became very good friends and in the end he was very enthusiastic about the whole program.

Americans abroad frequently fail to recognize the motivation that arises out of friendships or other forms of mutual dependence although we employ such motivation at home to a considerable extent, perhaps without conscious realization. We try to make our procedures, criteria of performance, and other aspects of work as objective as possible in order to eliminate the subjective personal judgment that comes with friendships and dependence. In all societies, however, some degree of personal dependence is employed as a general motivator and in most societies this is a much more important and pervasive factor than in the United States. This

frequently manifests itself in the use of social relations to effect a work goal. Consider the next incidents:

My wife and I were living in a small village. We were pretty much on our own, with limited funds and almost no organizational connections. We made friends with the political director of our small area. This man was one of the most influential men of that region. He was a well-mannered person and eager to help out in any way he could. It was a very simple matter, once we were on good terms, to make our wishes known to this man. He could seemingly produce things out of the air, and I believe that he appreciated being our confidant and friend. Mostly because this man had more power than most men of the area and because in this case he was interested in the people of his village, he appreciated, I believe, our not going to someone under him. We appreciated his concern for our comfort and safety.

* * * *

While off duty with a communications technician of the host country, I casually mentioned certain things we were doing in our organization without asking him to do these things in his. He would usually initiate a program along the idea I had discussed.

* * * *

It was not the practice in this country for headquarters people to visit units in the field. I told my counterpart that there was a particular restaurant upcountry that I would like to try, and asked him if he would join me in a trip to this town and be my guest at dinner, particularly so he could order my food as I spoke none of the language. It just so happened that one of his organization's units was located in the area and we just happened to visit it while we were there. My counterpart appreciated the fact that I ate in an indigenous restaurant and seemed to want to please me as a result. After that, I would "suggest" that he visit a unit in the field by asking him if he was going up-country to eat at a particular restaurant.

* * * *

I had on numerous occasons tried to have an installation constructed for training and had not been successful. One weekend, I invited the supervisor to go on a duck-hunting trip in the immediate vicinity of the proposed training area. During the course of the afternoon I casually mentioned that the area in which we were hunting would make an excellent training site. Nothing I had done before worked. But he took my casual suggestion right away.

An appeal for help or consideration from indigenous persons may be effective:

> The person responsible for the plan objected to signing an agreement on the grounds that its detailed provisions were offensive, and the government and public were composed of very sensitive people. I said that, contrary to a widespread opinion, Americans were much more sensitive than other people; that it is a very delicate matter to give aid, far more so than to receive it. I told him that I would appreciate it if he would take into account not only local sensitivities but also the sensitivities of American officials who wish to do the right and businesslike thing and still not offend representatives of other countries. It appealed to him to be able to do something for us and to point out to his colleagues that the Americans were well-meaning but very sensitive and shy people who had to be handled with care by their mature local counterparts. He looked at the provisions of the agreement and decided that, on their merits, they were not bad at all, and that there had been no intent to infringe on prerogatives. He signed the agreement 24 hours later without change.

Indigenous individuals may suspect an American's motives or intentions and fear that his presence or activities will be detrimental rather than beneficial. The only solutions to this problem that have been reported as effective are explanations of one's motives and tangible demonstrations, sometimes over a long period, of actual benefits, or, at least, of harmlessness. Consider the following incidents:

> Their culture is such as to make it appear completely incredible that any country could extend assistance for anything but selfish motives. In their country exploitative relations among people are the rule. Parents sell their sons in the marriage market in the most callous manner. They feel that American aid must be rooted in a completely selfish motive or else that we must simply be stupid. Whether or not we like it, this is the way these people consider our motives. I tried to point out that Americans are a blend of peoples from many, many countries, including theirs, and that therefore we do have a sense of identification with the problems and aspirations of peoples of other countries. At the same time, however, I accepted their judgment that our motives are selfish, but indicated that this selfish motive was helping to establish a peaceful world in which we could live in security and prosperity and that we felt this peaceful world could exist only if their country and other similar countries were made to progress more rapidly. This enabled them to see that we were neither stupid nor exploitative but that our own interests coincided with theirs. [illegible] to them without [illegible]

We were building a "street" and installing drains in the slum area of the city. These people did not understand our motives and feared that an "improvement" would mean greater taxes or the construction of housing too expensive for them to rent, thus forcing them into an even less advantageous part of the city. We organized, with the able assistance of some local students, a children's recreation program and an adult study group. The children's groups struck at the hearts of the people and got us a great degree of acceptance. The adult group resulted in a "mutual improvement association." This group carried on after we left, making improvements with the conviction that they could and should improve their own conditions.

* * * *

The villagers did not understand that we were private citizens whose only purpose was to assist them in improving their livestock. They thought we were indigenous government representatives who were trying to take a census of the people and animals so that taxes could be raised. It took us a long time to explain to them that we were sponsored by a private organization. Finally they believed me when I got someone who could read English to look at some letters that I had received from the U.S. on our organization's letterhead.

* * * *

The assistant office manager thought that I was taking over his job. I told him that I had no intention of doing anything of the sort. I pointed out that I was a foreigner on a two-year tour of duty in his country and that my only job was to assist him. I went out of the way to reassure him all the time that I was there under those conditions. I always consulted him on plans, asked his advice, and never pushed him or put him in a position that would show him in a bad light.

Occasionally the same problem arises with regard to a third-country national who is working in the host country, as is illustrated by the following incident:

About three months after I reached Cambodia, I was introduced to a French police adviser who had been there about the same length of time I had. Neither of us knew about the other's presence until the introduction. He was very cool and distant toward me on several occasions. He obviously resented my presence in the former French dependency. I made an appointment to see him in his office, and in the discussion there I assured him I was not in the country to replace him or to encroach upon his field of assistance to the Cambodian police, and that I felt we should cooperate freely and plan our assistance jointly so that our programs complemented each other instead of interfering. It resulted in full cooperation between us. He made a point of discussing his plans with me before he broached them to the Cambodians, and we were able to work side by side from then on with confidence in each other.

A volunteer's suggestion may sometimes imply real harm or loss to particular individuals, and some have suffered actual loss from time to time as a result of an American's actions. As can be seen from the following incidents, the potential or actual losses may be either tangible or psychological:

We were working to rebuild a school building destroyed by a recent earthquake. It became necessary to borrow some tools from some people in the village. I was assigned to the task of borrowing them. It was my responsibility also to return them to one of the men by noon. The first day I neglected to return the tools due to an oversight. There was still uncertainty on the part of many in the village as to the purpose of our visit and this incident was widely reported. We were hoping to involve many of the people in the project, and this slowed down the process.

* * * *

During an inspection of a warehouse, many items were found in stock which were far in excess of requirements. This situation was brought to the attention of the manager with the recommendation that these excess items be turned over for redistribution. He was reluctant to release the items because of his past experience in the time and red tape involved in getting replacements. He agreed and accepted our recommendation but took no immediate action. We might have been more effective if we had tried to change their line of thinking and reasoning by gradual indoctrination.

* * * *

The last six months we were transferred to the interior. At a training school there, I cooperated with an indigenous instructor in establishing a poultry project. Our team helped him with the poultry yard and house construction. The local head of the school objected to our participation. Since the instructor had been allowed to order pullets and cockerels and an incubator, we sent him to get them as time was running out on the reservation of the flock. The head man and an assistant arrived the following morning to go with the instructor. They were furious, in spite of the fact that if the instructor had delayed one more day he would not have gotten the flock. Our assistance did help establish a good project which, I have learned since, has been very effective, but I was never allowed to participate in the project. The instructor resigned and two workers were sent to handle the project as replacements. I should have delayed everything until I had made contact with the head man. One reason we didn't go on with the construction was that he could not be reached; nobody worked during a ten-day holiday period. I tried to contact the head man before the instructor left to get the flock, but at that time everyone was celebrating a three-day holiday. As in many underdeveloped countries, decisions require many days.

* * * *

The clinic was privately owned and government-subsidized -- it also received voluntary contributions. As a social worker, I had a fixed sum of money and limited pharmacy privileges for giving aid to the people. I frequently (almost every night) gave credit slips beyond the limit agreed upon with the local pharmacist. The difference always had to be made up by the clinic -- drawing from other funds. It aroused the concern and sometimes irritation of the owner of the clinic who felt she was already providing as much as she could for the needs of the people. It even weakened our team effort to make the clinic function within agreed-upon limits. I could have made a greater effort to supplement what I was able to use from the clinic with assistance from other sources.

* * * *

I tried to get the men to use appropriate maintenance procedures. Although plenty of preserving material (oil) was furnished, they were afraid that when all of the supplies on hand were used there would be no replacement. They hoarded the oil. I should have shown them that the stockpile of replacement oil was more than adequate.

* * * *

I was assigned to the port of _____. The indigenous personnel failed to provide a standard procedure on documentation of cargo at the port of inbound shipment. There was a deliberate attempt to screen the loss of supplies. After ten months of pure frustration in attempting to set up a procedure I desperately wanted to see completed action prior to my transfer. I intimated to authorities the possibility of drastic action through headquarters, to insure that the action would be completed. The fact escaped me that intimidation seldom works and local authorities lose face if specific action is requested by a distant headquarters. Persuasiveness and perseverance would have been more practical.

* * * *

I was formulating a new program with a director of a local agency who had had no prior dealings with our organization. I formulated the program but the goods were not delivered on time; in fact they were very late. Certain promises had to be made to get the program formulated, and when they were not kept, relations with the director of this agency were ruined.

* * * *

After being stationed at this mission for a few months, I discovered that in order to have harmonious office relations among the various grades of personnel, each employee had to be allowed to regard his particular job as being of genuine importance. Each was willing to perform the particular tasks assigned to him but was definitely unwilling to assume other tasks of greater or less importance than the one he was supposed to do, and each believed that his salary compensated him for only the work assigned to him. This also

definitely applied to domestic servants. Each job had its own work limitations and the employer should not expect his servants to perform tasks other than those encompassed by their positions. For example, if the cook were asked to assist the housekeeper in washing windows or sweeping the floor, it resulted in friction, quarrels among the servants, and an unhappy domestic situation.

* * * *

The situation when I arrived in the country involved had deteriorated because of no permanent head resident in the country. Welfare and donated foodstuffs were being quite openly sold and exchanged not only by the recipients but were also being diverted by local government representatives and workers. After surveying the problem I arrived at the decision that we must admit the situation existed and clear it up as fast as possible. Accordingly, I visited top officials of the country and of U. S. organizations working in the country and spoke to them honestly, informing them that we knew the situation existed and that it was contrary to our policies. I outlined our strict regular procedures, showing them, in addition, the corrective measures that would be taken to tighten up supply lines. After action had been taken I revisited these same officials telling them exactly what had been done and promising them reports on the results. Fortunately the results were good, the situation cleared considerably and all concerned realized the laxness which had existed was not customary with our group.

Compared to other motivational situations remarkably few effective solutions to this problem were reported. Nor is this surprising. It is easier to induce people to accept gains than to suffer losses. Only in the last two cases are solutions mentioned. In one, the cause of loss or potential loss in status was removed when the American recognized and acted in accordance with status requirements. In the last case the American took a firm stand regarding theft and established ground rules to prevent further theft. It is questionable whether it would have been as easy to establish ground rules depriving people of more legitimate gains.

Deeply entrenched habits and methods can be exceedingly difficult to change. The volunteer should recognize that methods that have been long employed, although not necessarily maximally effective, usually afford some measure of success and satisfaction. The native may find it extremely difficult to envision any greater success or any easier procedure for achieving it. In any case, a certain amount of inconvenience and frequently considerable effort or hardship on the part of the native may be required in order to change a habit. Again, explanation and demonstration of practical advantages and disadvantages are often effective.

We needed accurate data on local shipping. Much information provided by our local researchers was incorrect. I told them they were doing a good job, but that sometimes mistakes occur. I showed them the cost of misinformation in money, etc., and showed them that mistakes were easily made and were not to be ashamed of -- that we made them too. They can be talked to if you're reasonable. We got more accurate reports.

* * * *

In discussing emigration plans, clients put a great deal of emphasis on climatic conditions in the country of immigration. They also stressed the importance of the proximity of an ocean. Many thought that their children could only prosper in a strictly comparable climate. I spent a great deal of time in demonstrating practical examples of other emigrant families in various parts of the African continent which had made an excellent adjustment even though the climate in their home country was not comparable. It required a great deal of time and patience, but it worked in the end. I found that it was most important to take such misconceptions very seriously and to work the problem through very patiently. This was effective in many situations.

* * * *

We organized a seminar for African members of our organization in Leopoldville. It is our custom and policy not to use parliamentary procedures in discussing idea-centered topics. The intention had been to apply the same organizational process during this seminar. However, a number of African students, very skilled in parliamentary procedure, expressed a very strong desire to use all proper applications of same in discussing the conclusions of the meeting. The organizers -- I was one of them -- immediately made the decision to accept such a request. Thus the students were permitted to make motions, etc., although the subject matter did not necessarily yield itself to be structured in such terms. This led to two discoveries on the part of the African student: 1) It was his meeting; he could use organizational tools he felt to be useful and needed. 2) He came to realize (and this discovery is not applicable to all participants) that some ideological matters cannot and should not necessarily be subjected to parliamentary procedures so proper and useful in political and civic situations. It gave the student an opportunity to make the discovery himself rather than to be told to accept certain procedural steps.

* * * *

In the spring of 1956, soon after my arrival in Iran, my gardener and I planted some Ponderosa and Beefsteak tomato plants that had germinated from seeds received from Philadelphia. Most of the plants died, I learned later, from deliberate neglect of my gardener; they were replaced by Iranian tomatoes that my gardener explained would survive and produce better tomatoes than the American plants. I resigned myself to the situation and awaited the outcome. The tomatoes from the remaining American plants were far superior to those from the Iranian plants. My gardener called in all of his gardener friends to show them the difference. The next spring he asked me if I would give him and his friends some American tomato seeds.

* * * *

My counterpart and I had made visits to several small villages regarding wheat smut. Smut accounted for over half of the loss of the wheat crop each year. Most of the villagers felt this was the "will of Allah" and that they could do nothing about the loss. We persuaded the village leader to let us plant some treated wheat in one small plot of his farm. The experiment was successful because it was done on the farmer's land where he could watch the progress with his own eyes. As a result all the farmers in the village cleaned and treated their wheat the following year.

Setting an example by doing the work oneself is often effective:

We received some aviation gasoline in 55-gallon drums. Local laborers were supposed to put them on a truck for us. Eight men labored trying to get each drum on the truck. This would have taken a long time, so we showed them ourselves how four men could handle a drum by laying boards leading up to the truck and pushing the drums up on these boards. At first we had tried to explain this, but they wouldn't believe that less than eight men could do it. When we showed them, they did it very efficiently with four men. They didn't want us to think that they could not do something as well as we.

* * * *

We were building areas for outdoor classes at a camp. During the first week progress was slow. Then our team leader decided to have the Americans pitch in and do the work. He himself was on the end of a shovel. The local people caught on and worked hard. He gained a lot of respect from them.

* * * *

Whenever a man here is not certain he can succeed in a particular task, he will argue violently that it cannot be done. The only way to make him back down is to show him that it can. My shop employs three commercial artists. Shortly after my arrival we were given the problem of producing a primer for the lowest possible cost. The cheapest work in town was an estimate of 35 cents per book on lots of 20,000. The cost of setting the type was the greatest item of this cost. I decided to paint the text by hand, as there were numerous illustrations and a minimum of words. This was suggested to my artists but the answer was a quick and definite "It can't be done!" Without further argument I sat down at an art table and hand-painted the first three pages. After the third page was completed, it was too much for the three artists. They asked to continue the work. After the book was printed by offset, they cost a total of 8 cents each. Now whenever we attempt something new, I always demonstrate what is to be done and there are usually several people who are more than willing to continue.

* * * *

Appealing to respected personal or written authority can be effective:

> In an attempt to get classical Chinese teachers to participate in a school activity, I quoted some ideas from Dr. Sun Yat Sen supporting the community-type school. I was successful because the things I was trying to get them to do were in harmony with the teachings of their great countryman.

* * * *

> The head of a team at Shogwala was hard pressed to get the needed group action in one village to improve the local spring. I recalled a teaching from the Koran -- that Allah stands on the side of men who stand together. The local people, all devout Moslems, realized the truth of the sentiment, and so agreed to join hands to improve the spring and put in a cement overflow. The local people worked together to the satisfaction of all.

The volunteer should not make the error of appealing to an authority that is disrespected by the indigenous counterpart

> We were trying to convince a government official that a certain type of organization and approach was the right one. I said that this approach had been used by another government (not ours) and that they had found it very effective. I had been conditioned to have a good deal of respect for this other government and thought that citing them as an example would be effective. The people of this country, however, do not think as highly of the other country as we do. For instance, the per capita income of my host country is twice as high as in the other one, and they do not like to be compared to it. The official snapped, "We are not in the Orient. I have been to _____ and under no conditions would I want to think of _____ as the country to be held up as a model for us."

Comparisons between the host country and the United States or any other can be interpreted as degrading. Indigenous persons may have attitudes about another country of which the American is unaware and unnecessary areas of conflict may be exposed inadvertently.

Obviously the appropriate solution, when indigenous habits and procedures are superior or not inferior to a proposed innovation, is to abandon one's effort to introduce the innovation:

> During recreation periods with local nurses, I introduced Western ways of recreation without suggesting an exchange of ideas; that is, asking what they usually did for recreation. The nurses did not always find our methods of recreation as enjoyable as they would have found their own -- their songs, their dances, their ways of keeping holidays. They were polite to us but yearned for their own ways and instead of sharing them with us, they kept them to themselves. Things improved when we gave them the responsibility of planning the recreation to suit their tastes, occasionally giving them ideas.

* * * *

We tried to introduce modern farm machinery to the Arabs, but this was not suitable to the rocky hillsides on which they farmed. We had to abandon the machinery, and they went back to their old methods of using donkeys.

Several of our reports indicate that the host nationals occasionally receive conflicting advice regarding a procedure either from two Americans or from Americans and a national of a third country. The only solutions proposed by our respondents to the problem of conflicting or confusing advice is to anticipate the possibility and to discuss with other Americans and/or advisers from the third country beforehand the advice to be given. Certainly the volunteer should be aware of schools of thought other than his own with regard to technical matters so that he can discuss their merits or defects or adopt their methods if they are already influential and suitable to the indigenous problem.

I was teaching instrument flying to pilots and had one other American on my team who was also teaching instruments. I failed to discuss with the other American one part of instrument flying, "the procedure turn." Therefore, we were teaching two different types. It was confusing the student pilots, since they did not understand that there are several types of procedure turns. Therefore, some made dangerous maneuvers. They came to me and asked which one of us was wrong and indicated that it must be the other man, as I was his superior.

* * * *

It was noted that the mechanics were washing engine parts with gasoline direct from the aircraft. This was being done inside the hangars. I warned them that they might burn the plane up and somebody would be hurt or killed. They agreed that this might happen, but it was the easiest way. They agreed to stop using gasoline if I promised to get them a solvent solution, which I did. I failed to notify all American personnel of this situation and when one of them was asked if gasoline was a good cleaning agent, he said yes. They continued to use gasoline until one man caught on fire and was seriously burned.

Apart from individual habits and procedures, there are mores, folkways and general cultural beliefs which may interpose obstacles to innovation. Should the volunteer inadvertently disregard cultural definitions of appropriate behavior, he is likely to lose cooperation; should he deliberately disrespect them, he is likely to incur resentment and antagonism. Sometimes relatively minor changes in procedure will avoid such obstacles; making nominal changes or adopting indigenous techniques can often be effective. Taking measures to placate people who are resentful over a breach of custom should always be attempted and may be successful.

It was the month of Ramadan and many of our workers were fasting during the day as good Moslems do. We felt the men might like to change the hours of work so they could work immediately after eating the main meal of Ramadan which is just before dawn. We gave them the choice of working from 8 - 12 and 1 - 5 as usual or at some other time. They chose to work from 5 a.m. to 1 p.m.

without a break. They could work while still not too hungry, and the hot afternoons could be spent resting. This greatly improved the morale of the workers.

* * * *

The villagers were of the belief that a smallpox breakout in a village was caused by a visitation of the gods. Consequently, they thought nothing could be done to prevent it. My counterpart and I did not attempt to disprove this belief, but only tried to convince the villagers that the small pain involved in taking the inoculation would be much less than the pain of smallpox. We did not change their ancient belief. The parents in this region are very fond of their children and were willing to have them inoculated to avoid the pains that go with the actual disease. The village men brought in their wives and children for inoculations by the health specialist.

* * * *

We were installing an important communications system and the time consumed in installation was important. I insisted that all the men continue to work until the job was completed. One man was a Moslem and he missed his time for prayer. He became cool and uncooperative. I should have been more familiar with the local customs and religions.

* * * *

Food was in short supply and we placed quantities of corn meal in the stores for free distribution. We did not consider the fact that corn meal was rarely used for cooking in this country and that the little that was grown locally was generally used for hog feed. Prior to the distribution or simultaneously with it, there could have been a display or demonstration of the use of corn meal as an important source of food for humans, and pictures of its wide use for this purpose in America.

* * * *

My counterpart planned a meeting of various government officials and private industrialists to discuss the program with a visiting U. S. expert and myself. The counterpart wanted the meeting held without the attendance of certain officials who the U. S. expert felt should be there. Local custom demanded that they not be there. I asked my counterpart if he could see his way clear to permit the attendance of these officials and he said, "No." I, therefore, suggested a separate additional meeting with less participation but at such a level that it would permit the attendance of the officials who were previously excluded. This he agreed to do. This satisfied the American expert and at the same time saved face for my counterpart.

* * * *

A traffic consultant assigned to the country needed some posters to begin a traffic control program. The first one our shop painted was simple, direct, and reasonably forceful. It had one illustration and these words, "A Good Driver is a Safe Driver." These posters were painted in several hundred copies and put on display in the main city. In making our evaluations, it was found that the posters had no effect on driving habits. We interviewed a number of people trying to discover the reason the posters were being ignored. All of the people we talked to were evasive, and most answered that they did not know. After much searching, I finally cornered one of the locals who had become a close friend. At first he was reluctant, but after much prodding, he said, "If you would change the words, 'A Safe Driver is a Good Driver,' to 'A Safe Driver is not a Coward,' you may have some success." We did, and the posters were well accepted.

* * * *

The mission needed an accountant-office manager. I hired the best that I could find, a man of Italian descent. He was native born, but his parents had come to the country directly from Italy. The local staff did not take to him. We had many a moment when there seemed to be no cooperation; they would make errors, just to see how this man would react. The staff was mostly West Indian, and considered themselves natives even though they themselves were not original inhabitants. I explained this as delicately as possible by using the U. S. viewpoint -- melting pot, etc. It worked find and we were able to mold the office into a good force. I should have foreseen the results of hiring an Italian man and paved the way by talking with the staff before any crisis arose.

* * * *

It is important to understand the culture and the behavior of locals. The American director of a teacher training center had a dream which others interpreted as meaning that evil spirits were endangering the center. When this became known widely among the locals it was necessary to hold a ceremony to exorcise the spirits. The director attended the ceremony and his counterpart kept apologizing, but when the director indicated that Americans sometimes did similar things and that he had personally experienced some of them, the counterpart stopped apologizing and explained the meaning of the ceremony. The director noted a feeling of relief throughout the center after the ceremony was held.

* * * *

One of the Americans killed a snake. Within the next few days there was a flood in the area which the people blamed on us. We learned that killing the snake caused the flood and thus the loss of crops. Because of this superstition we had no end of trouble until we gave a party for the townspeople.

The volunteer would do well to learn the customs and beliefs of the country to which he is going, particularly those that may be "undesirable" from the point of view of innovation. He can then address himself intelligently to such changes as are necessary and feasible instead of becoming antagonistic toward indigenous counterparts who exhibit such "undesirable" characteristics.

> New team members were coming to the country to work under my direction. Their experience had been entirely with Americans, especially students, and thus they were not prepared for the quite different reactions of the local people. I spent several days discussing the basic values and cultural characteristics of the people, particularly with reference to the team members' area of responsibility, and illustrating as freely as I could from my own experience. For example, I pointed out that their conception of honesty was quite different from our own, that their loyalties are to their own caste group rather than to the institution or agency with which they work, many of their habits of work are not nearly as "disciplined" as those of Americans, etc. This explanation was effective because the team members actually worked to develop certain characteristics in their students and counterparts rather than reacting negatively because these characteristics were not already there.

Finally, as has been stressed earlier, the volunteer should realize that he cannot change certain customs and beliefs. The potential gain from such a change is hardly worth the risk of creating antagonism toward himself, his program, and the United States. On occasion the only effective action is to abandon certain goals and to substitute attainable ones.

> The "Desain" is a three-week religious holiday in Nepal when very little work is done by the Nepal government employees. I attempted to continue to work along with my counterparts during this holiday period. Due to their religious functions and old traditions it was difficult to make any real progress during this period, and the Nepal personnel for the most part stayed home and enjoyed their long holiday. I should have attempted to compromise with my Nepal counterparts, for they might have been willing to work a few days of this period.

* * * *

> Rice was being imported to Korea from Formosa, and was in short supply. We obtained 100 tons of beans. I thought it would be desirable for the Koreans to eat beans, but they did not like beans even though I gave cooking demonstrations, and they flatly refused to cooperate.

* * * *

> The chickens were supposed to have a ration which had to be mixed from available feed. It required the use of various feed grains in certain proportions to get a proper balance of nutrients. I tried to have the laborers mix the grains in a certain proportion to get the desired ration. The Arabs could not see the logic

because the custom was that chicken raising was strictly a woman's job and the chickens just picked up the chaff and leftovers. So the laborers would mix the feed in any proportion that was convenient to them.

Many indigenous persons are reluctant to embark on new adventures for fear of being unsuccessful and risking either a tangible good or a loss in prestige. Whenever possible the likelihood of such losses should be minimized, at least until the individual has gained sufficient confidence and competence to act more freely. This point is well illustrated by the following incidents:

> In setting up a procedure for group meetings of mothers to discuss nutrition, I asked our staff nurses to develop and plan the steps rather than telling them precisely what steps they should carry out. Unless their method and suggestions were very wide of the mark, so wide that they might actually endanger success, I always accepted them even when I was aware of a more efficient or skilled way of doing the same thing. It seemed important that the nurses develop confidence in themselves in a role to which they were unaccustomed and one which could later be extended to many other activities beyond the planning of nutrition classes.

* * * *

> The big problem was to get the people to try something in which they might make a mistake. We had to convince them it was permissible to make a mistake or to take a chance. We split groups in half and had one half compete with the other. This made it like a game and they enjoyed it and weren't afraid to try things or guess at things that they didn't feel sure about.

In most other societies, status bounds are far more rigidly fixed than in the United States. Persons are reluctant to take on responsibility or to engage in activities that are not appropriate to their stations in life. It is generally very difficult to induce changes in habits that are the result of lifelong training and that are constantly reinforced by the individual's social milieu. The American's presence is temporary, but the native must live within the framework of his society and accede to his social responsibilities in that society for the rest of his life. He is likely, therefore, to be quite unwilling to risk the displeasure of his own people and the possible disruption of normal social interaction in order to comply with the suggestions of a foreigner. Ordinarily, the foreigner should attempt to modify his own goals in order not to require natives to come into conflict with basic social forms. But such conflict may sometimes be necessary if the essential purpose of an approved program is to be achieved, as is illustrated in the following account:

> The difficulties we face are not so much obstacles to progress as they are uncertainties about the problem that is being tackled, questions as to what the problem really is, and questions as to how it should be dealt with. A knowledge of machinery, motors, crops, and soil is the reason for our being here. But more important than the knowledge is the much-needed influence of the American willingness to work. The workings of the indigenous mind and dealing with the social customs is a greater problem

than the physical problems. People here who are educated to some extent lose face if they do any work with their muscles. (It is also nearly impossible for a man who works with his muscles to get an education, regardless of his ability.) It is extremely difficult to show someone how to assemble a plow, etc., if you do not know how yourself. So far we have only two of the five counterparts we are supposed to have, and these two are very reluctant to discard accepted social customs enough to work with us on a manual task. How they expect to teach their countrymen these simple jobs when they cannot bring themselves to dirty their hands enough to learn themselves is beyond me.

Sooner or later most Americans must deal with strained personal relations which are accompanied by hostility and even aggression. Other Americans or other Westerners may have caused the basic harm; repeated frustration may cause one to lose one's temper with an indigenous person; or something one has done or said innocently may be misinterpreted. The motivational problem is complicated by ill will. Before effective action can be initiated or resumed, the ill will must be dispelled. It is generally necessary to make the injured person understand that intentions were benevolent. Explaining that offensive behavior was unintentional, that it resulted from ignorance, misunderstanding, or other factors beyond personal control may be effective. Admitting error, expressing regret, and, especially if the offensive behavior was intentional, offering compensation will sometimes reduce or eliminate hostility. In any case, whether the offense has been deliberate or inadvertent, resentment and hostility are not likely to be dispelled unless the injured persons can be assured that it will not recur.

A couple of Americans had gotten drunk in the local tavern and damaged some of the furniture, causing a great deal of resentment and grumbling among the townspeople. By offering to pay liberally for the damages, I was able to satisfy the owner.

* * * *

The American whom I was to replace took me to our indigenous counterpart's office to introduce me to him. What should have been a purely social occasion turned out to be a knock-down and drag-out fight. My predecessor lost his temper and berated the indigenous counterpart about his lack of cooperation and the counterpart replied in kind, leaving me high and dry. After the meeting, I wrote a letter to my counterpart apologizing for my predecessor's behavior. For six months afterwards, I went out of my way to be friendly. I invited him to my home, took him to dinner, and so on. It wasn't until after that that I was able to make any impact on him.

* * * *

I settled an argument between U. S. personnel and an indigenous customs inspector. I explained to the inspector that these young men were new to his country and did not realize the mistake they were making.

* * * *

> The leader of a labor crew was antagonistic to me and worked very slowly after I offended him. I gave him the job of helping me -- he had to find personnel for other jobs, and he had to supervise the operation of transporting the supplies. I stayed away from him to make sure he didn't think I was checking on him. Things went smoothly after that. We became friends. I had given him a responsible job and showed him that I had confidence in him.
>
> * * * *
>
> Previously, in discussion with a governmental official, I had been severely criticized by him. I was requested to make recommendations for an international travel fellowship. I recommended this person, who had caused me considerable difficulty, because I considered that his qualifications were excellent. Although the person recommended did not accept the fellowship, he was greatly impressed by the fact that I would recommend him. Subsequently, he went out of his way to ensure that my work received adequate cooperation.

In all situations where motivation is at issue, the volunteer will be dealing with conflicts in goals. The other person wants to act or wants the volunteer to act in a manner that contradicts the volunteer's conception of what is appropriate. A general motivational technique that is suitable in an exceedingly wide variety of conflict situations is the art of negotiation -- an art which many Americans have never learned and often find distasteful. In most parts of the world, negotiation is not only an accepted practice, but a life-long habit which is used in situations ranging from bargaining in the markets to arranging marriages. Because it is so commonly expected of them, Americans have been accused of being rude, self-righteous, or stupid for failing to negotiate.

Characteristically, negotiation involves two basic requisites: First, the basic purposes of both parties must be served by the negotiation; second, both parties must be prepared to compromise or to trade advantages. Often more or less extraneous issues may be introduced in order to enlarge the area available for maneuver; the effective negotiator is adept at finding bargaining issues of importance to one or both parties that were not apparent initially. Sometimes unfounded charges are made, not out of malice, but to throw the other person off balance in the hope of getting concessions. Occasionally a face-saving formula must be worked out for public consumption if one or both parties have lost too much advantage.

Bargaining over a sale typifies the whole realm of negotiation. Both the buyer and seller wish to consummate the sale. The disparity in initially quoted prices is the issue that can be compromised. The seller may offer to "throw in" another item if his price is met. The buyer may ask for the substitution of a third item or perhaps an extra service such as a guarantee. Either may accuse the other of unfair practices. Finally, the sale is made at least to the partial satisfaction of both.

The effective negotiator is wary of driving too hard a bargain which will result in lasting resentment or in intransigence in future negotiations. It serves little purpose to obtain compliance with one request if all future requests will be refused. In any case, it is desirable to indicate that the negotiation has been accomplished with good will and a desire for further interaction.

We have been dealing with a delicate issue throughout this chapter in discussing techniques for influencing human behavior. Despite government and community backing, motivating other human beings is perilously open to misunderstanding. Insensitivity to human needs and expectations or misjudgment in the application of basically sound principles will be observed readily and interpreted as naive machination or manipulation. Insincere intent or indulgence in personal whim at the expense of another's wish or belief is a violation of human dignity and rightly should be resented and condemned.

One can not avoid the requirement to motivate if one is to take a realistic view of the complexity of human affairs. The only safeguards against the invasion of human dignity are a genuine concern for the well-being of others, sufficient common sense to make it clear to them, and the good judgment to stay out of another person's business.

CHAPTER VII

THE JOB IN CONTEXT

Overseas jobs held by Americans are likely to differ considerably from ostensibly similar jobs in the United States. This is a difference in both degree and kind, and stems largely from the economic organization of the host country. The equipment available, the degree of specialized support, and the availability of trained personnel are only a few of the factors which cause an overseas job to be unlike its counterpart in the United States. In general, such factors tend to make the overseas job more complex in terms of the range of skills and knowledge required to accomplish it effectively. Both the professional technical preparation of the overseas worker and his ability to perform basic and rudimentary tasks inside and outside his specialty, will be vital to his success during his stay overseas.

With but few exceptions, jobs in the United States tend, by and large, to be highly specialized. For example, the auto mechanic fixes cars. As a rule, others obtain supplies for him, fabricate special parts, handle orders and bills, deal with salesmen and customers, place advertising, keep accounts, buy, rent, or improve work space, obtain or repair equipment and tools, invent new devices or write special manuals which make his job easier and/or more efficient, and so on. The variety of specialized activity supporting any given job in our complex and interdependent economy is virtually endless. In general, this system of support works so smoothly that we seldom give it a second thought. Our schedules and work habits are keyed to this more or less smoothly operating interdependence. A simple request, instruction or telephone call will obtain the products or services of hundreds of other people in relatively short order. But in many of the newly developing countries, this system of critically timed interactions will not exist. Hence, the American working in one of these countries will find himself responsible for a great many things that he would expect ordinarily to be done by other people.

A poultry specialist working overseas may first have to fabricate an incubator from locally available raw materials before he is able to get a project underway. He may have to mix the feed and go far afield to find the constituent grains. He may have to produce food supplements himself or import them. His drugs and insecticides may come from halfway around the world, and in order to write for them, he may have to fashion a pen or fix a typewriter. To get water, it may be necessary to dig a well, lay a pipeline, or build a tank. In addition, he will probably have to send requests and reports home in several copies. He will have to show visiting dignitaries around. He will have to hire, train, and supervise local help. He will need to persuade local officials and villagers to lend him tools, to give him time, or to follow certain procedures. Besides all this he will have to contend with the scores of tasks involved in everyday living overseas.

He will probably have to shop for and cook his own food, or at least supervise an indigenous servant. He may have to construct or improve living facilities and exterminate vermin. If he has any mechanical equipment, he will probably have to maintain it himself. Time will be consumed in repairing his car, his refrigerator, his bicycle, his camera, his radio, and whatever specialized technical equipment he has for his job. To get a simple message to his supervisors, he may have to

travel many miles to a telephone or post office and then wait hours for the call to go through or for the post office to open. In short, he must be prepared to be a generalist and to accomplish less on his job in the same amount of time than he would at home because of these many extraneous activities.

Certain technical problems may arise on the job itself which require an extremely thorough understanding of specialized methods and advanced techniques, as is illustrated in the following incident:

> There was a need for chrome plating facilities since this plating process would greatly lengthen the service life of cylinders of aircraft engines. I obtained drawings for a chrome plating facility from the States and materials were made available. But in the planning stage, fluctuating currents of the local generating plants were not taken into consideration and therefore the finished products were not satisfactory for use on engines, as the plating process of chrome to steel requires a very closely controlled current flow.

More than a few technicians have found upon arriving at an overseas assignment that tools, equipment, and work space or essential assistance had not yet arrived and sometimes did not arrive for several months. The following incidents illustrate these points well:

> In establishing a new office, a basic staff was to be provided. After one year not a single technical or program specialist had arrived at the post. Several from the training course were expected but none arrived prior to my departure from the post. In the meantime, the African program became most important and programs were requested for all countries, including a complete documentation of each program.

* * * *

> The university team had arrived to organize the only agricultural school in the country. A program following the plan of vocational agriculture was adopted. As teacher of farm mechanics, I found there was no shop, no tools, no program. Delays in receiving tools through the contract and failure of the local government to furnish funds for local purchases had the farm mechanics program stopped. I received permission of the director of the mission to purchase local tools and equipment from the "bazaars," hired a local carpenter to work with me, and spent the two-and-one-half-month vacation period setting up a good farm shop.

No general principle can be stated which will enable the Peace Corps Volunteer to deal with such contingencies. What is required is a working knowledge of many basic American trades and crafts, a fresh eye to see where one's skills can be applied, and the ingenuity and inventiveness to create methods to apply them despite misadventures. In some cases, although the American may have no great proficiency in a particular skill, the need for it may be so important that he should try his hand at it if he is reasonably certain that, should he fail, the situation would not become worse.

whenever possible, the volunteer should test the feasibility of a plan on a limited scale before attempting its widespread application. This principle of pretesting should be considered whenever one is contemplating the use of new skills or old ones in new situations. Running a small test case with people in whom one has some confidence and whom one can observe, will expose specific problems and reveal desirable modifications as well as test the general workability of a plan.

> I was working to establish a reliable system of crop reporting, especially on rice, as rice was the most common food and at that time one of the most important exports. The Food Bureau used a system of reporting on the basis of good, medium, and poor plots, subjectively determined. Good statistical procedure demanded objective random sampling. I set up a pilot sample in four of the seventeen provinces, secured agreement of the Food Bureau to assist in carrying it out, and arranged for two Food Bureau officials to make short visits to Japan to observe their procedures of random sampling. As Food Bureau officials carried out the pilot sampling, they gained understanding of the procedure and saw that the poor, medium, and good samples tended to produce a reliable average. They also observed that the sampling system was more easily carried out than they expected. The two that went to Japan observed that the Japanese who originally had set up the system now in use had changed to the new sampling system themselves.

Frequently Americans overseas will find that some of their most important contributions to the host country can be made through activities carried on outside their nominal areas of responsibility. The very fundamentals of our mechanized civilization provide a background of skill and knowledge which can almost always be put to excellent use in the host country whenever the American finds time available because of breakdowns or delays in his assigned project. Consider the following incidents:

> A local manufacturer had asked my counterpart for technical assistance in a factory operation. Output was seriously affected and a solution of the problem was important, not only to the manufacturer's operation but also to the status of my counterpart's organization. There was no local technician capable of doing the job. I went into the manufacturer's plant and, on the basis of a shirt-sleeve operation which involved my own first-hand inspection and operational analysis during one full day, remedied the trouble. My counterpart, who was the head of the local organization responsible for this kind of work, was trying to build up confidence in his organization's ability and if I had not responded to his particular request, his organization's prestige would have been seriously damaged, even though, in my position, I would not normally be expected to do this type of work.
>
> * * * *
>
> This is a situation which does not involve my regular project, but I think it illustrates how a particular interest may lead to a rather important result. The situation had to do with the development of some shops for the training of war cripples. In connection

with my shipping of relief supplies, I asked from time to time that the agencies for whom I worked send me tools of one kind or another. I also asked one agency to give me the right to buy wood from another country. Thus, I soon had several thousand dollars worth of wood and equipment from various areas. When a military hospital was abandoned it was offered to me in connection with our work. This gave me an opportunity to develop the idea of a training school for war cripples. Without these materials and my interest, I doubt whether this would ever have happened. Today, the institution is continuing to train boys and girls who are physically handicapped.

* * * *

I lived in a new house located on very poor land perfectly bare of vegetation. In the course of my stay I developed an area of growing trees, shrubs, flowers, and vegetables that was a source of interest to all passing the area. I took an underdeveloped area and, with the help of a gardener whom I paid from my own funds ($1.00 a day), made it into a thriving garden. I planted papayas, bananas, cocoanuts, citrus, native fruits, teak trees, shrubs, flowers, vegetables, and used organic matter which I created through compost and manure secured nearby. This little activity was effective in several ways: (1) it pointed to the work of a gringo who was living on the land; (2) it became a center which many people visited to see what was being done; (3) it was especially valuable to four young teachers who watched the growth and followed my example. Most people knew I would be leaving the place in time and that I was spending money, time, and energy with no personal thought of recompense.

* * * *

A branch of my organization was without the services of a security officer, and recruitment of one would have been too protracted. There was a definite need, however, for a trained employee to screen local employees and handle matters. Although I was employed by another branch, I had experience in this work and volunteered to handle it two mornings a week. The improvisation kept this vital work going despite a somewhat irregular procedure, but improvisation overseas is often a necessity if objectives are to be fulfilled.

* * * *

While in India I often found time on my hands in the evening and sometimes during the day. I made little children's dolls out of bits of rag, twigs, stones and grass. The children and their parents were delighted and couldn't express their gratitude enough. Also my hobby is geology. Sometimes when our car broke down or a road would be impassable, I would wander around the countryside looking for minerals. I found some pretty good deposits of iron that I told the ministry about.

Innovations in Methods, Attitudes, and Work Habits

One of the principle reasons for the Peace Corps Volunteer's presence overseas will be to help introduce new methods and techniques or to improve existing ones. Various problems and methods involved in introducing innovations are discussed in detail in chapters 5, 6, and 8. But a general principle is also appropriate here. The Peace Corps Volunteer should introduce only such changes as are appropriate to the level of development of the people with whom he is working and to the existing resources of the country. The following incidents express this clearly:

> I was one of two Americans and two Egyptians working in a mud village. We emphasized the use of machine power. In some cases manpower could do the work just as cheaply and well and would not have put day laborers out of work. In some cases friends became enemies. It would have been much better to consider the real needs of the native as basic rather than emphasize the introduction of machinery.

* * * *

> I was part of an American team in the mountains of Kurdistan. We had started a little farm to demonstrate machinery and materials. We had imported cattle and chickens to cross with the native stock. Our big mistake, I think, was in creating a little America. We had a wonderful demonstration farm, but it was not on a level that could be imitated by the natives. It was discouraging rather than encouraging to them. It could probably have been improved by decentralizing the personnel, scattering them out among the villagers, working with counterparts, and investing the money in books and other training materials rather than in actual equipment. The people of this country are very ingenious about fabricating equipment out of cast-off materials if they see a real need. A few models of needed tools could have been shown to be copied by native craftsmen. Often what seems useful to us will be ineffective or undesirable from the native standpoint.

* * * *

> Upon arrival I found no workshop which was capable of making necessary repairs to offices or to rented houses. Contractors were unreliable and not capable of answering the many needs of a large mission. I established our own workshop with equipment from the States and local tools with which indigenous persons were familiar. They were instructed in how to make ordinary repairs. It eliminated many complaints and resulted in more and better service.

* * * *

> We needed alfalfa for our chickens each day. The laborers had been using jack knives to cut the alfalfa. We needed more alfalfa cut and tried to speed it up. We considered some type of mechanical mower but on the small irrigation plots machinery

was not practical. Also, knowing the laborers' mechanical knowledge, we felt it had to be kept simple. We got a large hand scythe and developed in them the skill to operate it. Tools must be kept very simple for men who do not have the background for mechanized operations. The scythe was a step above the knife and hand sickle, but yet not too far. The laborers eventually developed a liking for the scythe and we had more alfalfa to use.

The volunteer would also be wise to determine beforehand first, whether the method he wishes to introduce is actually an improvement over existing methods and second, whether it is sufficiently better to warrant a change in established indigenous work habits. Methods will be encountered that have been moderately successful for centuries. To change or supersede them may provide too little gain to be worth the money, time, and retraining, or involvement in social, political, or economic complications. Although it may seem desirable, for example, to keep extensive records and files, it then becomes necessary to obtain storage space, file cabinets, drawers, storerooms, and other paraphernalia which probably offsets the marginal value of better records. An uncontaminated well may be desirable, but it may require drilling equipment, the hiring of laborers, the construction of a pump, possibly even a source of power. If the source of the contamination cannot also be eliminated, if the people bathe and wash their food in polluted waters and will not or can not change their habits, then the time, trouble, and expense of constructing the well may result only in a useless monument. If the purchase of a piece of equipment is justified only when it can be used night and day, it would be too costly if workers will not change their sleeping habits.

It is not being suggested that the volunteer refrain from introducing new methods. In most assignments, unless changes are made, the volunteer will have failed to carry out his mission. But he should carefully evaluate beforehand the need for a new method and the appropriate type and level of change required under the specific circumstances. It must be recognized that a method is a matter of human behavior. Some amount of training will be necessary whenever a change is made. Consequently, the Peace Corps Volunteer should not introduce changes which require more training than he can provide or the people involved are willing to undergo. Unless the new method can be learned in practical circumstances, it is likely to be ignored or to deteriorate to the point of uselessness. An American who worked in Korea says:

> I procured American-style oxyacetylene equipment for the Koreans to replace their antiquated carbide-type welding and cutting equipment. After numerous instructions and demonstrations, the Koreans did not use the equipment. There were too many complicated gauges to adjust. They resorted to their old system which could do the job and was simpler to operate.

Sometimes Americans have found that indigenous methods are more appropriate to existing conditions than anything they could substitute. Many have had to learn to use local techniques and materials in order to do their own jobs successfully. Consider the following incidents:

> We often had to add up accounts. I was used to an adding machine at home but I didn't have one available to me. The locals used an abacus and were considerably faster and more accurate than I was using pencil and paper. They made me look stupid. I had one of the boys teach me to use the abacus just to keep up with them.

* * * *

Most of their construction was of bamboo. We couldn't use screws because they tended to split the wood and the screws we had available rusted anyway. We quickly learned to tie some pretty fancy knots with the local fibers and soon could make a good join that way.

Indigenous attitudes and work habits will often be different from those in the United States. Differences will be found in such things as the amount of time spent on a job during a day, the amount of time people are willing to work on a given task without a break, the standards of excellence used in producing goods or providing services, the attention to detail that is customary, the type and frequency of supervision required, and so on. The volunteer will find that many of his indigenous co-workers will be unfamiliar with modern tools and equipment and will tend to neglect them. Some will be unaware of such a simple danger as corrosion. Some will know nothing about the need for lubrication, and the majority of workers in some countries have no appreciation of the need to make periodic adjustments in any equipment with moving parts. People who have been used to animals as their sole source of motive power find it difficult to grasp either the purpose or the importance of mechanical maintenance and instructions are often not followed.

During the war in North Korea, lots of unpolished rice was on hand and the local populations needed rice as well as the Korean Army. We attempted to get certain Korean units to substitute gasoline motor power for electric power to run the rice mill (electric power had been cut off from Yalu River). But at that time they did not understand how to use motors and were satisfied to get food through regular army channels, which did not help the local civilian population. Finally, we got some United States Army people in to hook up the gasoline motors and the rice mill got started.

* * * *

I repaired the two jeeps that were not in operating order. These two jeeps were used by my co-workers before my arrival and had not been given the proper maintenance until they failed to run. Then they were abandoned. My co-workers showed no interest until the two jeeps were again in running condition. I should have asked for their assistance in doing the repair work. By having them assist me in doing the repair work, I would have had the opportunity to instruct them on the importance of proper maintenance.

Some overseas technicians have found it effective to construct simple demonstration models to show what the ravages of climate and abuse will do to equipment. Consider the following incident:

I was inspecting vehicles and noted that the people were using engine oil to clean and polish the engines of the trucks. This practice caused deterioration of the rubber insulation on the spark plug wires and also failure of the radiator hoses. I took pieces of rubber covered spark plug wires and radiator hoses and demonstrated that the application of oil to the rubber dissolved the insulation causing short circuits and leakage from the water

hose. It was a graphic representation of the problem and how to prevent it. They corrected their practices, eliminating many of the mechanical failures which had been occurring in their equipment.

In general, what has been said about changes in technical methods applies as well to changes in individual work habits. If anything, work habits are likely to be even more difficult to change than methods, and the volunteer should be reasonably certain that changes are, in fact, required and worthwhile.

> Indigenous personnel would rarely work as rapidly as we thought they should. They would sometimes start on a task with great enthusiasm and then things would slow down to the normal pace which was very slow by American standards. They just couldn't see the need to meet deadlines. This was not invariably the pattern. Some of them worked as fast and as diligently as any of us and kept longer hours. We finally learned to accustom ourselves to their habits.

The maintenance of quality standards deserves special note. It will often be appropriate to lower one's standards and approve a less-than-perfect project in order to introduce a change or to train successfully. However, as a matter of personal ethics and in fairness to the host country, any such lowering of quality standards must be considered temporary and explained to those who will be responsible for quality control. For instance, it would be disastrous to pour concrete which will soon crumble, and it would be a shoddy trick to leave people with the impression that an inferior product they are producing is up to standard and could compete in national and world markets. This issue must be treated with a sense of proportion, and while first things must come first if any progress is to be made, one must not entirely neglect the second, third, and fourth steps after the first has been taken successfully.

The Peace Corps Volunteer will be confronted with situations which demand maintenance of his own rigorous work habits. For long periods he may see few positive results from his work. His relations with his indigenous supervisors, co-workers, and subordinates may very well differ substantially from similar relationships at home. A supervisor may know less about the technical aspects of the job than the volunteer himself, and may have less organizational ability as well. In such circumstances, the volunteer must provide himself with certain supports and restraints ordinarily provided for him by a supervisor in the United States. He will need to plan and schedule his own work, to assign his own priorities to various tasks, and to develop explicit standards of performance for himself that are realistic in the indigenous context. As a generally useful principle, the volunteer should set sub-goals for himself that are attainable relatively quickly. He thus can furnish himself with a source of satisfaction from his own accomplishments that will compensate for any paucity of other satisfactions that he may be used to at home.

Relationships with Co-workers

The volunteer should exercise utmost tact in dealing with an indigenous co-worker, and he must be aware of the possible cultural differences in relationships between supervisor and subordinate and between peers. Some cultures are more status-conscious than others and some peoples will be quick to take offense at

supposed usurpation or questioning of established prerogatives of either a supervisor or a subordinate. For instance, if a volunteer in a subordinate position has decided that, after a careful evaluation, new methods of doing a job should be introduced, he must be particularly careful in proposing these methods to consider locally proper superior-subordinate relationships. The principles and methods for handling such problems are discussed in detail in chapter 6.

Most problems that will arise with indigenous co-workers and subordinates will stem largely from their lack of training or experience and from differences in general work habits:

> As an adviser on a Pan Am management conference, involving delegates from eleven countries, I was to advise my counterparts who were hosts to the convention. I had appointed several committees to take care of the program arrangements, entertainment, etc. On the first day of the convention, when a key official rose to extend greetings, the mike went dead. I had failed to review all details for the opening session and had depended on my two native assistants to check on some of the items. As an adviser with supposed "know-how" on conducting conferences, I had responsibilities beyond pure advice. I was supposed to give technical assistance and this included checking on my subordinates' work.

The principles discussed in chapters 5 and 6 will be applicable. There are, however, other general principles that should be helpful: If the Peace Corps Volunteer is in supervisory position, he should make every attempt to assess individual capabilities and differences:

> On arrival in Haiti, I found a lack of recognition of the abilities of the Haitian personnel. In the Controller's office I determined capabilities of each employee (American and Haitian) by "desk-auditing" his duties and responsibilities. Based on this determination, I delegated authority to supervisory personnel to take specific action. For example, an American inquiring as to his salary and allowance was referred to payroll clerk (Haitian) for required information; travelers were referred to a travel clerk (Haitian) for guidance in preparation of travel vouchers; venders were referred to the chief accountant (Haitian) for information about their invoices, etc. Because several of the Haitians under my supervision had obtained their higher education in France, recognition of their abilities was greatly appreciated and they extended themselves to do their work at the highest level of their capabilities. The American technicians whom I referred to Haitians for solution of their various problems soon learned to respect their abilities.
>
> * * * *
>
> Supervisors were constantly recommending promotions for typists who were unable to do "finished" work. I established standard typing tests for several grade levels of typing, and

this eliminated the requests for promotion of poor typists and provided an incentive for all typists to improve their work and skills.

Making the mistake of treating all indigenous workers as if they had the same abilities will lead the volunteer to assign tasks and jobs inappropriately. Such malassignment will be a continuing source of dissatisfaction since, day in and day out, the person doing the wrong tasks or occupying the wrong job will be doing things that he doesn't like. If he feels the work is beneath him, he may find it a threat to his status and career development. On the other hand, if the work is beyond his capacity, he is likely to run into frequent criticism and be worried about his future:

> A telephone operator, the most intelligent of the six in our employ, had for some time been a personnel problem, often bordering on insubordination. I spoke with her in my office and discovered that she was extremely bored with her routine duties, that she was interested in becoming a secretary with broader responsibility and more pay, and that she felt there was no way this could be accomplished because she could not type. I explained our internal examination/promotion system, suggested she learn typing in off-duty time, and offered to lend her a typewriter. She was very receptive, and began instruction. Her on-job attitude immediately improved. Several months later she took an in-service typing test, but failed. She tried again without success, and finally gave up the idea. While this employee did not realize her earlier ambition, she discovered that an avenue did exist, and that opportunity was there. She realized that she wasn't ready to change jobs and became the best operator in the group. Eventually she earned promotion to the Chief Operator's job.

This leads us to another principle: Should the Peace Corps Volunteer become involved in a supervisory position, he should make every effort to assign people to jobs or tasks for which he knows they are prepared and is reasonably certain they will enjoy. The following incidents will further illustrate the problems of the Peace Corps Volunteer as a supervisor:

> The previous chief, under whom I had worked, failed to give local technicians (doctors, sanitary engineers, nurses, etc.) responsibilities and authority commensurate with their qualifications and abilities to carry out their work. All kinds of details had to be reviewed and approved by him. Morale was low, there was much grumbling, and the work suffered, of course. Upon taking over as chief, I saw to it that professionally qualified technicians on our health projects were given adequate responsibility -- and the authority to properly carry out their assignments -- reducing the daily detailed review and guidance to only that which was absolutely necessary. This gave the technicians pride in their part of the joint undertakings; the quality and quantity of work was improved greatly. Morale and good feelings toward the United States technicians improved markedly.

* * * *

> Indigenous village workers in the home economics extension program needed instruction in proper diet and nutrition in connection with our work. One of the Americans working in another program was well-qualified to provide this instruction; she had been a dietician at a home for handicapped children and she had had some close contact with County Home Demonstration programs in the United States. However, the authorities in the Home Economics program told her that she could not be allowed to have anything to do with their activities because she had no college degree in Home Economics. She was disappointed, as she was very interested in improving the knowledge of nutrition in the host country, and she could have been helpful because no one with a degree was available to teach at that time. I thought that practical knowledge and eagerness to help the local people was more important at that point than a degree.

If people are to gain competence and improve their performance, they must be given a chance to practice their skills. A certain number of errors, of course, must be expected and while in a given situation the frequency of errors may be more than a trained American might commit, the immediate loss in effectiveness or efficiency may be offset by future gain in indigenous performance.

The next principle should be followed whenever it is feasible: The American should encourage his indigenous co-workers or subordinates to take on increasingly responsible tasks:

> When I took over the operation of the warehouse, I noted that the local help was not trusted with any of the operations. They resented this very much. I made the most intelligent one the head warehouseman with full responsibility for all property and taught him how to keep records. This showed that I considered indigenous people on a par with us in intelligence and honesty, and that I depended on them to carry their share of the job.

* * * *

> When we arrived, only one of the nurses was taking any responsibility -- she was an older woman and she always took night call. We instituted a system of rotation and gave each nurse certain individual responsibilities. When we got our first trained nurse, (trained in a nearby school of nursing), we encouraged her and backed her up as she was reluctant to give orders to the others. We have found it worthwhile to give responsibility and expect the people to live up to it. On the whole, we found that gradually they went ahead on their own initiative. Arriving at unexpected times, I have found the nurses busy with their appointed jobs. This first trained nurse is now in charge of the hospital, taking the nursing responsibility under the European doctors.

* * * *

I gradually brought together thirteen young men for community living during apprenticeships in mechanics, agriculture, and teaching. I chose two of the young men as leaders, gradually delegating more and more authority to them. This helped to develop leadership qualities and deepen group morale.

* * * *

There was a general lack of direction in the handling of local employee promotions and hiring. The entire local staff was involved. I established and publicized an internal system of promotion announcements and examinations. The local employees were made aware that they would be able to compete for promotion just like the American employees, and that their qualifications would not be overlooked when new jobs were established or higher grade jobs became open.

Most Peace Corps Volunteers will find themselves working with indigenous persons as equals rather than as a supervisor. The effectiveness of treating indigenous co-workers as equals has been mentioned again and again by respondents; a few such incidents follow:

No agricultural fair had been held in the area. As a means of stimulating interest in increased agricultural production, I recommended a fair, placing emphasis upon local cultivator exhibits. I talked to and explained suggested procedures to my counterpart and fellow workers. From their comments, suggestions, and approval, I went with my counterpart to talk with the local administrators of the district. They also gave their approval and assistance. Since everything about the show was their idea, not mine, even though my thinking helped and guided them, they assumed responsibility for the whole affair and worked to make it a success, otherwise it would have reflected unfavorably upon them. Because they assumed responsibility for the show after the broad planning had been done, they often had considered details that I would later bring up. While they took great pride in doing these things independently, I should have planned in such a way that I would have known that these details were being taken care of without having to suggest them to find that they were already taken care of.

* * * *

Cleaning seed in a smut control program involved five or six workers. It was my job to see that the seed cleaner was in good running order and to train another man to run it. Rather than loaf in the shade when the machine ran well, I worked beside the men helping to move sacks of grain, etc. It seemed to give them confidence in me as a person who respected them. They not only developed into an effective work team, but they also came to my aid in finding some stolen equipment.

* * * *

> I was a participant in the work camp like all the others. I did not boss the Africans, and this made the mission effective. In kitchen meal preparation, I helped with the cleaning up. I also helped plaster the building. We all worked out together the idea that soap flakes instead of bar soap, etc., were necessary for dish washing. Although my special training was in health and sanitation and in nutrition, I did not supervise. Instead, I actually plastered, whitewashed the building we were constructing nearly every day with the Africans -- sometimes even when the Africans were not working -- I showed them by a laboring example that I was willing to do the same menial task they were doing. This showed them that the white foreigner really meant to work along with the Africans. It made the Africans accept me as one of them and not resent my whiteness, my foreign colonial quality -- all this implies they felt more like contributing themselves, too.

The fact that the Peace Corps Volunteer is an American usually makes his cooperation with indigenous persons as an equal doubly appreciated. His Americanism, however, may also tend to put him in a quasi-advisory position if the attitude toward America in the host country is one of respect:

> Many of the more highly educated Iraqi became rather frustrated when they could not do what they wanted because of their superiors. They would often talk over their problems with me. My role was mainly as a counselor. Someone outside could help them look at their own culture more effectively than someone from their culture.

* * * *

> A local employee was determined to ask his United States supervisor for a salary raise upon the latter's wedding day on the psychology that this day of great joy would be the most appropriate time. I advised the local employee that United States psychology was more to the contrary and that a regular business day would be more appropriate. He took my advice dubiously.

The line to be drawn between on-the-job equality and conformity with the expectations of the host country is a tenuous one at best. In some countries, the unquestioning acceptance by Americans of indigenous methods has been criticized because local co-workers looked upon "The American Way" as the goal to be achieved. They do not want Americans to approve indigenous methods tacitly by working on an equality basis with these methods. In other countries, however, Americans holding positions exactly the same in title and function as their indigenous co-workers may be expected to assume an attitude of deference towards local methods and authority. An example of this was given by an American teacher of English who found herself working side by side with an indigenous teacher who had attended Columbia University years ago and by virtue of this was considered one of the top authorities on English in the country. The American teacher quickly recognized that the methods this teacher had learned in the United States had long been superseded by more effective ones, but she had to exercise great tact and patience in suggesting new methods and it took her two years to effect any changes in the system.

Much of the discussion in chapters 3 and 4 dealing with establishing and maintaining effective human relationships is applicable to the problems of dealing with indigenous co-workers. But principles are merely guides. They cannot substitute for the volunteer's careful appraisal of his co-workers' work habits, expectations, and attitudes towards him as an individual and as an American, or for his tact and diplomacy.

Organizational Considerations

The Peace Corps Volunteer will be working under the auspices of at least two organizations, the United States government or agency, and the host government. He must further the mutual purposes of both organizations, must depend on both for support, and must be prepared to keep both informed of his progress and intentions. The American and host governments will have agreed upon the general purposes of any particular Peace Corps job. However, their interpretations of the general agreement may vary and their conceptions of how specific jobs are to be accomplished may differ.

If such a problem occurs, the volunteer should recognize it early. Unless he does so, he is likely to find himself continually at cross-purposes with his indigenous colleagues. Cooperation may cease, friendly personal relations will be strained, and little or no productive work can be done. The volunteer may be tempted to go over the head of his indigenous superior to complain to higher level indigenous authorities about presumed recalcitrance, lack of communication or other personal difficulties -- a move which would tend only to aggravate existing conditions. Consider the following incident:

> Our group had to deal administratively with both English and Nigerian administrative persons. Lines of responsibility and accountability were not always (or ever) clearly drawn. During the six-month period when I served as Chief of Party, several characteristically disgruntled American technicians, unable to obtain rulings in their favor from an English agricultural administrator on a travel allowance to return home, wanted me to go with them over the Englishman's head to the top man, the Nigerian Minister of Agriculture. I made the mistake of going with them, thus suggesting that I personally sanctioned going over the Englishman's head to the Minister. The Minister of Agriculture listened attentively and upheld the Englishman's ruling on the matter. I had, by going along, added to English-American friction and compromised my own position in the matter.

The volunteer, on the other hand, might be tempted to believe that his own interpretation of his purposes overseas is wrong and to comply unjustifiably with indigenous wishes. The indigenous persons with whom the Peace Corps Volunteer will be working directly may themselves have misinterpreted their government's view of the general agreement, and complying with their wishes may be in accordance with neither the United States' nor the host government's intent. If the volunteer suspects that a basic misunderstanding of purpose exists, he should immediately call it to the attention of the United States superiors within the country involved so that they can arrange for a solution at appropriate organizational levels.

On occasion, the volunteer may think that a Peace Corps policy promulgated by persons remote from the scene of action is deficient and is causing unnecessary difficulties. The volunteer should bring this to the attention of his American superiors as soon as he possibly can. Moreover, he should make the specific difficulties clear in explicit terms so that persons who are not on the scene can evaluate the situation realistically. The volunteer must recognize, however, that policies are generally made to cover a wide variety of situations; and although a particular policy may be troublesome to him, it may be generally effective elsewhere. Should this be the case, the volunteer may justifiably request a specific exception or exemption. But he should be prepared to accept a refusal and to abide by his organization's decision. The individual Peace Corps Volunteer cannot be a policy maker nor should he aspire to become one during his relatively short tour of duty.

The volunteer may judge that a policy is wrong in a particular case for humanitarian reasons, for reasons affecting friendship and good will, or because an operation would certainly fail if it were carried out. He may have no time to obtain either a change in policy or an exemption. If his judgment of conditions is sound and the consequences are sufficiently important, he might be justified in taking action that he thinks imperative. However, he should realize that he will rarely have a complete picture of the total situation including its interorganizational and international ramifications; he may, despite the best intentions and the most comprehensive knowledge of restricted conditions, cause far-reaching difficulties by violating policy. He should inform his American superiors immediately of what he has done, giving them a description of the situation which required such action and the reasons that impelled him. This will permit them either to make appropriate changes if they are, in fact, required, or to deal with the more widespread difficulties created unconsciously by the Peace Corps Volunteer. The following incidents illustrate the variety of such problem situations:

> I was a division advisor. The assistant division commander requested that I obtain a shotgun for him. I explained that I could not legally do this and that doing so could actually jeopardize my career. Because he felt that my explanation was inadequate, and because he believed that other advisors had "gotten shotguns for other generals," he told me that he now felt I was not as loyal a member of the division as he had thought I was. I should have discussed the matter with the Division Commander, explained the difficulty to him, and I am sure he would have handled the matter with the assistant division commander without strained relations.
>
> * * * *
>
> Local businessmen were unable to appreciate the reasons for ICA regulations concerning the accountability of supplies, and were therefore inclined to criticize. They considered certain procedures an attempt by the United States to control the local economy.
>
> * * * *
>
> We had made a recommendation for a simplified procedure to Washington and had been turned down. We now had to inform the host government of the Washington decision. I told the local

official that we had made a recommendation for the simplified procedures, but, unfortunately, it had not been accepted by Washington. This was ineffective because the host government would have to conclude one of two things: Either we had been inept in presenting our position to Washington, or the Washington bureaucracy was not ready to accept any recommendation from its overseas group, reasonable or not. In either case, we did not cut a very good figure in the eyes of our hosts. While it is very difficult for a mission to draw a line, the mission must have sufficient courage to reject, on its own, unreasonable requests by the host government and not leave this distasteful job to Washington.

* * * *

A village chieftain came and asked for some chickens for his village. We had to decline his request because of government policies concerning his village. It would have been a good thing to get his favor and friendship in carrying on a program of help in another area, but there was not enough flexibility in our policy to let the individuals in charge of a program decide the correct thing to do at a particular time.

* * * *

The divisions were accustomed to picking up United States employees at their homes in private cars owned, operated and maintained by joint funds of the United States and the host governments for transportation to and from work, including round trips for lunch. Nationals of host country chauffeured these cars and their salaries were also paid from joint funds. Local employees of the divisions used local public buses for similar transportation needs, paying their own fares. Because my division was small enough, I was able to furnish the same transportation facilities to local nationals as was extended to United States employees. The nationals had resented the preferential services extended to United States employees and this resentment was eliminated by the actions taken.

Some of our respondents have indicated that they misunderstood some of the limitations placed upon them in their overseas jobs, and that they sometimes made commitments or undertook projects which they could not complete. The Peace Corps Volunteer should follow the basic principle of determining for himself in detail what his purposes are, how he is expected to accomplish them overseas, what specific difficulties he is likely to encounter, and the organizational limitations within which he must work. This should be done if possible before he goes overseas. If, for example, he is to serve as a teacher, he should attempt to determine whether his pupils will be adults or children, what preparation they are likely to have, what kind of classroom facilities and training aids will be available to him, who his superiors will be, what the country's philosophy of education is, how much money he or the indigenous authorities will have available to purchase supplies, books, etc., what the customary working hours are, and so on. He should also determine specifically for whom he is working, whom he should contact to make requests or complaints, and what forms or procedures should be used in doing so. He should know the organizational structure of the Peace Corps or the private agency sponsoring

him and of the host government agencies with which he is likely to come into contact. Moreover, he should be fully aware of the total range of responsibilities of both his American and indigenous organizational superiors so that he can appreciate the impacts of his own requests and proposals on both systems. It will be helpful if he knows the channels of communication through which these superiors must go in order to effect action. Such information will permit him to evaluate beforehand his requests and proposals realistically, to judge the amount of time required for consideration, and to eliminate burdensome or impossible requests before they are put into channels.

Even the most efficient organizations have delays and failures. A certain percentage of the personnel will be less than fully effective. Lines of communication will be cumbersome or nonexistent in some instances. Areas of jurisdiction and responsibility will occasionally be unclear. The need to keep responsible people informed will sometimes introduce delays and may interfere with substantive work. Job incumbents may be fearful of making errors which will jeopardize their positions. Individuals may try to develop or maintain programs in which they are interested and believe to be valuable but which in fact are incompatible with the over-all purposes of the organization. Some individuals may be interested primarily in gaining or consolidating positions of power or security. Inevitably, errors of judgment and wrong decisions will be made despite the best of intentions. The following accounts will give some idea of the variety of organizational difficulties that have been encountered by Americans working overseas:

> At times our organization was at a loss to know how to proceed. We worked under contract with another American government group and, because communication was so slow, our activities were often held back until an OK or another order was given. It slowed down the work in general. Especially for a pioneer project, a clear-cut program mapped out as far in advance as possible is necessary since changes must be made from time to time. Hesitation often looks bad in the eyes of the host country.

* * * *

> While working under a university contract, we were tied to certain requirements imposed by our organization. The worst of these was that the host government had to make specific contributions in the form of secretarial help, office equipment, etc., as a token of their support of our program. This was extremely bad for two reasons: (1) good and expensive technicians worked at one-half capacity for want of secretarial and office assistance; (2) a great deal of our rapport with local officials was lost because of the necessity for us to constantly request this type of assistance.

* * * *

> In the course of a project agreement, the United States mission was supposed to provide six technicians. Our entire timetable of project implementation was dependent upon this technical help being on hand at a specific time. The request was made for the technicians fully a year in advance of the time their help was essential. We were informed that five of the six technicians

would be easy to recruit, but the sixth, a textile man, would be hard to find. However, it took between 20-26 months for the five to be recruited and sent to the field. This time lag caused considerable delay and poor project implementation.

* * * *

Our supply of gasoline books was exhausted and the senior officer, who was 250 miles away, needed to be notified by telegram immediately because he was going on annual leave in two days. I discussed this with my counterpart, who agreed but left the office without dispatching the telegram. In order to expedite this, I sent the telegram. The senior officer sent the books but also wrote a letter saying that this was not the proper way to order gasoline books. My counterpart answered the letter saying he did not send the telegram. I had not told him that I sent it, nor had I written the senior officer explaining my reasons for doing so.

* * * *

A local American businessman wrote to me requesting special assistance from my office in regard to some technical difficulty in his own organization. I called his office to explain that this type of assistance was not properly within the sphere of my responsibility. He was not there at his office so I left the message with his secretary whose English-speaking ability was not good. The result was that he never did get the message because the girl apparently was either forgetful or too embarrassed by her inability to understand English to deliver it. It would have been far better if I had either visited his office personally or called him again, or got an interpreter to make sure that the message was thoroughly clear to the secretary.

* * * *

When I arrived in this country, I found that their official work was highly compartmentalized and that different individuals working in closely inter-related activities knew little about each other's programs. A great deal of my time was taken up in carrying information and materials from one office to another. We entertained these people frequently in our home for dinner and, although we deliberately avoided official conversation, we inevitably drew the people into a more informal relationship to each other and to me. After this, matters of joint interest were usually handled by informal meetings in one of the officials' offices which literally saved months of delay.

* * * *

A Filipino participant scheduled to go to Vietnam for training could not obtain a visa from the Vietnamese Embassy in time to arrive in Saigon for his program. The Philippine governmental agency involved would not intervene for him with the Vietnamese Embassy. However, in this case it was the function of the

Philippine government to obtain the visa for their own participant; they wanted the United States ICA office to intervene, but would not come out and ask us to do so. I took the participant and the Philippine government member to the Vietnamese Embassy, where I explained the situation and asked their cooperation in granting a visa (the visa application was five weeks old). The visa was granted immediately under cordial circumstances. The Philippine government member was amazed to see how uncomplicated the matter was, and from that time he would not hesitate to ask other foreign embassies for consideration in granting visas to Filipinos. He also told me he was amazed that I, a woman, would bother to do for him what he knew he should have done in the first place. Consequently, in the future, he never failed to ask for help if he needed it and gave any help in return asked by me.

* * * *

Telephone communication between Tripoli and Benghazi left much to be desired. Actual face-to-face conversation was almost by appointment only. Occasionally, in processing education participants, I had to communicate with an inexperienced technician in Benghazi. Whether or not telephone communication was satisfactory, I ordinarily confirmed transactions with the technician in Benghazi by memos -- perhaps helpful to him because of his very limited experience in training procedures. Pouches were sent two or three times per week between Tripoli and Benghazi. At that time I had reason to suspect that (not having an American or Libyan full time assistant in Benghazi) most of the procedures and regulations were not thoroughly understood by the technician referred to; his training role was necessarily part time.

* * * *

A local man who spoke very good English and had a scientific background would receive all missions of a scientific nature. He was an unwilling bottleneck because of all the staff gave him all the technical jobs. I tried to carry the action on most projects back to the appropriate office and convince them to set up people in their own shop to handle these things or delegate responsibility where it belonged.

The Peace Corps Volunteer may meet with none or all of these. He is likely to meet with at least some of them, both in his American organization and in that of the host government. These are facts of life about which the volunteer should be aware since they will directly or indirectly influence his effectiveness overseas. The volunteer will not be in a position to do anything about many such difficulties since he may not be aware of them until he is presented with a fait accompli. For example, he may find one day that promised supplies are not forthcoming because persons in the indigenous government had given higher priority to another project, perhaps for political reasons, perhaps to meet an emergency, perhaps because the country's over-all plans were undergoing change. However, the Peace Corps Volunteer should attempt to anticipate difficulties which are likely to result from such organizational factors and be prepared to modify his plans when necessary. Consider also the following incidents:

Building plans to develop the physical plant of the college were completed, funds allocated, and bids called for. But because of cumbersome administrative machinery and related political factors, it took more than a year to get approval to proceed with construction.

* * * *

We attempted to secure agreement on five major projects. Four documents detailing the agreements were cleared, but the fifth was lost in the planning organization. Delay in locating the item eventually set back the project six months. This would have been avoided by better organization in the host government department and more comprehensive preliminary discussions with that government to focus their awareness on the importance of timing.

* * * *

We were given a contract at a stipulated sum for our project and I rather naively assumed that all of this money with the exception of 10% required for administrative expenses could be utilized in the project. I was, therefore, very much surprised when our expenditures had reached a little bit beyond half of the stipulated amount, to be told by the central office in Washington that our funds were practically exhausted. Under the circumstances, I could have gotten funds elsewhere, but the local administration insisted that the funds should come from our organization. We had made some commitments that made the situation difficult. What we should have done, I suppose, is to have insisted upon a more exact allocation of funds in the beginning so that we would have known earlier that we were not going to be given the sum that was indicated for the project. I would suggest that in the future a program should be very clearly outlined, the funds should be allocated, and an exact accounting be instituted by all agencies, charitable or otherwise, involved in such projects.

In general, as with faulty policies, the volunteer should bring inefficiencies or difficulties to the attention of people in his own organization who are in positions to make changes or who may know better than he the specific actions to take or the specific persons to see about the matter. In practical terms, organizational difficulties may have either or both of two effects. The Peace Corps Volunteer's freedom of action may be limited or his progress delayed. No general principle can usefully cover the variety of organizational difficulties that one may encounter overseas. If difficulties are the result of human interference or inaction where the problems lie essentially in human frailties, uncooperativeness, cupidity, misjudgment, indifference, hostility, and so forth, many of the principles and methods discussed in the various chapters on human relations may be found helpful. To these, one might add that it is wise to have recourse to both indigenous and American individuals who are knowledgeable and responsible and who can give the volunteer advice or intercede on his behalf.

If the difficulties lie in some inadequacy of the organizational structure which makes it difficult or impossible to deal expeditiously with deficiencies in the physical environment, e.g., a supply procedure which is appropriate for obtaining items in a limited region but inadequate for obtaining them from abroad, the best solution may lie in close familiarity with local resources and ingenuity in finding new uses for equipment and raw materials that are available.

Political Considerations

The Peace Corps Volunteer will be faced with political matters overseas whether he wishes to be or not. His words and actions reflect not only on him as an individual but on America as a whole. As a member of the Peace Corps, he will occupy his position overseas at the invitation of persons in the host government. The success of his mission will be scrutinized both by those who favor his presence and those who may be opposed to him, to the United States, or to those officials in the host government who invited the Peace Corps. Some of his specific job duties, his requests, suggestions, or relationships with indigenous individuals may have implications for indigenous political issues. Finally, because of his presence or position he may from time to time stand in danger of becoming embroiled in purely internal political affairs. The following incidents illustrate some typical political problems:

> A statistical survey of rice production was being conducted. Personnel and transportation were available but some provinces were declared unsafe for supervision without extraordinary military precautions. I visited all provinces that were considered safe. Local people were given training and sent back to the off-limits provinces to carry out the rice survey. Lacking supervision, the survey was not completed in some provinces. We could do nothing to improve the situation.
>
> * * * *
>
> We were exploring the possibility of the reorganization and re-equipment of certain units along modern lines. I attempted to consolidate units to eliminate some ineffective elements and to make better use of available equipment to prepare for later modernization. I failed to take into account the political ramifications of such action. They listened, apparently agreed to the idea, but did nothing further.
>
> * * * *
>
> Projects on port storage facilities had bogged down because reports were not received from the local government. The story, as we finally learned it after developing a close personal relationship with the appropriate key official, was that the local government did not dare go forward with the facilities that would have represented major labor-saving devices in the face of the strong opposition of the dock workers who feared they would lose their jobs.
>
> * * * *

We were trying to construct an effective inservice summer school for teachers of agriculture. Some of the teachers were members of the Communist Party and by their efforts made it extremely difficult to develop a teaching and learning situation. This was done by keeping up disturbances, asking silly and sometimes embarrassing questions, etc. The local government and college officials could have taken a much stronger hand in dealing with such situations.

Because of the very delicacy of these matters several principles can be readily stated. First, the Peace Corps Volunteer should not become involved in internal political affairs. He must recognize from the outset that in every country there will be contending political factions or parties at the national, provincial and local levels. From time to time the very duties of his job or his relationship with indigenous co-workers and social acquaintances, will place him in a position which is surrounded by political problems and in which certain actions will tend to align him inadvertently with one faction or another. Regardless of his personal desires he should, insofar as possible, carry out his duties in such a way as to remain neutral. Consider the following incidents:

One large religious community group was faced with serious problems regarding their future as a result of revolutionary changes in the area. A Moslem state had just come into existence. There was a great deal of anxiety, concern and indecision in the community. There was rivalry between conflicting political groups, difference of opinion in interpreting political currents, chaos, and confusion in meeting what appeared to be a serious community crisis. I limited myself strictly to my mission which consisted of extending technical migration assistance to those who had decided to leave the territory. It also consisted of giving counseling services to those who needed advice, information, and orientation pertaining to the country of immigration or the migration process per se. I did not permit myself to be drawn into interpretations of the local political scene, nor did I permit myself to engage in political prophecies. I made it very clear to every person who visited my office that I was nothing but a migration consultant. This was my only area of competence in this particular assignment. I took a similar position in contacts with local community leaders. I did not encourage nor discourage emigration. I offered services to those who were looking for them, but did not stimulate the interest of others. This approach was very effective. I preserved the full independence of my operations during the period of my assignment. I gradually won the confidence of the whole community in the strictly professional approach of my activities.

* * * *

In July 1956, it came to my attention that a stenographer, a member of one ethnic group, had issued a direct order to a messenger who was a member of another ethnic group, to which he took exception. I informed the stenographer that she had no business giving orders, but should make her desires known through the Chief Clerk. This placed me in a compromised position between two ethnic groups with long ingrained animosities. The messenger was quite pleased and placated,

but the stenographer's cunning and vicious tongue became an upsetting influence among other employees. I should have reported the matter to the appropriate indigenous authority faction.

* * * *

There was labor strife among Socialist, Communist, and free trade unions in a local cigarette factory. This strife was due to the political propaganda being passed out by the Communists. A meeting was called by all unions involved to settle the issue. Because of strong "anti-America" feelings, a young U. S. worker decided not to attend the union meeting. His presence would possibly have caused a split among the unions, thereby ending in a total strike of the company. However, the issue was settled without a strike, with the Communists compromising.

* * * *

I was an adviser to an indigenous organization. The local leader was engaged in implementing plans to teach his subordinates the principles of voting in forthcoming elections. I failed to accept a rather pointed hint to the effect that this was not a technical matter and was really no concern of advisory personnel. I suggested he appoint senior officials to conduct classes. I also jokingly-asked whether the instructions were designed to indoctrinate "for whom to vote" rather than the mechanics of voting. I should have accepted the matter as it was, that is, purely political, and refrained from even discussing it.

* * * *

The Research Director at the National Bank was to be put out of his job in a somewhat underhanded way, to be replaced by someone who was a member of the inner circle. I found out through my local assistant that rumors were rampant and all the people we dealt with at the Bank were in a tizzy about it. I did nothing -- I stayed out of it completely -- even tried to avoid going to the Bank until it was over.

If a volunteer is placed in a position where he, in effect, must choose between aligning himself by actively supporting one side or perforce aligning himself with another side by refraining from positive action, he should choose the latter course. It will be easier for him to explain that he is a victim of circumstances and has not taken sides intentionally if he has done nothing of a positive nature in becoming involved. In any case, the volunteer should make it clear to his hosts that he wishes to remain apart from internal political strife.

The Peace Corps Volunteer should not impose his own political beliefs on indigenous persons. This principle does not mean that he should forego his own beliefs or fail to communicate the principles of our Constitution to those who are interested. Rather, he should not attempt to force them on persons who are disinterested. The volunteer, as a citizen of the United States and as a member of the Peace Corps, has a very grave responsibility to communicate to his hosts an honest picture of our philosophy, culture, and civilization, and of our practical concern for the rights of the individual, the welfare of the community, and the

well-being and stability of the world at large. In discussions about United States political thought and behavior, the volunteer should be prepared to talk intelligently on these matters with sufficient knowledge and cogency to make clear our strengths, and to explain any weaknesses in meaningful perspective.

Often he will find that his interlocutors have distorted impressions of conditions in the United States. Some will believe that all Americans are excessively wealthy and indolent, that our people are preoccupied with materialism and lack culture or concern for ideas. The question of race and segregation is a matter that crops up frequently and Americans are often taxed with arguments and accusations that betray misconceptions of interracial matters. Most commonly, and not surprisingly, foreign nationals have little comprehension of the great heterogeneity of the American nation; few understand fully our fundamental belief that contending segments of the population all have full rights to hold and advocate whatever positions they believe in, and our adherence to the principles of compromise and social and political change by legal means. People who have not studied the United States intensively are often unaware of the historical growth of personal freedom, although they may know of the development of our economic wealth. They may not understand the benefits of orderly and stable evolutionary progress to a society at large and to its individual members, particularly if stability has meant repression and ages-long stagnation in their history. It may be especially difficult to understand why certain social injustices should be redressed by relatively slow-moving legal processes rather than by upheaval or dictatorial fiat. None of these things can be can be explained glibly by recourse to abstractions that may have little or no meaning to the other person. None of them can be explained at all unless the volunteer fully understands them himself. Whenever possible, the volunteer should illustrate his discussion of these matters with examples from his own life and the lives of those whom he actually knows. Examples with the ring of truth that can come only from personal experience are probably the only effective means for communicating such abstract ideas.

> When asked about the segregation problem in America, I explained to them the differences in beliefs among our people and sections, just as is the case all over the world. I explained that I went to school with Negroes and thought nothing of it.
>
> * * * *
>
> A group of young Americans participated in a work camp in North Africa. They worked hard -- as young Americans are wont to do in these situations. Most of them were unable to answer highly political questions of their young hosts -- and found themselves growing either excessively belligerent or overly apologetic. None of them had adequate language training.
>
> * * * *
>
> While waiting for the train to come, we observed some local women working at ordinary jobs. One of our native companions then asked us about American women. When we appeared willing to talk frankly, our companions further asked if "after integration is completed, will the Negro children go to school in America?" One of the Americans with us was a Negro with a doctor's degree, so it was easy for him to take over. In thirty minutes they learned more about America than they could from many books. The talks were

frank and friendly, and they did not have to worry about whether or not it was propaganda or "American show-off."

As a general rule, the Peace Corps Volunteer should avoid oral or written discussion of political factions and internal political issues. Moreover, he should not criticize indigenous points of view or conditions. Rarely will he be fully aware of the merits of all sides of an indigenous political matter. If he is unavoidably drawn into such discussions and does have an understanding of the issues involved, he should attempt to remain neutral. But he should recognize that citing the merits of the opposition's argument to a person who strongly believes in one side of a matter is likely to be interpreted as support for the opposition. This can result, at best, in a belief that the American is naive, and is more likely to lead to hostility and antagonism. Some Americans have made the mistake of publishing materials about their hosts that were viewed as being biased and unfriendly.

In a discussion of U. S. aid to nomads, I kidded a sheikh about the attitudes of another tribe. I was told this would stir up quiescent tribal animosities. The sheikh reproached me.

* * * *

A local got into a conversation concerning politics. He was in favor of the existing administration whereas this administration was bleeding the country dry. Very few consumer goods were on the market and the currency was so inflated no other country would accept it. Needless to say, the people in general were against the administration because of the financial condition. Being very indiscreet, I argued for the other side and was probably right on almost all the scores. This was not effective. You can't argue with a local when he has already made up his mind. Very little you can say will influence him no matter how rationally and statistically you present your arguments.

* * * *

The work camp group which included several native refugees was discussing a very emotional internal problem. One foreign member of the group quickly volunteered glib solutions to this problem (like forgiving, forgetting, etc.). The natives quite justifiably resented a foreigner who was not emotionally involved offering righteous solutions to their problem. He alienated them and they did not listen to anything further he had to say.

* * * *

Before leaving the U. S., I gave permission to my hometown newspaper to publish my "Dear Friends" letters that I sent to some 80 different people. The newspaper published selected parts of the letters 2 to 4 months after I had written them. Some of the parts being published could be interpreted as criticism of my hosts. These selected parts eventually got back to my host country and were circulated among my friends and other students at the University with the result being a widespread rumor that I was writing articles against the people. This made living sort of difficult. I should never have allowed the local

newspaper to edit the articles, and they should have been printed at the time they were received. For example, I wrote that they were still having riots and political troubles and this was published several months after the troubles were over. Also, I should have been more careful in the wording of my comments on the political situation.

* * * *

A technician returned to the U. S. In a report subsequently sent to the host country, he included many pictures of poverty and hardship. He had this report published in a U. S. magazine and mailed copies of the magazine to the host country officials. They were extremely put out because they felt he did not depict the country's situation accurately. This I think was true -- it was not as bad as drawn.

The Peace Corps Volunteer should be prepared to discuss or otherwise demonstrate interest in philosophical, social, cultural and professional matters intelligently. Americans are often criticized for a purported lack of interest in ideas, possibly because many of them avoid discussion of political issues and partly because many of them, in fact, are uninterested. But, as has been pointed out earlier, our country is heterogeneous. Some Americans are concerned with such matters and some are not. If we are to dispel a fairly general misconception that all Americans are preoccupied with things and methods, we must be prepared to demonstrate by competent discussion that many of us are also interested in other matters.

I was working as an observer in a government maternity hospital. At that time, I was the only North American employed there. When I was questioned as to my "stand" regarding capital punishment, I found I did not have a formulated opinion. Brazil does not use capital punishment. I learned gradually that here there is a certain pride in their humane treatment of their criminals (at least in that State). The fact that I had not faced a question, which to them was of great importance, weakened my position. They presented their own views and reasons for rejecting the use of capital punishment. I should have come forward with a positive reply on one side or the other -- at least indicating that I considered the question an important one.

* * * *

I have long been interested in classical music, have a good collection of classical records and a "hi-fi" music system. I organized a concert of classical music, given once a month, to which North Americans and Chileans were invited in equal numbers. It served to demonstrate to host country people that their conception of North Americans as "uncultured" was not necessarily true. They also appreciated the opportunity to listen to music that was not available to them.

Occasionally, certain actions taken in the course of one's work may have political implications. In the past these have usually involved the aggrandizement

in some way of one person or group at the expense of others:

> The Minister of Education asked me to his office for a conference. (Indirectly it involved the Minister of Agriculture.) The Minister of Education and I discussed 4-H Club work as I saw it for the country. I did not "clear" this meeting with the Minister of Agriculture. It aggravated the jealousy which existed between the men of these two offices. The youth program was established and functioned under the Ministry of Agriculture, yet because it concerned the education of boys and girls the Minister of Education was concerned and its Minister saw advantages to having the program in his office. Ministry of Agriculture people let it be known to my Mission Director that I was not to go "out of bounds" in the future.
>
> * * * *
>
> My counterpart and I recommended the dismissal of a worker who was dishonest and taking advantage of the villagers. As this man had friends in high government circles, our own division officials did not act for fear of their own positions.
>
> * * * *
>
> One of our most prominent contacts was a senior official of the Finance Ministry. After checking with our Embassy and with our Mission, I told him that we would like to consider him for a tour of the U. S. I failed to take internal politics into account, however. (The Embassy fell into the same trap in this case.) The man was a member of a family that was not well-regarded in ruling party circles. The ruling party did not like the idea of the U.S. inviting somebody not a member of their party. The fact that the man held a high government office did not impress the party. We were told by the host government to drop the idea of an invitation, which was quite embarrassing. In a country with a one-party system you should check with many other people to determine if a prospective invitee is in good political standing before you ever hint that an invitation to visit the U. S. as a guest will be forthcoming.

In most of our reports, Americans have encountered such problems because of a lack of foresight or ignorance of internal political conditions. No simple principle can be stated to cover such cases. In some instances the Americans were able, by adroit diplomacy, to maintain their positions. In others, the Americans deferred to indigenous authority. In any case, only sufficient knowledge about political conditions will enable him either to avoid situations with such complications or to take appropriate steps to resolve differences effectively.

The Peace Corps Volunteer should scrupulously obey indigenous laws and regulations. To do so, of course, he must be aware of them. As a rule, with some conspicuous exceptions, Americans have usually broken indigenous laws inadvertently. He should attempt to learn particularly regulations governing customs matters, traffic, housing, financial transactions, and the various aspects of his work. It is mandatory that the volunteer learn at least those regulations which are likely

to pertain to him on and off the job. Unless he does so, he may create antagonism and even find himself in danger.

I was sightseeing in the country on my motorcycle, and I took my partner along with me. We were not aware that it was against the law for two to ride on a motorcycle. Although the law enforcement officials were lenient with us, our breaking of the law did not make for good relations.

* * * *

While traveling by air, I grew annoyed at the unending showing of passports and other documentation to seemingly imcompetent people who excelled in making mountains out of molehills. I spoke of this irritation to a native of one of these countries. He took the remark as a criticism of his country.

* * * *

It was my responsibility to receive incoming shipment of commodities. In this particular situation I had taken a group of warehouse personnel in a truck to the airport to meet and unload a plane. The truck did not have American insignia, and the guard at the gate apparently did not recognize it as an official American truck. The truck approached the gate, and failing to notice anyone around guarding it, I instructed the driver and the warehouse crew to pass through. The guard approached from another position and refused to let us proceed. My interpreter attempted to explain the situation to the guard, but he would not permit us to pass. To further emphasize his command of the situation he unslung his rifle and cocked it and aimed it at my waist. Realizing that this was an impasse, I called back the interpreter and the warehouse crew, and went in search of the official in charge of the airport. When I located him, he explained the situation to the guard and we were permitted to pass and to accomplish our work. First of all, I had committed the error of trying to argue with an armed sentry. Second, I should not have assumed that merely because I looked like an American and was in an American truck, the guard would recognize me and automatically allow me to pass. At the time this occurred, Americans were not well-known there and the guard was fully within his rights to deny us entrance to the airport. Upon the first refusal of the guard, I should have approached his superior to obtain permission to enter the airport with the truck. I should have recognized that the guard was doing his duty as he saw it, and that my responsibilities and duties were in reality no more important than his.

* * * *

An American friend and his wife often took weekend trips into the country to photograph rural life for a book they planned to write. One weekend they drove close to the border, where a border incident the week before had aroused considerable unrest and much police activity aided by village men. My friends were not aware of the border incident; were accosted at a road block;

and failed to identify themselves. They ran through the road block and later were arrested. They said they thought they were going to be robbed. They were in a country where rural bandits were not uncommon, and should have checked with the Embassy before they made this trip to learn security conditions in the area they planned to visit. Their arrest was embarrassing to the entire U. S. community. If they had checked out this trip with Embassy security people, they would have been warned not to make it, and would have avoided the difficulties their trip brought on all Americans.

As a practical matter, the Peace Corps Volunteer should employ appropriate channels of authority and communication in the course of his work. Many of the difficulties which have arisen in the past have resulted from ignorance of whom to inform of one's intentions, of the persons and agencies which appropriately should receive requests for goods and services, of persons and organizations whose general cooperation and support are required for effective implementation of plans, etc. These points are well illustrated by the following incidents:

We were operating a grade school and wanted to start a new high school. Private schools are eligible for government aid, and for this reason are subject to a certain amount of control by the authorities of the nearest government school. We failed to inform the Rector of the local high school that we intended to start a high school so that our grade school students could complete their studies near home and in the same physical setup. The Rector found out about the opening of the new high school by reading it in the newspaper. The Rector definitely felt that his authority had been ignored, and he took the whole incident as a personal slight. All during the year he had an antagonistic attitude toward our school. At the end of the year, he sent a very strict commission to the school to examine the children, and they did poorly. First of all, we should have gone to the Ministry of Education to find out just what the steps were in opening a new high school. Then we should have gone to the Rector, told him of the project and asked for his advice and counsel.

* * * *

The insect-spraying pilot training program was at a standstill. We had no support from Ministry of Agriculture officials. We bypassed the local project leader, Director General of Agriculture, Secretary General to Minister of Agriculture and went personally to the Minister of Agriculture. This caused consternation and resentment among all the lower officials although swift action was taken by the Minister to resume the pilot training program.

Finally, the volunteer should learn as much as he can about the political background of his host country. He should be aware of the basic governmental structure, prevailing political philosophies and practices, parties and factions,

current issues, attitudes toward the United States and other countries, and the historical background that conditions all of these. In particular, he should learn of the political affiliation and beliefs of the people with whom he is in daily contact and with whom he is likely to interact in the course of his work and social life. Unless he is politically sensitive, he will be in danger of becoming embroiled in matters that he should avoid, and will not be able to handle effectively those situations into which he is forced by virtue of circumstances.

CHAPTER VIII

FUNDAMENTALS OF OVERSEAS SERVICE

There are a number of general requirements which are fundamental to working effectively overseas. All are prerequisites to the accomplishment of major tasks in every aspect of overseas service -- adjusting to the environment, developing confidence and trust, teaching, motivating, and the many other essential functions involved in carrying out an overseas mission. These general requirements form the basis for action and pervade virtually every undertaking. They are: 1) ability to acquire knowledge rapidly, 2) skill in analyzing situations for causes and effects, 3) skill in planning and preparing for further action, 4) skill in communications, and 5) ability to maintain a sense of proportion and perspective. Each is required whether one is working at home or overseas, but they are treated here because the demands for effective performance in the foreign setting can be considerably more extensive than at home, and the special problems in applying them overseas differ radically from those encountered in the United States.

These skills are fundamental and it is questionable whether any book or short training course can actually increase an individual's effectiveness in applying them. The purposes of this chapter are to indicate first, some of the unique problems involved in applying these skills overseas, and second, to provide practical suggestions on how to avoid or overcome certain of them. A formula for effectiveness in these areas cannot be taught, for the prerequisite -- the intellectual capacity of the individual -- is beyond the scope of any single book or classroom. All that can be done here is to point out some of the problems arising in these fundamental areas which the Peace Corps Volunteer should be prepared to handle, and to mention some solutions that others have found effective or ineffective.

Acquiring Knowledge

The chief distinction between acquiring knowledge overseas and at home is that in the United States we already have a vast background of relevant information and experience stored in our memories. New materials can be readily related to old. But overseas an enormous amount of background material must first be learned before one can settle down to the normal learning rate of an adult. The learning task overseas is further complicated by spurious similarities between foreign items and those with which we are already familiar, so that one is likely to jump to misleading conclusions. This may have grave practical consequences. For example, a bus schedule overseas may look very much like an American timetable, and therefore, one may plan a trip expecting to arrive at the designated time. However, it may well turn out that the timetable is only vaguely accurate because the bus stops at every village, hamlet, and crossroads to pick up occasional passengers. The best-laid plans will suffer accordingly until one has learned to make a distinction despite superficial similarities.

The basic difficulty of the learning problem thus can be seen to lie in the amount of material which must be learned in a relatively short time. Even years of specialized regional study are hardly adequate to meet the demands which are made upon the overseas worker's knowledge of every aspect of the country in which he is working. The Peace Corps Volunteer, however, will have had only a short course which can give him, at best, a smattering of history and culture. Yet when he arrives at his overseas post, he must learn to identify thousands of new and unfamiliar attitudes, places, behaviors, objects, etc., and to associate these appropriately with each other and with what he already knows. The information to be learned ranges through virtually every aspect of life -- new flora, fauna, street names, personal names, methods, equipment, tools, social institutions, customs, etiquette, foods, and so on endlessly. Thus it is obviously impossible to discuss this subject matter in detail. However, a list of items is presented in Appendix B about which the Peace Corps Volunteer should try to get as much information as possible before he goes overseas and certainly after he has taken up his assignment. A few incidents illustrating the range of material to be learned and some of the consequences of ignorance should serve present purposes:

I was on temporary duty in Latin America, working with officials in the Ministry of Finance. I wore white shoes. An Argentinian golf-pro informed me men did not wear white shoes in the country of El Salvador -- even the medical profession. I purchased a new pair of locally made brown shoes and noticed the immediate improvement in reception of myself and my technical advice, which had formerly been cool because of the cultural attitude toward men who wear white shoes. I should not have assumed white shoes were worn by men in all tropical countries.

* * * *

An American official arrived in the country during the Moslem holy month of Ramadan. Just before dawn, he was awakened by loud noises and what he thought to be people breaking into his quarters. He reacted violently, attempting to scare off the suspected intruders. If this person had known the customs of the Moslems, he would have realized that the people were being awakened by noises (such as the rattling of dishpans and rattling stones in tin cans) in order that they might prepare and eat their breakfasts before it became light. The indigenous persons became frightened at first by the American's behavior and then highly insulted and indignant, causing resentment and later unpopular opinion. This sort of faux pas can be avoided by becoming acquainted with local customs and culture before going to the country and knowing some of its history.

* * * *

I asked an interpreter to advise me on the terms of rental of an apartment, rented by a middle class family. This interpreter was a poorly educated local woman who argued rental terms which I later learned were "fair." When I learned this, I was embarrassed. This incident strained relations between the landlord

and myself. The interpreter tried to "haggle" down the rental, which was a fair price to begin with. I should have studied the prevailing market price in advance.

* * * *

I had a bad habit of using the slang term, "You're crazy!" when joking with groups. I said this one day to one of the men in the office who had made a humorous remark. I discovered later that this was the worst thing I could have said because the people apparently worry about going insane. The man I spoke to was hurt very deeply and embarrassed before his friends. When I found what I had caused, I apologized to him before his friends and told him of the usage of such slang phrases in the United States. The situation was fine thereafter. I would not have become involved in such a situation if there had been advice upon arrival at Post of similar things which affected the local people so deeply.

* * * *

Bicycling with a group of friends, I was in the lead when we passed some African people who were walking toward us. I greeted them briefly, in the native language and waved, American-style. My friends explained that it is courteous in Africa to stop, get off the bicycle, and walk when passing someone. A greeting is considered rude if it is too hurried. The Africans returned my greeting, but I am sure they thought me rude, and probably thought I felt myself too "superior" to stop and greet them properly.

* * * *

I enlisted the overtime assistance of local USOM drivers to help me move from hotel to house. Tipped a package of cigarettes each, the drivers demanded greater payment as "customary." This was paid but I reported them to the local dispatcher the next day. The dispatcher said he took disciplinary action by suspending the two drivers for a day or so. I should have had better knowledge as to what is "customary."

Regardless of the training and orientation which he may have had in preparation for his overseas tour, the Peace Corps Volunteer must face the fact that he will have to learn much on the spot overseas. Available information about many regions and peoples is at best full of gaps. Unfortunately, much that is available is over-generalized and thus holds true for only limited areas or groups of people. Furthermore, much of it is out-of-date. Even the most static societies undergo change, and the countries to which the Peace Corps Volunteers are sent will usually have changed considerably since the currently available information about them was gathered. Consider this report by an American technician who had gone overseas after unusually extensive study of his host country while still in the United States:

I had studied the country intensively before going there. I had read everything that was available and was given extensive briefings. Much was useful, but perhaps more was inadequate.

> Information was outdated or totally lacking. I had learned neither about the substantial Eurasian population nor about the many indigenous ethnic minorities. A considerable fraction of the population had become urbanized and industrialized apparently after my sources were written and their agrarian customs naturally had been replaced. They also had a long musical, artistic, and handicraft culture that had escaped me. (I later learned that there is a large European literature on these subjects.) Even city and street names had been recently changed so that our maps were useless.

In view of the magnitude of the learning task, the Peace Corps Volunteer would do well to take advantage of every method that might increase his learning efficiency and every opportunity that might afford him information. If he wanted to learn something about a subject in the United States he would simply take a course, go to the library or seek out people who know. Abroad many of these sources will be severely curtailed. The volunteer thus faces the need to learn a great deal more than is usual at home, but has very limited means for doing so. It is not surprising that it takes many months, even years, before a technician can be truly effective overseas.

Written information is likely to be especially inaccessible; hence the Peace Corps Volunteer will be particularly dependent on other persons as well as on his own powers of observation. Since he will be interested in fact rather than fancy and in a great deal of information rather than a few bits and pieces of interesting anecdote, the first principle should be to find an intelligent and well-informed individual to whom he can turn for advice and data. Consider the following incidents:

> By developing a student-teacher relationship in our English classes, my counterpart became very familiar with my education and experience and I developed the same knowledge about him. This made me effective after only a few months on a personal friendship basis. He would inform me of the true opinion of himself and his colleagues concerning certain programs. By his giving me advanced information of the opinion and desires of the indigenous officials, I could better evaluate the rationale of his people and present my ideas in a form which was more acceptable to him.

* * * *

> I cannot think of a time when I did something outside work that was ineffective. This was due to the fact that I had a counterpart that understood me and was operating under instructions from me that he was to tell me the correct and most effective move to make under any circumstances. Any success I had overseas I owe almost entirely to this individual. Iranians do not always say what they are thinking. In translation, he very frequently would say, "He says this but means this and you should say this."

* * * *

> Living in a small village in Hilla Liwa, I was invited to many of the social functions of the community. One day I was invited to attend an affair out in the country where the main attraction was

> a troop of dancing girls. I had seen dancing girls before at some of the carnivals. I went to one of the landowners of the district and to the mayor of the village and asked them about it. They immediately warned me of the situation, saying that this always turned out to be more than just a carnival and that in addition to endangering myself, it would bring reproach upon me from some of the very people with whom I was trying to work.

We have already discussed the utility of friendship with indigenous persons as a means for learning much that would otherwise be inaccessible. However, indigenous persons cannot be expected to appear suddenly with offers of items of trenchant and pithy information. Other people must know that one is interested in learning something before they are likely to volunteer information about it. The following incident illustrates this point well:

> I was interested in the archeology of Indo-China and although I read about it I never spoke to anyone about it until one day I mentioned to my secretary that I was planning a trip to Ankor Wat. She introduced me to her father and other Vietnamese and missionaries who told me of all the other remains of the Khmer and Champa civilizations. They arranged an extensive tour of ruins I had never before heard of and one of them who was an expert in the subject accompanied me. I learned more this way than I could possibly have on my own.

Many procedures can be used effectively when one is eager to learn. Offering an exchange of information, or tangible rewards for it, simply asking questions freely even of strangers, entering into discussions have all been effective practices:

> Speaking always through interpreters interfered to some extent with establishing a more personal relationship with leading Chinese. So I taught them a little English and, at the same time, tried to learn some Chinese.
>
> * * * *
>
> Mainly, my approach has been a matter of trying, in every situation, to ask questions and to learn. For example, if I get into a taxi, I try to get in a conversation with the taxi-driver about his life, etc. Everywhere I can, I ask questions, ask more questions and ask more questions again. You learn all sorts of things this way. Also, you learn what questions not to ask.
>
> * * * *
>
> Enroute to Lebanon I met Cypriot students who were just getting ready to celebrate their newly found independence. They willingly told some of their experiences during the war and were willing to discuss their present situation. I showed interest and asked some questions, but because I was not well-informed

about the history leading to the Cypriots' independence, I could not discuss it extensively or intelligently. People recognize and appreciate not only one's interest in them and their country, but the fact that one has also been concerned enough to be informed about it.

* * * *

I was on a field trip with my Latin American counterpart (an agronomist) observing conditions in newly colonized areas in eastern Peru. We had been together for almost a week, but he was somewhat reserved in communicating with me. I was not hearing much about his personal views or what we were seeing and in particular what he thought about some of the social conditions in these frontier areas. I made a point of being present when he met some local friends after dinner one night in the hotel. I joined the group and we proceeded on an evening of heavy drinking. I maintained a pace of drinking comparable to that of my companions. We talked, joked, and concluded the evening very much under the weather. I partially carried my counterpart back to the hotel along with a friend of his who was afraid to go home to his wife and spent the night with us. I gained a great insight into the type of life and the problems in a newly emerging area. I learned a lot about the local area -- that which I could remember the next morning. I won the confidence and friendship of my counterpart and therefore we communicated very well even on issues which involved sensitive local problems.

* * * *

A worker who had been assigned to my staff wanted to "go native." In her zeal she neglected to study the local habits, and so wore as decoration a piece of embroidery that had a religious significance. At one time she utilized a colorful donkey belt, which brought down on her head the ridicule of the natives. I talked with some of the local leaders and asked them to explain the intent of the worker, which was to be "like one of them." I explained that she had neglected to study and appreciate local customs, habits, and culture. The leader was willing to meet with our staff and to give a talk on the background of the people, which was most helpful. No harm was done, though it would have been serious if we had not drawn on the sympathy and knowledge of the local people, and not been willing to listen and to be governed by their habits.

* * * *

D. was full of curiosity, naturally interested in many things, handicrafts, local industry and agriculture, history and customs, etc., etc. He bought a motor bike and freely visited all the local shops and factories, markets and farms in the whole region. He knew every byway and alley. I went with him a few times. We stopped at scores of places and everywhere he was met with a friendly greeting and discussion of what they were doing, how

> and why. We observed radio repair shops, printing plants, weavers, basket makers, furniture shops, potters, brewers, photograph shops, food processers, metal workers, rubber plantations, bicycle and auto repair shops, and many others. He had learned about all the local production and repair methods, distribution procedures and market conditions, things about which most Americans in the region hadn't the slightest knowledge. He had a Polaroid camera and would give people pictures taken on the spot which they were grateful for. I never saw the locals speak more freely to anyone else.

Answers to questions, however, are not always forthcoming. In many countries potential informants may be more interested in pleasing than in giving the information that is sought. Occasionally they may make deliberate efforts to evade questions if they believe that giving certain information may be detrimental to their own positions. Insofar as possible, until one has learned of the reliability of one's informant, efforts should be made to check on the validity of the information provided. Some have found it effective to check either by adroitly "cross-examining" their original informant by introducing appropriate questions into the conversation, or by asking the same questions of other persons. Consider the following incident:

> The situation is one that is repeated often. I visited a city and called upon a city official to obtain information about the operation of the water system. Asians almost never say "I don't know." They will give you an answer, right or wrong. I always accept the answer given and then later try to ask other questions to cross check. This does not always get to the true answer but you can usually tell if the information you do have is correct or incorrect. The official is not aware of your check if you handle the situation carefully.

The mere act of seeking advice or information can be very rewarding to one's chosen informant. A request for assistance places the indigenous person in the favorable situation of being able to turn the tables, so to speak, and to offer aid rather than receive it. It is he who, at least for the moment, occupies the position of superiority as the giver of largess. However, a distinction must be made between advice which the indigenous individual is familiar with and can readily give, and information he does not but should know, or which for political or social reasons he cannot divulge. In the latter cases, one's request may be embarrassing:

> I asked the chief local technician about certain aspects of the water and sanitation systems. He couldn't give me the answers and refused to let me speak to his subordinates. I think he felt that as supervisor he was supposed to know everything there was to know.
>
> * * * *
>
> The junior people were very reluctant to give us any information on traffic control procedures partly because they didn't want to stir up complications with higher-ups in the ministry. We didn't press them but waited to discuss things with higher officials.

Every scholar and researcher knows the value of systematic learning methods. People whose business it is to learn have developed habits and routines which, while essentially simple, tend to insure that one will be exposed at least to the rudimentary data that should be known, and that one will have them available in accurate form should they be forgotten. Some overseas workers have, out of necessity, adopted such techniques successfully. Some have found it beneficial to check routinely in those libraries which are available. Newspapers and other local publications are especially rewarding as a rule, even if one must learn to read between the lines. Joining organizations such as American-indigenous cultural societies, professional associations, and hobby or other recreational groups exposes one to other persons who have specialized information and who are likely to be willing to furnish it as a matter of course, as the following incidents illustrate:

My wife and I joined the Royal Asiatic Society, attended its functions and took trips throughout Korea in an attempt to better understand Korea and Koreans and because we enjoyed these things. As a result of these activities, I gained a better knowledge of Asia and Asians.

* * * *

The Boy Scout movement in the Philippines is a strong interest. My son, 13, had been a scout in the U. S. A. I encouraged him to join a Filipino troop rather than an American one. It showed our friendliness toward indigenous persons, and my son had an opportunity to broaden his knowledge and views. The local people were extremely pleased and accepted him as one of the troop.

* * * *

The locals working in my office were unfamiliar with the work being done in the office of my counterparts. This was contributing to numerous misunderstandings of procedures. I arranged monthly meetings of both staffs to hear lectures, see movies, and to study basic procedures. This created a deeper understanding in the minds of locals working in both staffs, and at the same time, eliminated much of the friction which had heretofore existed because of basic misunderstandings of objectives, methods, etc.

* * * *

Turkey needed musicians familiar with U. S. type music. I was involved because I also am a musician. I joined their groups, agreed to go on the local radio station and was with the milieu of musicians on my free time. I advised them on the latest music, styles, and variations and played with them at many functions. This was very effective; I became part of them and I created good will between Americans and the locals as I shared everything with them. In reality I was known by almost all the younger set in the city of Ankara who invited me to their homes and social functions, to partake in their food and drinks and life. Even now, when I meet Turks in D. C. they know me or have heard of me in some way.

Notebooks, card files, diaries, etc., serve as substitute memories and are indispensible when large volumes of information must be learned. A technician who worked in Asia states:

> F. kept a systematic card file not only on information pertaining to his own work, but also on various aspects of the people's customs, methods, taboos, etc. He would refer to it before going on field trips and he felt it prepared him to deal with a lot of problems that he couldn't have known how to handle otherwise. You can't remember everything there is to learn out here.

Frequently data required in one's work are simply lacking and must be produced by systematic research methods. It may be tempting to generate solutions on the basis of intelligent guessing, but our respondents point out that it is sometimes possible and almost always effective to obtain the data by appropriate methods such as surveys or experiments. The following incident illustrates the point well:

> An Indian state government wanted my advice on a highly political and controversial issue. Government officials, civil service workers, and legislators were involved and to support either side would certainly alienate some factions, whereas failure to act might well lead to policies counter to the United States' interests. I persuaded the state government to set up an advisory committee and to provide funds for conducting research on the policy issue facing the government, and I consented to serve as the technical director of the research project. The government did this and the research pointed toward a definite course of action by clearly delineating the alternatives and probable consequences of following various courses. It gave fundamental responsibilities to the Indians themselves for making the decisions and for guiding me in the discharge of my responsibilities. It provided a basis of fact in substitute for a lot of prejudices and misconceptions and narrowed thereby the area of disagreement. It put my own technical advice on a sound basis.

Often the technician is faced with problems that require the knowledge of specialists. Occasionally the Peace Corps Volunteer may have the opportunity to assemble indigenous specialists in a meeting in order to discuss problems and solutions or to obtain data. Consider the following incidents:

> I set up a "think meeting" of the best rural Taiwan experts I knew with the Public Health Officers in charge of an anti-veneral campaign to determine why the rural Taiwanese were refusing to give blood samples. The rural experts told the Public Health officials why the rural people objected, namely, that blood is a family (and not an individual) property. The Public Health officer asked questions of the experts and figured out ways of getting the needed blood samples by working through the heads of the families.
>
> * * * *
>
> I was working up a survey of representative villages to determine how the agrarian reforms could be best applied. I assembled a field staff of a dozen Japanese scholars

acquainted with rural Japan. It provided a means by which the rural Japanese point of view could be brought to the attention of General MacArthur's staff.

A trained anthropologist is likely to learn far more about people and customs than a casual observer, chiefly because the anthropologist knows what he is looking for and thus is able to take advantage of opportunities that are likely to provide him with knowledge he is seeking. Furthermore, although he brings a set of concepts to every situation which permits him to set new data into a meaningful pattern, he generally has a healthy regard for the facts and is willing to discard or modify his preconceptions if the facts make this necessary. Theories are confirmed or discarded on the basis of information carefully collected, recorded, and analyzed.

The Peace Corps Volunteer during the course of his two-year tour abroad will have at least as much opportunity as most anthropologists to learn about his host country. He cannot avoid being an observer; whether he will be an effective one will depend on his objectiveness and receptiveness to new information, his willingness to look for it, and the conceptual framework he brings with him to each situation. He is urged to learn what to look for before he goes overseas. The list of items in Appendix B might be a good starting point. Indeed as a starting point, he should ask himself what characterizes diverse segments of American society with regard to each of the items in the list. Perhaps most importantly, he should early assume an approach which permits him to look at what actually is happening rather than simply to believe what he has been told. And he must have sufficient confidence in his powers of observation and induction to be sceptical of his own opinions. Consider the next few incidents, which point up the need to learn with an informed but open mind:

A seminar took place in Lovanium University during the Christmas recess. The political situation at the time was such that the Commissioners, appointed by then Col. Mobutu, were in charge of the government, and P. Lumumba was in jail some 130 miles from the university. Since the university was a Catholic one and was permitted to reopen only after Col. Mobutu took charge of all matters, one would have expected a considerable degree of loyalty among the students for the Commissioners and President Kasavubu. However, it actually turned out that even among the students a certain number of individuals were in favor of P. Lumumba.

This situation confused the European participants; they were at a loss as to how to explain such a situation. However, one student, because of his interest and ability to get accepted among the african participants, rather easily was able to determine that this loyalty was predominantly based on tribal loyalty. In other words, the individuals loyal to Lumumba did not necessarily associate themselves with his political acts but expressed loyalty because of tribal customs. They came from the same tribe and to them Lumumba was therefore an acceptable individual regardless of his political acts. This information gave us a better understanding of the situation, the customs, and thus brought us closer to the individuals with whom we wanted to form a community during the seminar. Our behavior -- based on the information received -- was much more appropriate because we

had understood the underlying motivation of certain behavior patterns of individuals which -- phenotypically -- implied to us an entirely different meaning.

* * * *

When the Vietnamese came to an appointment half an hour to an hour late, we learned not to expect them to be on time. We learned not to expect the same things of the people as we expect in the United States. We had more patience. This attitude kept us from getting discouraged with the slow progress of our projects.

* * * *

Many beggars were continually asking for "baksheesh." At first I failed to recognize truly needy from professionals, and thus I often did not give help to those who really needed it. I should have been quicker in recognizing the truly needy and set aside a certain amount each year for this purpose.

* * * *

By observing and listening carefully, I found that though locals may have agreed on a position, they were frequently unable to take action because of a political or government situation. Knowing this, I refrained from criticizing locals for inaction, feeling that if I had, it would have been a double offense.

* * * *

Many aspects of Somalia culture are based on religious beliefs -- to us many of these beliefs did not seem reasonable; some seemed foolish. I tried to understand by reading passages from the Koran (English translation) and discussing beliefs and the Koran with several local people. Those Somali who have had some education feel that many of their customary beliefs are false and even serving as a hindrance of their country's progress. They were happy to discuss such things with someone who was trying to understand them and their ways. They often gave me clearer understanding of passages of the Koran and why their beliefs existed.

Learning consists not only of acquiring new information but also of practicing what one already knows or can do. This is particularly important in gaining proficiency in foreign languages and motor skills:

I learned some Hindi but I was too bashful to use it. I never gave myself a chance to learn it well.

* * * *

This incident took place in an elevator of a hotel. Two members of our group and two members of the Bolshoi Ballet were riding the elevator, which was operated by a Japanese girl. The members of the Bolshoi Ballet spoke to the elevator operator in Japanese.

It was nothing more than the simple Japanese which can be learned in less than an hour, but the elevator operator was clearly pleased. We were merely silent. I had learned that much Japanese too, but was too hesitant to use it (worried about pronunciation, etc.).

* * * *

In getting along with the Chinese it is helpful to learn at least a little of their language. The fact that you mispronounce their words makes you more human and, therefore, more acceptable. I found this approach helpful on many occasions.

The old saying has it that travel is broadening, and in fact it appears that sightseeing is not only a pleasant but also an effective way to gain information. Traveling to places other than one's own station can provide a variety of new experiences which, if one is alert, will tend to correct the provincialism that is likely to develop from restricted associations in remote areas. Similarities and contrasts between regions or even adjacent villages can lead to valid generalization or can stop useless overgeneralizations and prejudiced opinions. Shrines, monuments, and works of art generally constitute symbols which, in a sense, represent the embodiment of a country's history or culture; genuine interest in their origins and meanings are often points for discussion which may lead to conversations of far-reaching significance with willing indigenous contacts. Consider the following incidents:

During the 1960 census in Mexico, I drove a municipal president and his attache about to the various villages under his municipality. We were teaching the village agents what was asked for in the census. I did not work in directly, but this situation gave me a chance to speak, as an outsider, to many people throughout the valley about the possibilities of better schools, crops, health situations, etc. It was effective because it gave me an opportunity to know and see more of the Mexican peasant. Since I was a close friend of the municipal president there was no question about their accepting me.

* * * *

At first we were not very friendly with our Indian associates. We did not know much about their country and traditions. But after we had an opportunity to travel and visit shrines, temples, and other places important in their history and traditions, we had a better perspective and more in common with them. They took more interest in us too.

* * * *

When we had time off from the work project itself we were all interested in seeing the sights of the country. We generally broke into small groups, carefully selected a knowledgeable person to guide us, visited places we were truly interested in seeing and expressed our interest in discussions with the guide and inhabitants in the area, having first made ourselves familiar through reading about what we might see. We appreciated much more all that we saw, and what it meant to the country. Indigenous persons

were pleased with the sincerity of our interest, freer to tell us more, and proud of what they offered. Together -- it was a sharing of something in which we both had interest but could now better appreciate through another's perspective.

* * * *

I took my annual leave in Aleppo, Homs, Bevin, Mursin, etc. I traveled with my wife and two small children in our own car. On this trip we had a chance to compare several near-eastern nations, at least on the surface. We also visited many of the lesser known cities of ancient civilization. Both types of observation gave us a more intelligent approach to our work in the host country.

A final word and a caution: In learning about other countries there will be a tendency to draw conclusions about whole populations and groups or classes within a population. The volunteer, however, should hold any such conclusions with substantial reservations. The distinctive characteristics of a class of objects or events in human affairs are often difficult to know. Indeed, perhaps most of these classifications are spuriously constructed on the basis of faulty generalization. Human beings are complex, and the behavior of any given individual is frequently inconsistent with the purported behavior of the class or group to which he allegedly belongs. Furthermore, an individual may behave at various times in ways which are supposed to characterize classes to which he does not belong. Finally, individuals are often not truly classifiable. They are not exceptions to rules; the rules either don't apply to these individuals or are themselves faulty and invalid.

Before coming to fixed conclusions about national characteristics, the volunteer should put them to the test of his own observation. He must discriminate between individually determined and culturally determined behavior. More often than not, he will find that any given indigenous person thinks and acts as an individual as well as a member of a class. In summary: An individual's behavior will not always be predictable on the basis of the knowledge that one has about the group he supposedly belongs to. Rather, one must learn to recognize and predict individual behavior as an expression of personal habit in specific personal circumstances. To do otherwise is to be prejudiced and to take the highly probable chance of being offensive.

Analyzing Situations for Causes and Effects

Many Americans overseas believe they can explain the puzzling behavior of foreign nationals in terms of a single universal formula. But unfortunately this formula is put forth in many versions: irresponsibility, lethargy, unconcern for human welfare, preoccupation with face, inability to deal with complex factors, etc. The one common element these explanations possess is the futile desire of their discoverers to explain the complexities of human affairs in simple terms.

The behavior of even the simplest man is determined by a multiplicity of factors. Thus, each situation must be analyzed on its own merits to determine the factors that are actually operating. If production is slow or persons are resistant

to change, if an individual persists in doing something although one would prefer that he did something else, if he fails to go out of his way to cooperate or will not even lift a finger to help, the reasons for his behavior must be sought before improvements can be made.

This is not to say that face or irresponsibility or simple-mindedness never cause difficulties. We have discussed the problem of face at length in a previous chapter and have tried to make clear how important it is. However, our point here is that each of these factors and many, many others may be present in varying degrees in a particular situation. The operative factors change from time to time for the same individual; certainly, they are likely to be different for different individuals. Consider the following incidents:

> An indigenous driver was assigned to me to drive my jeep. He frequently drove off with it without my permission. I did not know (he spoke no English) that he was taking my vehicle to the river to be washed daily. After this occured the third or fourth time and I was unable to discover where my driver had gone, and was equally unsuccessful explaining through my inefficient interpreter my objections to his leaving without permission, I called the police to locate my vehicle and driver and had him brought to the compound. This resulted in the driver's being disciplined when actually he was trying to please me. The driver requested relief from the detail and "passed the word" to the other drivers that I was hard to work for. I could have made a greater effort to find out where he had gone and what he was doing through observation prior to causing him to be disciplined for no reason.
>
> * * * *
>
> During a trip in Peru I saw a very interesting group of Indians at the shores of Lake Titicaca. I had the urge to take a few pictures of them and simply followed this initial impulse. I was with a Peruvian, who had momentarily left me to make certain arrangements. I came close to the Indians and tried to take pictures. I immediately noticed considerable resentment. Practically all turned away from me, hid their faces and became aggravated, although they did not express any overt aggression. As a matter of fact, they looked very shy to me. Upon the return of my friend, I was informed that the Indian has a rather strong belief that the taking of pictures implies taking away something from him. He is not certain what is being taken away, but he has the feeling that he is losing something; he is being robbed. My friend then tried to make contact with the Indians, but found it rather difficult although he himself was a Peruvian and could even converse with them in their dialect. My own ignorance led to a very unfortunate atmosphere. They refused to permit close contact and continued to express suspicion of any action and intent of either my friend or me. I should have been aware of such seemingly unimportant, yet rather significant matters.
>
> * * * *

We had discussion in various faculties of universities on value judgments and the relationship of those in the U. S. A. to those of Latin American countries. We usually had a cross-section of students and faculty talking in an informal situation with no holds barred. We went deeper than surface gripes to mutual aspirations and understanding. The Latin Americans ventilated their animosity toward us and began to be more constructive in their outlook. They usually became aware that understanding is a mutual affair in which everyone, including themselves, takes the initiative. More time and more information would have been valuable. Also, many times the atrocious attitudes of some tourists and pressure groups undercut all we could do.

* * * *

Our servant, a very faithful elderly man, was deserving of a good recommendation upon our departure. We thought it would be nice to find him a very suitable job so that his income could be assured. In our family we had a young son of about 8 years old whom our servant enjoyed waiting on. We told the servant that we had found him an excellent position in a family with no children where the work would be much lighter at the same rate of pay. Our servant declined to accept the position after thanking us for our interest but he said he knew the "masters" we had suggested and they were fine people. He found himself instead a position with lower pay where there were 3 children in the family. We had failed to recognize that in the Asian world people are not always influenced by money or an easy job.

When working in the United States we are frequently faced with the need to analyze complex situations, but usually little conscious effort is required, since experience has made us familiar with probable causes and effects in our culture. Again overseas, ignorance of habits and ways of thought poses unaccustomed problems.

Let us consider a composite hypothetical case: You are working on a road development project. One day your indigenous supervisor seems to have gotten out on the wrong side of the bed. He is sharp and grumpy to his native subordinates and says very little to you. During the next several days he busies himself with things that somehow keep him away from you. Without consulting you, he sends two of the construction gang off in directions that seem peculiar. He continues to be unusually forceful with his indigenous subordinates. He leaves the site for a couple of days, neither telling you where he is going nor giving you instructions as to what to do during his absence; while he is away you are left alone and unoccupied because all the indigenous work gangs are carrying out his assignments without you.

You have a distinct feeling that something is wrong. Have you done anything recently to displease the supervisor? Not so far as you can see readily. The day before this began you weren't feeling well and you came to work late -- too late, in fact, to head up the crew that he wanted you to go out with. The day before that you had suggested that one crew go on ahead to set up a camp in one of the villages to the north. He had argued against it, but he seemed to agree finally and you had told the crew about it. Nothing unusual there.

The night before you got sick, you had spent a long, late evening with a missionary who had once lived in your home state. Was the supervisor insulted when you told him about this after reporting to work late? Was he displeased that you expressed such obvious pleasure in visiting with a Christian? Could it be that he was just plain busy preparing for this trip? Did he go off to the capital? Was he being called on the carpet for something that he had done without any reference to you? Was he preoccupied entirely with a personal matter? Did his wife perhaps want to go home to her family for a visit or to divorce him? Had someone died? Are the crew members especially aloof? Was that group laughing at <u>you</u> when you walked by or at some innocuous joke?

You spend some time worrying about explanations. Is there something about the culture that you don't know? Have you violated some custom? Have you been personally insulting? Have you made an error in your work? Your supervisor happens to come from a relatively wealthy family with holdings in the national and provincial capitals. He has spent some time at school in one of the major African cities where he had considerable interaction with British and French teachers. You have found him to be pleasant and interesting person and have, until a few days ago, worked closely with him. Could it be that you have become too dependent on him and he wants you to work more on your own, or is the opposite the case? Perhaps telling the work crew about setting up the camp before he did was interpreted as interference with his authority.

The possibilities are tremendously varied. In this case, let us say the supervisor was simply too busy and preoccupied with personal matters to spend the accustomed time with the Peace Corps Volunteer. He had to go to the provincial capital to close a land deal, though he never did explain his absence, considering it none of the volunteer's business and probably not a matter of interest to him in any case. His grumbling on the first day was due solely to dyspepsia. His failure to check on the Peace Corps Volunteer's assignment during his absence was largely inadvertent, and when he returned he expressed regret. He was totally unconcerned about the volunteer's tardiness a few days earlier and just as unconcerned about his meeting with the Christian missionary. As a matter of fact, being a tolerant person and having been away from home himself for some time, he understood the volunteer's pleasure at meeting a fellow countryman and was quite pleased that the volunteer had spent such a pleasant evening.

But the case might have been quite different in this same country on the same job had the supervisor been a poor boy from a remote village who had risen to his present position through a mixture of personal ability and political influence. Under these circumstances the supervisor might have been overly status-conscious and thus could have been displeased with the volunteer's assumption of responsibilities, which he interpreted as interference. Or he might have been annoyed by the volunteer's tardiness if he had been under political pressure to complete the project quickly.

Had he been still another man, perhaps one who had had previous unpleasant contact with colonialists, he might have taken offense at the volunteer's enthusiasm at visiting the missionary. Another man who was essentially lazy and uninterested in the project might have found the volunteer's general closeness to be a matter of too much dependence and his behavior could have meant that he wanted the volunteer to take on more responsibility, perhaps to free himself of onerous duties. Had the circumstances been slightly different, any of these hypothetical supervisors might have been displeased at being persuaded to send an unsupervised work crew on

ahead to a new village if the village were politically dissident or if it were inhabited by tribesmen whose interests were not being furthered by the new road or even simply by natives who spoke a different dialect and needed a special approach to gain cooperation.

In the same circumstances there could have been a communication difficulty. The volunteer might have thought that the supervisor had agreed to send the work crew ahead, but he could have been wrong because of a few misunderstood words. The possible factors and explanations for an occurrence such as this could be endlessly ramified and quite realistically so. The point is that the volunteer must attempt to determine what the causes of such puzzling behavior might be. Moreover, he must be sufficiently knowledgeable about the country and the individuals he works with to think of realistic possibilities in any given situation. He cannot afford to muddle his way through thoughtlessly, nor can he allow himself the luxury of thinking about myriad implausible explanations having little or no bearing on the specific situation. It is essential in attempting to arrive at a solution that he be able to assume a reasonable facsimile of the indigenous person's point of view. Consequently, he must know enough about the man's background and be sufficiently sensitive to his attitudes and habits to understand his position.

Knowledge of a man's background includes knowledge of the way he is likely to behave because he is a member of a given social class or a citizen of a given country. For example, in our hypothetical case, tardiness would have been a negligible matter for most of the population of that country. The pace of most foreign countries is considerably slower than that we are used to in America, and in fact was an unrealistic possibility as the cause for the supposed difficulty. The supervisor had never before given evidence of a concern for time, nor had any of the work crew or other indigenous persons with whom this volunteer had come in contact. Had the volunteer been able to incorporate this indigenous notion of time in his analysis of the problem, he would quickly have dispensed with tardiness as a possible cause, thus coming a step closer to the true solution.

We cannot provide a volunteer with the mother wit or the substantive knowledge of peoples and cultures required for effective analysis of situations. There are, however, a number of indispensable general steps in any anaylsis. First, one should attempt to define the specific nature of the problem. For example, is the problem a genuine lack of cooperation or is there simply a communication difficulty? Essential information may be lacking and some active investigation may be in order. To go back to our hypothetical case, the volunteer might have come to an immediate solution had he asked someone, either an indigenous subordinate or perhaps his missionary friend, where and why his supervisor had gone. Here again, the value of personal relationship is evident. There would have been no problem at all if he had known someone sufficiently well to ask a simple question which a stranger might have interpreted as prying.

Second, one should define clearly one's own goals with regard to the problem -- that is, what one wishes to change in order to overcome the difficulty -- and the alternative courses of action which may accomplish the changes. The following incident is instructive:

> I made the mistake of putting a Hindu in charge of the Christians. There was a great deal of dissatisfaction and one of my counterparts came to me and told me that this was a mistake. I couldn't understand why. I said that I didn't see why a man's religion should make any difference on the job. He said that this was just

not done in this country and that there would be trouble unless I did something to remedy it. I couldn't just remove the man from his position without what I considered to be a legitimate cause, but I did see to it that he had almost no direct contact with his subordinates thereafter. This kept any friction from breaking out into the open. Many of them didn't really realize that that he was their supervisor.

The man's goal was to remedy a mistake -- specifically, to remove a cause of friction. He might have conceived of his goal as the need to remove the Hindu from his position, but he felt that he couldn't justly take that course of action. By recognizing that it would be sufficient to remove the perception of the man as a supervisor, he was able to satisfy both the Hindu and the Christians.

Third, as can be seen from the previous incident, one should attempt to predict the impacts of one's actions on other persons and their reactions. Analysis of the implications of one's actions is probably the most difficult task to accomplish effectively in the overseas environment. An act which appears to be relatively simple and straightforward may have many ramifications that are exceedingly difficult to envision beforehand, particularly in the absence of knowledge of indigenous customs and values. Consider the following incidents:

Between $70 and $100 was stolen from Miss A.'s house, and all evidence pointed to a former houseboy whom she still employed occasionally. A "sand-player" or "doctor-man" was procured to perform a trial by ordeal in order to ascertain the guilty person. Miss A. refused to allow this trial, as it was a "pagan way of ascertaining the truth." Before it could take place, the present houseboy, whom Miss A. trusted completely, confessed to the theft.

In this country, it is almost impossible for a person to admit guilt of any kind, since it involves a great loss of face. The houseboy was forgiven for the theft because of his bravery in admitting to it, and he paid back the money he had stolen. Thus, the guilty party had already been dealt with, but the "sand-player" refused to call off the trial, declaring that the medicine had been set and that it was what had caught the thief. Furthermore, he wanted his money -- $75 -- which was to have come from Miss A's native staff, who were willing to pay to be exonerated. But they refused to pay unless they could see the trial. The "sand-player" was accompanied by chiefs of various degrees of importance. An offering of $5 to the head chief was considered insignificant, and finally, through bargaining, $18 was set upon as the proper price.

* * * *

I was an Engineering Adviser. I noticed what was apparently misuse of government engineer equipment and bluntly asked the indigenous supervisor what the engineers were doing in a farming area with a bulldozer. I received an evasive reply which only served to further develop my suspicions. My approach was ineffective because I had put the supervisor on the defensive and thereby destroyed what had been an excellent relationship. He assumed a defensive attitude, changed the subject, and became

somewhat hostile. I could have developed independently more exact information, which I could easily have obtained. I could then perhaps have engaged in a more rational discussion of the propriety of using government equipment for the purely commercial project of dozing out new rice paddies for personal profit.

We have, as a matter of convenience, been discussing the analysis of problem situations in terms of examples in which difficulties have actually arisen. The same sort of analysis must be conducted in order to avoid difficulties. The points made about the definition of one's own goals, the examination of possible implications of alternative courses of action, and the selection of appropriate courses of action are all equally applicable to overcoming or forestalling difficulties.

Finally, the Peace Corps Volunteer should recognize that certain actions are inconsistent with his basic role. Even though a given course of behavior may represent maximally effective behavior in a particular situation, it may not be the optimum course in view of the overall mission. For example, in the following incident, an American attempted to improve the efficiency of a particular operation. He failed to realize that his improvement would have caused basic economic disruption by throwing people out of work:

> Barge loads of loose relief barley were being unloaded on the quay. Stevedores were carrying straw bags filled with grain from the barge and emptying them in an open pile on the quay. Another gang was shoveling grain from the pile into identical bags, weighing and tying the bags with rope. I suggested to the foreman that it would be quicker if the stevedores did not empty the bags and that the weight be adjusted from a sack left open at each scale for this purpose. This would eliminate handling the grain twice. He informed me he had tried my way but his was quicker. Since several barges had been unloaded I was unable to get the method changed. When the next ship-load was due to be unloaded I, with my interpreter-assistant, went to the unloading point and impressed on the foreman and his supervisors the wastefulness in time and grain which was inherent in their methods. I stressed that straw bags should not be used to unload the barges by emptying the grain on the dock and then filling identical bags. I had to leave this operation and go to another part of the harbor. But before I left, the foreman and supervisor agreed. No bags would be emptied. I returned late in the afternoon to find the barges being unloaded and found the operation proceeding to the letter of my instructions. The stevedores were not using straw bags to carry grain off the barge. Each man had two wicker baskets slung on a pole to carry the grain. But they were dumping it in a pile on the dock as before. I should have recognized the stevedores were trying to have as many people employed as possible (a practice not unknown elsewhere)

In this case, the American's role was not to make basic changes in the employment structure of his host country, but to improve the efficiency of loading and unloading procedures. His most effective course of action would have been to devise procedures which were in fact more efficient but which utilized all the personnel on hand. Or, lacking this recourse, he might have taken action to insure that displaced workers would have other work to do. One of his chief failings, of course, was not knowing the attitude and policy toward employment in the area, hence his inability to anticipate the consequences of his own behavior.

Planning and Preparing for Action

Anyone who has held a responsible job understands the importance and utility of planning. Those who have planned effectively also understand the flexibility required in implementing plans and the need to modify or discard elements in order to meet contingencies. Although the necessity for planning appears to be well understood by most Americans, often they fail to plan in sufficient depth to meet the greater number of contingencies that arise overseas. Furthermore, because of the many special difficulties overseas, such as inadequately trained people, frequent breakdowns or delays in communications, faulty or nonexistent equipment and facilities, there is a much more rigorous requirement to make relatively elaborate physical and psychological preparations before taking action. Consider the following incidents:

> We decided to develop an adult education program with the help of the Ministry of Education. We established a program of this kind in a number of nearby villages. None of the teachers were willing to live in the villages because there was no decent housing available. In order to solve the problem, I rented the local resort hotel for the winter months. This was a hotel that was used only during the summer season. Here we housed the various teachers who were sent to us by the Ministry. We also furnished the necessary transportation. I think that I could improve this kind of program now by developing a clearer understanding of what each person's responsibilities would be and to fix those responsibilities clearly with the appropriate Ministry before the work began.
>
> * * * *
>
> Two other Americans and I were to engage in Community Development activities. We failed to engage in the type of activity which we had contemplated, nor did we find a satisfactory substitute. We arrived during the winter and we had contemplated helping with the construction of dwellings. This was impossible during this season in this locality. We could have planned beforehand, we should have had more experience in the activity we planned to carry out, and we required more expert direction.
>
> * * * *
>
> In 1957 six Brahma bulls were shipped to Xieng Khouand province in an effort to up-grade the quality of stock in that area. Grass was lush -- belly high. In six months the bulls were skin and bones. No provision had been made for block salt and supplemental minerals to arrive with the bulls. Because such minerals had to be purchased on bid, it was six months before even salt was available -- finally purchased in Bangkok, three hundred miles away. Screaming could not hurry red tape procedure. The bulls were unfit for breeding purposes and became the laughingstock of the people.
>
> * * * *
>
> I was to show the first police training film at a rural police school. About 40 students were assembled and the projector was set up to show

a film I had brought with me. I failed to check the stability of electric current at the school before I turned on the projector. The projector bulb was burned out, there was no movie, the students were also disappointed, and I was very embarrassed. I should have taken along my own gasoline generator to provide a steady source of power for the projector. (I did later and had no more trouble.)

* * * *

At a meeting to determine the distribution of aid goods, I suggested a new approach to the problem which occurred to me during the meeting. It went over like a lead balloon. No one was prepared to discuss it; it wasn't on the agenda. It was not possible to introduce a wholly new approach to a problem without prior preparation. I might have been successful by discussing the new idea before the meeting, or by preparing a paper explaining it and getting the paper on the agenda for discussion.

* * * *

We were starting an artificial insemination program to improve the strain of cattle in the area but we failed to give adequate publicity and time for acceptance of this new idea. While a number of villages accepted the idea at first, many of them later rejected it. It became more difficult to work in those villages, and many rumors about us and our strange ways began to circulate. We should have restricted our program to one or two villages at the beginning and allowed success there to open up chances to try it in other villages.

These incidents illustrate a basic point: More things can go wrong in the overseas environment than one would anticipate in the United States. Thus, one must make preliminary arrangements which practically amount to creating a miniature environment which can be drawn upon to meet contingencies.

Essential requirements are the ability to foresee potential obstacles, failures, lacks, inadequacies, and misunderstandings during planning, and resourcefulness in meeting contingencies that arise to block effective action. Of course, it is also necessary to foresee one's goals and the alternative courses of action which can be taken to attain them. Again, we can submit only a few basic principles, trusting to the volunteer's intelligence and resourcefulness to apply them.

Whether in planning or in carrying out acts that are preparatory to accomplishing ultimate goals, it is often necessary to develop more alternatives and to go into them in more detail than is customary at home:

New instructions were received which required that the local staff submit detailed estimates of their needs for materials. We briefed them orally using generalized charts and indigenous interpreters. They proceeded to provide us with a list of items that was almost useless as it did not show their basic needs. The charts were too general and our connotations became distorted through indigenous interpretation to those in authority.

We should have had a complete, detailed set of charts and instructions orally and in writing. We should also have had them retranslated into English to assure their being understood.

* * * *

We often had to travel upcountry through the jungle and over mountains. In planning our trips, we not only had to make provision for shelter, food, clothing, gas and oil, spare auto parts, etc., but we carefully planned alternate routes because you could never tell when the road would be washed out or blocked by a landslide. We also carried little gifts for the mountain people.

* * * *

An American technician was visiting a private technical school at our request to provide information and counsel. I did not accompany him, so that he dealt directly with the local people. They did not speak English, as it was a rather provincial town, and his Spanish was not the best. As a result, the technician got the wrong idea about what the local people wanted to do with their school, and the local people did not correctly understand why he was there. (He arrived without informing me of the date of his arrival. I had informed the locals only that he would make the trip and I would tell them exactly when.)

The local people could not know exactly the reason for his visit, so when he showed polite interest in a church, they showed him eleven before he protested and said he wanted to see the school. He got a very bad impression about their willingness to cooperate, which was quite the opposite from the truth. I should have accompanied him, or else insisted that he inform me of the date of his visit so that I could inform the local group by phone to help them outline a program and have a translator on hand.

* * * *

The first step in installing a bank examination system was to prepare an operating manual and have it translated into French. Copies were given to officials concerned and they were encouraged to ask questions. Few were asked, largely for reasons of face, and it took some eight months to alter the situation through patient discussion. Most of the officials were suspicious and shy, and it took time to win their confidence. I worked constantly with them in their own offices and saw as much as possible of principal counterparts outside the office on social occasions.

* * * *

I was helping build an "off-the-ground" poultry unit using native and local materials. I supervised and assisted in the construction of the unit. Previously I had to draw up plans and a list of

materials which were to be on hand for the job. But I should have had a better knowledge of the local woods and materials, and known more about "primitive" construction, i.e., not using nails, wire, etc.

Preparation for action appears to involve essentially three kinds of measures. These are: 1) the preparation of verbal material, i.e., what actually will be said or taught; 2) the preparation of physical materials, such as training aids, manuals, tools, supplies, etc.; 3) the preparation of an appropriate psychological climate for the acceptance of proposals.

In all three cases, the acts of preparation are designed to provide oneself or others with ideas and things that may be drawn upon to accomplish major goals, e.g., teaching, gaining cooperation, having available creature comforts, etc., which would otherwise be unavailable because of the paucity of items or the novelty of ideas in the overseas environment. The preparation of people is something of a special case. It generally involves meetings with individuals or groups to establish rapport and a climate of acceptance for oneself, one's program or one's specific proposals. The following incidents illustrate the importance of this acceptance in carrying out a mission:

> I was responsible for the organization of a 4-H poultry club in a Hindustani community. First came about eight weekly meetings with several prospective local club leaders in what could be termed "leader training meetings." At the point when we were ready to go to the people in the community seeking the interest and support of the parents, a meeting was called for the parents. The "elders" of the community showed up. They listened and asked questions, and were favorable to the objectives of the program. Anything that goes for the community or for each family must be approved by the heads of the households, and these old gentlemen were the approvers. They did a lot of supporting as the club developed further.

* * * *

> The first class of village land workers had not received the full blessing of the Minister of Social Affairs. As a result they could not go to the village to work even after a year's training. We worked with the Ministry and after quite some time we were able to get them into the village at a lower salary. The boys were happy to go to work. It caused much delay in work in the village and was hard on the morale of the trainees. We should have obtained a clearance from the Minister before training was started.

* * * *

> I was planning a project of fairly long duration. First I presented the idea for approval, disapproval, or discussion with the understanding that whatever the indigenous "Chief" decided was perfectly satisfactory to me. Second, I outlined the idea in English to be translated into the indigenous language in detail and in simple terms. Third, I waited for a response from the Chief of the Division. The Chief liked the idea, accepted

it and made it his own, asking for my further aid. From this position, it was something I was doing for the Chief of the Division and not for myself or the United States. The Chief of the Division recommended to the Headmasters that they plan the program known throughout the country as "Activity Day."

The importance of preparation for acceptance of oneself and one's projects overseas and some of the specific techniques involved in accomplishing it effectively have been discussed in detail in chapters 3 and 5. It is essential to keep in mind that overseas more people must be more extensively cultivated before one can deal with substantive matters or gain specific cooperation and compliance. Another basic point to bear in mind is that one must take sufficient trouble in planning and preparation overseas to insure that events occur with the least possible difficulty. Any hitch in an operation is likely to have more extensive negative consequences and is far more difficult to recover from than is likely to be the case while working in one's home environment. More often than not, one has but one chance to be successful in any given undertaking and unless one takes the trouble to forestall difficulties, one is likely to magnify the probability of error, frustration, and ultimate failure.

The following accounts will give the reader some idea of the great range of situations in which careful planning and preparation are required:

When I arrived in the Philippines to begin work, there was no overall standard training program for local Extension workers at municipal, provincial or regional levels. I prevailed upon the Director of Extension to allow me to help place a training program covering each geographical area and affecting each Philippine extension worker. This program was planned and put into effect within a year. Four such training schools are now held each year and the quality of field work has greatly improved. We should have started on a modest scale in pilot provinces. This would have prevented some confusion and lost motion because of the inexperience of local personnel.

* * * *

We secured a Nepali team from the central part of the country to drill wells. Pumps, pipe, and cement were given by the U. S. if the pump was installed sanitarily. Their first two jobs failed. Reason: They reached a low layer of hard material their equipment could not penetrate. So much time was spent without getting results that only a few more wells were drilled before the monsoons started. The team quit and could not be persuaded back after the monsoons because they received so little money. We endeavored to get a well driller with proper equipment in the nearby Indian area, but we left Western Nepal before many wells had been drilled.

* * * *

A high ranking official wanted to come to the United States on a visit. I promised him that I would get him a trip to the U. S. I should have been sure before I committed myself, because the trip could not be arranged. He told his friends that he was

going to the U. S. on a visit, and when he could not go he complained that he had "lost face." He finally made the trip after I left and apparently regained face. I could have avoided this situation by being sure what I could do before opening my mouth.

* * * *

Ten Jersey heifers were assigned to an experimental station. Publicity attracted local livestock men to look at these animals and they ridiculed the quality of the stock. We should have explained beforehand that these were gifts and the quality would not be the highest; the animals looked worse than they really were because they had not recovered from the strain of the voyage; Jerseys as a breed are not sturdy but refined compared to the big-boned local stock. This too should have been anticipated. The end results was that local leaders were willing to discredit American efforts to help.

* * * *

I was not socially adept. When I was introduced to the Deputy, I knew he spoke some English but had no idea how much. I was nearly speechless but said a few words, then returned to my work. The Deputy greeted me, then waited; I passed up the opportunity to discuss what was expected or suggested for me to do. The party chief would have helped me -- had I tried. Some coaching might have helped, but I should have planned for this kind of opportunity to make the most of it.

* * * *

We distributed chicks to people during the rainy season. But we failed to realize that the rainy season was not a good time to raise chicks. Disease is rampant (chickens died). We failed to vaccinate the chicks and no medication was on hand. They came down with disease that could have been prevented by vaccination or cured with proper medication. But we failed to provide for either of them.

* * * *

Another technique used when visiting an outlying area was to obtain a local newspaper and have it read to him by an interpreter. He would note various items and mention them during conversations with local officials to show his interest in the locality.

* * * *

I was invited to a Japanese home for dinner. It occurred to me that the day I was invited with my wife and daughter was their holiday for dolls. I read the history of the celebration to

acquaint myself with the custom. This was the beginning of my friendship with my counterpart. He and his family were pleased that I had taken an interest in their customs.

* * * *

A ceremony was held to commemorate an anniversary of an institution. I was asked to make a comment. I learned in advance the nature of the event, prepared appropriate comments, had them translated, and memorized the translation, then delivered the comments in the local language. It established the opinion that I was interested in the indigenous people and their culture. They immediately exhibited a friendly attitude and accepted me into their group.

Communicating

Communication has been the most frequently cited factor involved in overseas effectiveness, and it is also the most frequently mentioned area of inadequacy. The following incidents are typical:

We had a fine, hard-working native boy with the responsibility of cleaning our house. He admired and respected us very highly. We had some items we could not find and felt he would surely know something about them, so we asked him if he had moved them or had taken them some place else. He thought we were accusing him of stealing and felt very badly. He could not understand English very well and we could not adequately express ourselves in Arabic.

* * * *

The Minister of Agriculture invited the U. S. Agriculture Staff and their wives to a reception honoring a prominent official who was making a two-day stop in the capital city. I was new to the city, having been transferred from Manila for the last six months of a two-year tour, and my vocabulary in the native language was practically nil. I went through the receiving line, smiled and used the few greeting words that I knew and then attached myself to one of the American staff who introduced me to the few local officials who could converse in English. After talking a short while with them, I departed. Although the Vietnamese realized the situation and probably held no ill feeling toward me, I was unable to do anything positive in creating a more friendly feeling toward me which in turn would be helpful in accomplishing my job.

* * * *

One of my duties consisted of maintaining a simple bookkeeping system. This required payment of creditors for supplies ordered for the Public Health College. Unfortunately, many of the local firms had little or no knowledge of English and I had not had the opportunity to learn their language. Consequently, the different

firms would call us for payment and could not understand why prompt collection could not be made. I had to rely on an interpreter whose knowledge was not the very best. At times, misunderstandings resulted from this situation and caused us embarrassment.

* * * *

In February of 1956, soon after my arrival in Iran, I was giving verbal instructions to two of my local employees, but realized they did not understand me. In my enthusiasm to communicate my ideas, I unconsciously raised my voice. From my actions and loud voice the two employees thought I was "bawling them out." This caused them to lose face. I could have waited until one of my locals, who was fluent in English and Farsi, returned to the office, and used him as an interpreter.

* * * *

The Americans had to be constantly reminded to use Spanish when there were Spaniards present. One of the biggest problems was misunderstandings due to a lack of mastery of the language. Wrong conclusions as to motives were drawn simply because the Americans could not or would not communicate.

We are concerned here not solely with the foreign language problem, but also with the more general problem of the transmission of information between human beings regardless of language. No language is fully adequate to deal with the dynamic complexities of the world, and perhaps language is least adequate in the broad field of human relations. One must simply recognize from the outset that the same visual and auditory signs and symbols evoke different responses in different people, and also different responses in the same person from one time to the next. When this difficulty is compounded by the gap between two languages where different signs and symbols are used first, for the same things, and second, for things and ideas that have no counterparts in disparate cultures, one realizes why the problem has bedeviled us so long and that, in fact, it is not likely to be readily resolved for a long time to come.

Effective communication is the single most pervasive requirement overseas and the most rudimentary prerequisite to further action and interaction, whether it be on the job, in social situations, or in such quasi-public circumstances as traveling and shopping. Only two basic states can exist with regard to face-to-face communication: Either one communicates through an interpreter or one communicates directly -- in one's own language, the other person's language, a third language known to both, or a combination of these.

Let us consider the use of an interpreter first. If the interpreter is truly bilingual, there are few problems. Certain concepts may still be untranslatable, and some nuances of meaning may not get across. On occasion the interpreter might deliberately distort a translation for extraneous reasons. These difficulties, however, are of negligible importance when compared to the much more frequent and extensive breakdowns in communication because interpreters are, in fact, seldom truly bilingual.

The existence of this problem must be recognized and appropriate measures should be taken to overcome it. A subsidiary problem lies in the fact that interpreters are understandably reluctant to show ignorance. Many of them are likely to try to muddle through at the expense of meaning. To ask for explanations, particularly when actually translating between two people, is an admission of a lack of proficiency in one's profession.

A few basic and simple principles can do much to alleviate these difficulties. First, one should speak slowly. This is an easy piece of advice to give but a surprisingly difficult one to follow, particularly when one is the heat of argument or exposition, or in an emergency. Second, one should not use slang, cant, jargon, or colloquialisms. One should use as few idioms as possible. Additionally, one should recognize that most interpreters have learned English by means of literary media and are not familiar with the special constructions, elisions, and distortions of vernacular English. The following incident makes the point well:

> In giving directions to my interpreter-driver who was to drive one of the local nationals to another village, I said, "The turn-off is to the left, a couple-three miles down the road." My interpreter thought this meant six miles and took the wrong turn-off. They got thoroughly lost; we had to send a search party after them when my interpreter didn't return at a reasonable time. We didn't find them till early the next morning.

Third, insofar as possible one should use non-technical English. The special terminology of our professions and vocations is rarely known to the ordinary interpreter. The special technical meanings of many ordinary English words that characterize some of our professional language are particularly difficult:

> This situation was centered on explaining a technical system to my counterpart. In my explanation of the system I unconsciously allowed myself to use technical language beyond his immediate comprehension. The U. S. technical jargon was too extreme and advanced a method of oral communication at that time. My counterpart begged indulgence to bear with him on understanding many words. He also desired an extensive course in conversational English. I might have made the explanation a good deal clearer by using simpler terminology, slower speech and a better understanding of his language approach.

Fourth, one should be redundant. Ordinarily repetition is annoying and is often the mark of a bore. But overseas it becomes a desirable quality. By repeating what one has already said, preferably using different words, one raises the probability that the interpreter will catch lost or elusive meanings.

Fifth, one should check on the interpreter's understanding of what is said. The best way to do this is to learn the indigenous language, at least enough of it to permit one to use certain English words and phrases whose translation one knows in order to determine whether the interpreter translates them correctly. If the persons with whom one is communicating through an interpreter do not follow through on agreements, do things contrary to suggestions, or do not understand what one is trying to say or teach, it is difficult to know whether one's own approach and methods are at fault, whether the other persons are not cooperating, or whether the interpreter is failing to communicate one's ideas. Certainly, if one has frequent difficulty he should be alert to the possibility that the interpreter is doing an inadequate job.

Some people have found it effective to explain the substance of messages to the interpreter rather than to require him to translate directly word for word. Explaining the message beforehand gives one a chance to check on understanding and to correct deficiencies, something that may take considerable time and is far more palatable to the interpreter in private than in public.

> I was teaching a technical subject. Involved were myself, my interpreter, and thirty indigenous students. I failed to explain the theory of my subject matter to the interpreter and to be sure he understood before delivering the lecture. The class was completely confused. The subject material was difficult to translate because of a paucity of comparable terms in the indigenous language. The interpreter botched the translation and lost considerable face as result. We should have gone over the material carefully before the lecture, and then I should have questioned the interpreter as to his understanding of the subject matter.

* * * *

> I was instructing indigenous persons in maintenance and supply procedures through an interpreter (informal). I treated the interpreter like a mechanic trainee and taught him all the "book" or theoretical studies. He learned quickly and was able to convey much information to students without my aid or a translation time gap. He appreciated it and apparently learned much.

Finally, one should make every effort to improve the interpreter's translating ability. One is likely to have many opportunites to speak with one's interpreter privately and it is on these occasions that the foregoing suggestions may well be violated in order to give the interpreter opportunities to encounter the difficulties of vernacular English and to practice his skills. Furthermore, certain translating ground-rules can be established in private which will forestall many later difficulties. For example, one can explain and establish common meanings for some frequently used terms. This was done by the American who reported the next incident:

> Initial training classes in the use of modern equipment indicated a variance in the nomenclature of parts from one session to the next. I got together with the interpreter and we set a standard listing of parts to be used in unvarying Chinese terms. I then proceeded to learn the terms (Chinese version) myself. In this way we were sure that the students all used the same terms and thus prevented confusion or misunderstandings as to the part and its functions. The students began to respect the fact that I had some command of the language.

In communicating directly, all of the principles mentioned above apply equally well whether one is speaking English or another language. One problem that is more likely to arise when communicating directly than when speaking through an interpreter is difficulty with pronunciation. Some regional American accents are particularly troublesome. An attempt should be made to speak in Standard American

English insofar as possible. This is closest to Standard British English (BBC English) and most foreigners will have learned either one or the other. In correcting one's foreign pronunciation only an attention to auditory detail and vigorous practice will make improvement.

If one can speak the indigenous language and/or a third language common to both parties, the choice of the appropriate language at various stages of the communication process is sometimes a problem. Beginning in the language of the host country often meets with approval, as the following incidents show:

> I was staying in an American home in the capital. Both Laotians and Americans were guests, but they were not talking with each other. (The Laotians spoke English.) I talked a bit in Lao to the Laotian girls and then tried to draw them out in English, attempting to bring the nearby American women into the conversation. I talked to the girls in their own language, a compliment few Americans pay to people of other nationalities. It was an attempt only, but it put them at ease to try English (which they spoke well). They relaxed and began to enjoy the occasion. If I had known more about the Laotian girls, however, I could have drawn them out more easily. And I had had a previous opportunity to learn.

* * * *

> In a foreign country no one can confine himself only to Americans. It is a bad policy. One should mix. I have been in situations where foreigners from other than the host country did not look well upon Americans because of their greater privileges such as the Commissary and PX. In groups, it was always good to be able to converse with nationals of many countries in their own tongue. I would learn all the words and phrases of all languages possible to be able to establish rapport. After this, English would be spoken because the majority could speak it. But the effort and interest taken to be friendly was half the battle. Friends were made and less resentment was felt.

* * * *

> I was preparing to dine with an indigenous family whom I had not met. I quickly picked up from some local friends a few courteous idioms and phrases used particularly by them after certain courses or acts. While we laughed together over my struggles at pronunciation, the family was definitely appreciative of my little effort to respond to them in their own manner. Of course, if I had been totally familiar with the language, much more could have been accomplished.

If one speaks the indigenous language well, there is no reason not to use it extensively. On the other hand, if one's command is poor and one's counterpart speaks English better, he may appreciate initial attempts in his language but might later become annoyed should a lack of fluency hinder business. In general, it is easiest to converse in the language in which both parties are most fluent. There are special cases where a third language which may be common to both parties is in

disrepute for ultranationalist reasons, usually because it was the language of the former colonial power. Rather than suffer inadequate communication or none at all, even such politically undesirable languages are useful and appreciated.

From time to time, one needs to resort seriously to gestures or to pictures in order to convey a message. In both cases, our tendency is to presume that the gestures and pictures familiar to us will also be familiar to others. Some, such as pointing, usually are; others are strictly American or even regionally specialized within the United States. Still others are widely used but carry different meanings in other countries, as the next incident shows:

> We have a few Americans who supplement their speech with their hands. In the Spanish world many ideas are conveyed with hand signs, many of which are equivalent to our four-letter words, and a lot more like them that we don't have in English. I told my assistant to keep his hands in his pockets until he had time to learn the local sign language. I have told this to more than a hundred people going to that part of the world.

Occasionally, because of difficulties over accents, some people have found it effective to resort to writing or drawing in face-to-face communication:

> I was asking for directions to a distant part of Saigon. Although the local policeman and I could speak French his pronunciation and mine made it impossible for us to understand each other. We resorted to writing and had no trouble.

* * * *

> We would make a game out of drawing pictures of the things we wanted to buy or find out about. The Chinese are an artistic people and they took up the "game" very rapidly; because of this we were able to accomplish our immediate goals far more rapidly. This carried a little farther too, in that when we were giving instructions the picture method was very effective. Sketch a map and they were ahead of you drawing it.

Aside from the foreign language problem, communication overseas is especially difficult because of differences in the general backgrounds of persons from disparate cultures. Familiar and seemingly similar concepts may in fact be very different. For example, the term "family" to an American ordinarily means parents and offspring. In many other areas, however, it refers to the extended family, sometimes encompassing many distantly removed cousins as well as all closer relatives. Differences in such implicit assumptions and implications are often mentioned as sources of error. A conversation may go a long way before it is realized that people have been talking about two entirely different things because their initial assumptions regarding the meaning of the words they were using were different. Whole programs of aid may suffer because of this:

> We assumed that host country officials knew they were to prepare an extensive list of items to be used for research and development in line with the policy that they would move from direct assistance to more self-help. But after weeks of work they came up with a

> list that was entirely useless for these purposes. We had been talking about different things all along and had not realized it because our assumptions were different and no one had bothered to clarify them.

Although the essential meaning of a given term or phrase may be understood by both parties, additional implications of the term may not be communicated at all. For instance, instructions to "put gas into the car" may be understood by both the American and his indigenous listener, but the latter still may not have the foggiest notion of how to carry them out because he does not know where the gasoline goes into the car. Few Americans would think to make the location of the car's gasoline tank explicit.

Fundamental differences in philosophy, modes of thought, and basic conceptions of cause and effect can make communication an exceedingly difficult proposition. Americans and most other Westerners tend to think of the world in dynamic, progressive terms. Effects are usually thought of as the results of one or more identifiable causal factors operating actively in time to reach an observable conclusion. In many parts of the world this is a completely foreign point of view. Causes and effects are not analytically differentiated; events are not thought to be the result of a series of operating factors but the existence of states of being that are apprehended immediately as wholes or by means of analogies to similar states having essentially similar sensual qualities. Thus a given language may have correspondingly few action terms and proportionately more passive-state terms.

The problem of bridging such profound and pervasive differences in thought is great. Meaning is ambiguous, assumptions are different, and implications may be lacking. Even more importantly, differences in essential perception of supposedly objective events and things may be different. These problems may be virtually insurmountable without extensive retraining of one party or the other. An American who worked in Sumatra sums up the problem:

> I would spend time with a man, planning the thing he was going to do and feeling that we had everything understood, and then he would go ahead and do the exact opposite. And I would wonder what in the dickens is wrong with that guy. I would talk about this particular thing in terms of my experience, and he would listen in terms of his experience. And we were far apart, talking about the same thing, using the same words.

One should use a level of abstraction that is appropriate to the listener. In general, concrete terms are more likely to have common meaning than highly abstract words. Consider the following incident:

> We were going to demonstrate a new piece of electronics communication equipment to a group of local nationals. I asked my assistant to "check it out" beforehand. He said OK, but he didn't have any idea of how to do it. It required a long series of tests and adjustments. I should have given him specific instructions, telling him exactly which knobs to turn, which dials to read, and so on.

It is extremely cumbersome, if not impossible, however, to speak only in concrete terms. As a practical matter, it is worth testing the listener's understanding of

various levels of abstraction before choosing the appropriate one. If one's conversation is pitched too abstractly, he may be communicating virtually nothing. On the other hand, if one is being too concrete he may bore the listener or insult him.

Sufficient detail should be used to expose differences in implicit assumptions and to do away as much as possible with the need for listener-drawn implications. Things should be made explicit:

> I was renting a house from an Iranian and after looking it over, I noted that the sanitary water closet was the Persian version. I told the Iranian that I could not use this facility and wanted him to "give me" a Western type water closet. The next day arrived and he had put a Western type in the bathroom; however, it was just sitting there without being connected and with no reservoir for flushing. I failed to state that I wanted it "connected to the water and waste pipes"; hence he assumed that I wanted it so I could pay to have it installed. He had fulfilled his part of the bargain and could not understand why I wanted more. One has to be extremely explicit in all dealing and make sure that every detail is covered.

In giving instructions, directions or explanations, it is desirable to state general objectives or ultimate goals in terms which are culturally meaningful to the listener -- also to express them in many ways, slowly, and at a level of abstraction which tends to insure that there is understanding. These general goals can then serve the listener as a guide to developing the means for reaching such goals, or to more ready understanding of the means you discuss with him. Some listeners will know without further discourse what action to take once goals are understood; others must in addition be told which relatively specific responses or actions are required to meet the goals.

In the first case, the understanding of the goals serves as a guide to developing the actions; in the second, understanding the goals serves to make the expression of means more understandable and also serves as a monitor on the reasonableness of misunderstood or vaguely understood methods. For example, if the listener understands that one wants him to go to a village in an area to the north, it will be easier for him to understand that you wish him to take one of several alternative roads leading in that direction, and if you have through some error of language or concept instructed him to take a road leading to the south instead, he can immediately note the discrepancy. In effect, the expression of general goals and specific means constitutes two ways of saying the same thing at different levels of abstraction, and consequently provides redundancy. If one or the other is misunderstood, the listener has at least a potential opportunity to correct discrepancies.

In general, the import of these suggestions has been to be more "talky," more explicit, more redundant, more detailed, slower in speech, than is customary or desirable at home. However, if these principles were carried to their conclusion, overseas operations would bog down in a morass of verbiage. Thus the final and most important principle is to determine and use changes in one's normal communications pattern that are appropriate to the individual listener.

A Sense of Proportion

This topic is probably the most perplexing and is likely to be the most difficult to apply in the overseas situation. A sense of proportion essentially refers to the sense of fitness or rightness accompanying any given act or undertaking. The fundamental behaviors which are involved are judging and decision-making. Let us consider some cases:

> I became very closely identified with the host country, both officially and personally. I went to their weddings, I participated in their feasts, I worked and played with them almost exclusively. As a result, I became very prejudiced in their favor. Basically, I failed to associate sufficiently with my own headquarters officials to realize that they had a viewpoint that, at least, merited consideration. I think that if I had exposed myself more to the thinking and thoughts of my parent organization I would have better served the mutual ends of both groups. I could have kept a better sense of proportion. I have noticed that many fall into this trap. The enrichment that overseas service gives and the contact with people of a host country often slants thinking. They tend, as I often do, to become the equivalent of "Old China Hands." This is normal, for at least to me, my life has been enriched beyond measure. Yet sometimes that enrichment can dull official judgments.

* * * *

> One of the daily nuisances I had to cope with outside my professional assignment was a large crowd of juvenile beggars, particularly shoe shine boys, who waited every morning in front of my hotel, either offering a shoe-shine or to get a cab for me. They belong to competing gangs. Accepting a service from one would have resulted in an open fist fight among the rest of them. Furthermore, it would have further enlarged the group waiting for me the next morning. I resisted every inclination to do business with this crowd, even when it meant that some of them followed me the whole way from my hotel to the office. Sometimes I escaped in a cab. However, at the point of my departure from the territory I succumbed to my desire to let them make a tip. One of them helped me with loading my baggage into the cab. In the middle of this operation a fist fight resulted. The police had to intervene. I should have remained firm in my intention of staying away from this juvenile gang to the very last second of my departure.

* * * *

> A conscientious objector violated his agreement not to proselytize by preaching pacifism to a group of indigenous Army officers. His contract was terminated.

* * * *

We were arranging for warehousing of food arriving at port. I asked to see the warehousing and then refused to assign food there when the warehouse proved unsuitable. This showed that inadequate facilities would not be accepted and set a pattern for the future which required that the nationals first check such things.

* * * *

Our work brought us into close contact with local people. All the employees of our center were natives. A complicated and rather unpleasant set of conflicts developed within the center, with natives against natives as well as natives against Americans. I failed to maintain impartial objectivity and supported the wrong faction because I felt it was right. This brought me into conflict with my own American colleagues. I was accused of supporting a "native" viewpoint against the educational aims of U. S. policy for that country. The worst possible situation for any American overseas to get into is one where, either justly or unjustly, he appears to be working against his own people.

* * * *

After watching a training demonstration, I accepted a ride back to town offered by the senior of two officials present. The junior official had invited me to to this exercise and was the person responsible for its conduct. The junior official was also very strong politically. He felt that my going back to town with the senior official was a snub, and because of his strong political ties, he was able to adversely influence my relations with many indigenous persons with whom I worked. After the incident, he treated me politely, but was not too friendly and did not come to me for advice or opinion. I should have politely declined to ride with either.

* * * *

U. S. technicians had to hold firmly to their principles that their project was to train teacher trainers and supervisors, not teachers. At the beginning many of the nominees for the four-month training course were just classroom teachers, not teacher trainers and supervisors. However, after firmly establishing this principle, the Institute had no more difficulty.

* * * *

I wanted to honor a Japanese member of my survey team, and so requested that he take the honor seat at the evening meal in the Buddhist temple in the village. At first I insisted that he sit in the honor position. He refused, and I was told he was right by all of the other Japanese scholars working with me, that we were new in the village and the local priest expected me (the

stranger from America) to be his guest. The Japanese all said I was in the wrong in insisting -- and I guess I was. I should have yielded earlier to the advice of my Japanese associates.

* * * *

A group of us were returning to our compound late at night. We discovered the guard on duty to be asleep. Instead of waking him, we took his gun away. In less than an hour he came in looking for his gun, claiming that he had mislaid it. Through an interpreter we told him we had taken it and we knew he had been sleeping on duty. We also told him that we were going to report this to his Commanding Officer. He broke down, cried and begged us not to. When we asked the interpreter what would happen to him, he told us he would be shot the next day. Rather than see this happen we gave him a very stern lecture and never turned in a report on the incident. In my opinion, by showing mercy to this man, we gained a little more respect from the interpreters. As far as I know, none of the others, other than the interpreters, knew the incident had occurred.

* * * *

Some American residents in the headquarters city asked for transportation from our organization to an outlying point. This request I did not meet, as I felt the bus was intended for refugee work only. I failed to make an adequate explanation or to try to substitute other plans, as a matter of courtesy. Worse yet, I neglected to inquire the purpose of the journey. It later developed that a serious emergency was involved, which concerned the welfare of a human being. My arbitrary ruling brought ill will toward the organization. Consideration of all human need, whether it is within our particular sphere of duty or not, is important.

In each of these incidents, the American was faced with the need to make a decision -- to select from among at least two courses of action the most appropriate one, although each had merits. Note also the variety of situations in which decisions were required. Each case is characterized (at least implicitly) by the following essential elements: 1) an order or hierarchy of values by which the individual was able to decide ultimately that some course of action was better or more important than another; 2) an estimation of the impact of the decision of his or others' future welfare and behavior; and 3) a comparison of the alternative courses by judging the merits of each with regard to primary values.

Although these elements are not requirements unique to the overseas situation, they present some special problems. Values differ between cultures. Although they are not usually utterly strange in the sense that they exist in one culture but are entirely lacking in another, relative orders of importance tend to differ. What an American thinks is most important often will be considerably different than his indigenous host's view of the same matter. For example, some cultures value indirection, ambiguity and circumlocution in communicating, whereas Americans tend to value clarity and conciseness. Not only are there likely to be gross cultural differences in relative orders of value but these may be complicated by more or less

subtle differences in personal values. It is therefore exceedingly difficult to judge the fitness of an act from another's point of view. Decisions that can be made at home with hardly a thought because one's associates tend to hold similar beliefs, often must be given searching deliberation overseas.

Another problem lies in the difficulty of estimating the actual impacts of one's acts on oneself and others. Acts and their consequences will be judged in the light of American and indigenous values. But, if errors are to be avoided, it is necessary to foresee the consequences so that they can be judged by both sets of standards before action is taken. This may be especially difficult overseas because an alien is rarely aware of all the factors that enter into a situation even when he is aware of the values by which they would be judged. Thus the overseas worker needs to know both the values of his hosts and the multiplicity of factors that may interact with his own behavior before he can judge the fitness of proposed courses of action.

Finally it is often also necessary to resolve basic conflicts between indigenous and American values. Consider the following case:

> We were selecting local students for training in the United States. We had established criteria of competence which included a working knowledge of English. For political reasons, the president of the country asked to see the lists of selectees and arbitrarily struck certain names off and substituted others, some of whom were entirely unqualified. Our first inclination was to protest this and to stick to our original criteria. But it was finally decided that it was not worth risking a major incident, and we acceded to his demands.

Here the ultimate impact of the alternative courses of action are not readily apparent or assessable. American as well as indigenous standards of integrity, honesty, and objectivity were compromised in order to maintain good will and perhaps the very existence of the mission. One could argue with merit that it is of overwhelming importance for us to export a philosophy of behavior, that our ideas are more vital than our practices. One could argue, also with merit, that we live in a real world composed of necessary compromises and that we stand no chance of conveying and instilling our ideals unless we do so in practical ways. Yet who can truly measure the effects of breaking a principle or violating supposedly objective standards?

It is not the purpose of this book to impose a set of values on the Peace Corps Volunteer. Rather, the purpose is to make it clear that he will be confronted with situations again and again to which he must bring a philosophy both rationally considered and deeply felt if he intends to behave in a mature and effective manner. His philosophy is of course expected to be consistent with the basic tenets of American democracy. His very life and work abroad are expressions of the American people's confidence in his responsibility and good judgment.

APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONAL SITUATIONS

Explanatory Note

The instructional situations in this Appendix can be used in two ways: (1) They can be used as role-playing situations in which trainees of the Peace Corps act out solutions to the problems as practice exercises. Their performance can then be analyzed and evaluated, and can serve as topics of class discussion. (2) They can be read without acting out the roles and used as the basis for guided instruction.

The situations are organized in series of ten or twenty problems, each series occurring in a common context. The context is described at the start of each series.

Each situation contains a specific problem to be solved. The section, Your Role, sets forth the general solution that is to be sought by the trainee. The section, Other's Role, describes the actions and attitudes displayed by other persons.

Relevant effective and ineffective behaviors which the trainee may exhibit in his attempts to find solutions are listed as Possible Behaviors. These behaviors are not exhaustive of all those that may be exhibited by a trainee, but they are based upon field data on actual performance in somewhat similar situations overseas.

After each situation there are Topics for Discussion, which are centered about a set of General Behavior Requirements for effectively meeting problems of this nature. Short paragraphs on the relevance of each general behavior requirement are also included for discussion by the trainees and their instructors. One possible line of expansion is suggested by the paragraphs listed under Cultural Variations. These are meant to be suggestive and the questions that are raised will often require a knowledge of cultural anthropology and ethnology which the instructor is expected to supply.

Finally, it should be recognized that the instructional situations must necessarily be specific to an assumed culture, since relatively few specific behaviors are universally applicable. Consideration and discussion of cultural variations should suggest specific variants of the general behavior requirements that may be suitable to other societies.

BACKGROUND FOR ALL PROBLEMS IN SERIES A

Peace Corps Volunteer (PCV) majored in biology in college, with a minor in chemistry. He has been trained and is now assigned to work in a tropical disease laboratory located in a medium-sized village. The laboratory itself is still under construction at the time of the PCV's arrival. He is to work as a laboratory technician under the direct supervision of an indigenous biochemist who has had considerable experience in tropical disease research. Since the PCV's arrival, work has been going on in temporary quarters. The construction party working on the lab is headed by a U. S. construction engineer who has spent several years in the country.

PROBLEM A-1

Situation

The PCV has walked down to the village at the end of the day. The U. S. construction chief invites him to the village coffee house for something to drink. The PCV accepts. They chat about the U. S., to which the construction chief is anxious to return after he completes his contract. The indigenous biochemist comes in and joins them, on the PCV's invitation. The construction chief continues to converse about the U. S. and things which he has in common with the PCV. The PCV tries to change the topic of conversation, but fails. The indigenous biochemist also tries to change the subject by making remarks about the weather. Failing, the biochemist has fallen silent. The construction chief excuses himself and leaves.

Your Role

The indigenous biochemist now seems somewhat aloof, and doesn't volunteer conversation. It is up to you to try to get on good terms with him again so that your future work relationships can be friendly and productive. Some of the actions you might consider in order to do this are: showing an interest in the indigenous person; making him feel important again; and giving an explanation for the chief's behavior.

Other's Role

Indigenous biochemist will respond to demonstration of interest by PCV in him, his country, or his work.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Makes remarks about pleasure at being in the country, asks questions about history, accomplishments, etc., which the biochemist can answer readily and with pride.

2. Makes complimentary remarks or asks questions about the biochemist's work.

3. Apologizes, indirectly, for behavior of construction chief by mentioning that he probably has not had news from his home in a long time.

4. Brings up a topic of mutual interest, such as progress on the construction of the lab.

b. Ineffective

1. Parts from biochemist without re-establishing rapport and good will.

2. Makes derogatory remarks directly about the construction chief's behavior or actions.

3. Apologizes for the construction chief in such a manner as to further insult the biochemist, e.g., "He hasn't had a chance to talk to an American in a long time," or, "He is anxious to return to the U. S."

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Respecting others and demonstrating interest in persons and culture.

2. Preventing potential loss of status of an indigenous person.

3. Explaining reasons for behavior of other Americans (or self).

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Respect for and interest in others are important in establishing rapport and friendly relations. Friendly relations, in turn, are essential to harmonious work relationships and the giving and receiving of the cooperation necessary for meeting mutual goals and objectives.

2. If individuals lose status in the eyes of others (or think that they have), they will be on the defensive in the future. This attitude leads to friction and a loss of trust which tends to increase and thus to corrode formerly frank and forthright interpersonal relationships.

3. Often, misunderstanding is the result of lack of information. An explanation of circumstances or facts, if presented in a tactful manner, can frequently remove a misunderstanding.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Demonstrating interest in persons can be accomplished through asking questions, bringing up specific topics of interest, etc. In almost every culture, however, certain topics or questions are not discussed. Cite some cultural differences.

2. Status is socially defined in different cultures in different ways. Therefore, remarks and actions should be directed towards enhancing status within the culturally defined context. Cite some differences in ways status is conferred in different cultures.

3. An explanation must be meaningful within the value system of the culture in order to be successful. Different cultures place differing emphases on the validity of various "excuses" or explanations. Cite some differences.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM A-2

Situation

The PCV sees an adolescent boy looking into boxes of equipment and books which have been arriving. There have been some recent thefts.

Your Role

You are to find out what the boy is up to---why he is poking around the boxes. Some of the actions you might consider are: trying to get at the facts; finding out something about the boy.

Other's Role

Boy is curious. He can read and has been taking correspondence courses in radio and sewing machine repair. He is interested in science. Boy will not volunteer this information, since he is very shy about his ambitions. His father is the village carpenter and the boy is expected to follow in this trade. The boy will respond only after some encouragement, but if encouraged he will become enthusiastic.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Asks boy specific questions about his interest, whether he is familiar with the equipment, etc.

2. Explains what the equipment is used for and how it works. Asks about the boy's interests.

3. Encourages boy, by using a friendly and approving manner, to talk about what he has done and is doing.

4. Expresses pleasure at finding boy talented, and compliments him on his achievements.

5. Indicates willingness or desire to have the boy work with him if a job should come up on which the boy's talents might be useful.

b. Ineffective

1. Summarily asks for an explanation of what the boy is doing; accuses, threatens, or punishes him.

2. Excuses the boy and lets him leave without attempting to find out more about him.

3. Fails to unearth relevant information about the boy.

4. Gives up on getting information when the boy proves shy and reticent.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Learning facts of situation.

2. Acting fairly.

3. Demonstrating interest in a person.

4. Perceiving the potential talents of an indigenous individual.

5. Exhibiting generally friendly behavior.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Much damage can be done by precipitous action. Learning facts of a situation may require a subtle and particularly non-threatening approach in this case since recent events tend to prejudice the PCV's initial perception of the situation in a way that may lead him to make a virtually irretrievable error.

2. False accusations may damage or destroy friendship and confidence. Once confidence has been lost, it may prove difficult or impossible to restore good interpersonal relations.

3. Demonstrating interest in others not only wins friends, but also makes it possible for one to learn more about others. Showing interest in others encourages persons to communicate things about themselves which otherwise would remain hidden through shyness or lack of confidence. Such conversations increase the likelihood of discovering talents and abilities.

4. While certain accomplishments would seem modest in the U. S., in other environments they may represent a very high level of initiative and hard work, as well as basic aptitude. Identifying individuals with potential skills for making contributions may greatly facilitate the work of the PCV and his indigenous colleagues.

5. In order to make friends, one must make oneself accessible. Being generally friendly -- starting a conversation, showing interest in persons, etc. -- is a basic step in the right direction.

c. Cultural Variations

1. The kind of information likely to be volunteered will vary from culture to culture. Some cultures have clear injunctions against discussing or revealing certain kinds of information. Cite examples.

2. Fairness is a function of each society's values. It may be fair to give the choicest portion of something shared to the men in one culture and to the children in another. It may be fair to chop off a hand for stealing in one place, to collect an indemnity in another or to imprison the thief in a third. False accusation is probably universally considered to be unfair.

3. Cultures vary with respect to the propriety of showing one's skills and abilities. Thus, the amount of probing necessary to elicit information will also vary. Cite specific examples.

4. (See paragraph 3. above.)

5. A given act which is considered friendly in one society may be considered cold in another or "pushy" in a third. Cite examples.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM A-3

Situation

Someone is needed to help around the lab. The PCV feels that a boy he has talked with would be a good candidate for the job. However, the indigenous biochemist has been considering offering a job to a village official who can be helpful in dealing with the people up-country. The PCV would be happy if the boy could be employed on a part-time basis. The PCV has been invited to the indigenous biochemist's house for tea and is just arriving.

Your Role

You are to try to get the biochemist to agree to take the boy on in the lab. Some of the actions you might consider are: recommending the action casually; showing respect for the biochemist's position.

Other's Role

Indigenous biochemist has planned to give job to a village official who has many connections up-country. If the PCV is direct in suggesting that the boy be hired, the indigenous biochemist will become defensive, accusing the PCV of stepping out of line. If PCV is subtle and circumspect, indigenous biochemist will readily grant him permission to hire the boy part-time.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Casually brings up subject of hiring boy within context of conversation by:

   a) mentioning acquaintance with the boy,

   b) informing biochemist of boy's accomplishments and interests, and

   c) indicating it would be desirable to develop boy's capabilities.

2. Refrains from making a direct recommendation that the boy be hired.

3. Does not boast about own role in discovering boy's capabilities.

4. Reassures biochemist, if appropriate, that he (PCV) is not attempting to step out of line or to assume authority.

5. Maintains non-assertive and respectful manner throughout conversation.

b. Ineffective

1. Brings up subject of hiring boy in direct, assertive manner, making specific recommendation that he be hired.

2. Argues for boy's value for job in the face of reticence or reluctance on part of indigenous biochemist.

3. Responds insensitively to indigenous biochemist's suggestion that he (PCV) is stepping out of line. Makes such remarks as, "Don't be silly," or, "That's ridiculous, I'm doing no such thing."

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Introducing recommendations casually in a social situation.

2. Providing information which will permit another to develop an idea as his own.

3. Maintaining appropriate role.

4. Showing interest in welfare of persons (boy's technical development).

5. Overcoming strain (explaining, reassuring).

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Frequently antagonism is created by direct attempts to introduce recommendations or to effect changes. The role of the PCV is to help and aid, not to "take over." If recommendations are presented directly, they sometimes look like orders or directives. Therefore, a casual suggestion is often the better approach.

2. Providing information about the boy's potential skills gives the biochemist the opportunity to make hiring the boy his own idea and to make a decision without pressure.

3. The role of the PCV clearly does not allow him to try to "run the show." His deportment should be modest. Boasting of his own accomplishments might indirectly place the biochemist in an inferior light or create an attitude that Americans think themselves superior. In all his relationships, the PCV must remember his role as a helper and a guest.

4. Showing interest in the welfare of individuals is likely to correspond with showing an interest in the country, and may be taken as a sincere compliment.

5. No matter how well one is able to get along with others, there will be moments of strain. It is important that the PCV be sensitive to these occurrences, and that he take action immediately to reduce or eliminate any strain or tension. Reassurance and explanation will often help remove sources of tension.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Some cultures have prescribed procedures for indirectly introducing recommendations or suggestions. Cite some examples.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

3. The limits of behavior allowed in a role will vary from culture to culture. Some will allow more or less familiarity, frankness of discussion, directness in dealing with certain topics, and so on. Cite examples.

4. Individual welfare is of secondary importance in many cultures. Cite examples.

5. How one best deals with a tense or strained situation also varies from culture to culture. In some societies elaborate apologies are required; in others only subtle allusions would be appropriate. Cite other examples.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM A-4

Situation

The biochemist has agreed to hire the boy part-time. The PCV goes to the boy's house to tell him about the job at the lab. The boy and his father are working in the shop. The boy has introduced the PCV to his father and then says nothing further. The father invites the PCV to be seated and to have a cup of tea.

Your Role

You are to get the father to allow the boy to work part-time in the lab. One thing you might do is to point out the advantages of his son's working in the lab.

Other's Role

Father is reluctant to let boy work at the lab. It is traditional for men in the family to be carpenters. Father says, "What will people think? They will say that my business is bad and can't support my son, or that we have quarreled." He will point out how much he needs the boy in the shop. Finally, he will yield if given a face-saving excuse or appeal.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Explains purpose and nature of work at the lab. Points out that boy will do carpentry at the lab in addition to other duties.

2. Points out that job will be part-time only and that son will still be free to help his father.

3. Points out the advantages of his son's working at the lab, e.g., learning about things that may make further schooling possible; understanding more about health and disease so that he can help his own family; preparing himself for doing things which will be important in the future of the village.

4. Points out indirectly that this may result in greater status for father and son in village.

5. Expresses appreciation to father for favor.

b. Ineffective

1. Fails to make positive arguments.

2. Dismisses father's reluctance casually and tells him something like, "Don't worry about what others think," or, "That's not important."

3. Gives up after first request has failed.

4. Shows annoyance or impatience with father's attitudes.

5. Brings son into discussion and asks him to take sides.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Respecting other's customs.

2. Adducing personally and culturally meaningful arguments.

3. Pointing out practical advantages.

4. Appealing to deeply felt motives.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Respect for the customs and traditions of others is everywhere a requisite for building social relationships. Disrespect for customs implies criticism, lack of personal esteem, and general degradation. Furthermore, a single slight can often have long-range repercussions. One incident in which a person is offended can, through rumor and gossip, become magnified into the equivalent of a whole series of slights. In addition, after such an incident, the offended individual may have a tendency to read into other acts slights and subtle insults which do not exist.

2. All changes occur within a specific context. One cannot remove something of value without replacing it with something which is also of value in the culture. Any change which is introduced must be related to the individual's goals and life purposes if it is to be accepted.

3. People usually do things in order to achieve something for themselves and their families. Pointing out the practical advantages of certain actions will frequently make these actions more acceptable. Which particular advantages are stressed will depend upon which motives are most deeply held by the individual involved.

4. (See paragraph 3. above.)

c. Cultural Variations

1. Customs and social forms, of course, differ from culture to culture. The importance of traditional occupations, for example, varies. Cite some examples.

2. In this situation, personal prospects for the boy is used to gain the father's permission to hire him. However, personal achievement, if it may set the individual apart from his group, is not universally valued. Cite examples of cultural differences with respect to the value of personal achievements.

3. Motives and goals are related to the values of the culture. These are extremely varied. Cite examples of strong, culture-bound motives.

4. (See paragraph 3. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM A-5

Situation

The boy has now been working at the lab for a few weeks and shows real promise. He seems to enjoy his work and has greatly improved in his reading skills. This morning he came into the PCV's office and said that he wants to become a scientist. He said that he would work very hard if the PCV would tell him what to do. While he reads and appears to have the equivalent of a 5th or 6th grade education, there are no local opportunities for him to get even the equivalent of a high school education. Opportunities for university training are even more remote. The PCV has told the boy that he would think about the problem.

Your Role

You are to prepare a brief outline of the possible courses of action you might take in dealing with this situation. You have 15 minutes to do this.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Asks questions and tests the boy's mastery of material in gradual steps.

2. Offers to tutor the boy in the evening or after work.

3. Sets up a series of sub-goals which can be met with relative ease; e.g., reading specific chapters of a book, mastering a particular technical concept or procedure.

4. Arranges for the boy to carry out various projects on his own which take full advantage of local resources.

5. Writes letters to various educational facilities, including those offering correspondence study, requesting information about requirements and opportunities.

6. Obtains catalogs and orders text-books or study materials for the boy.

b. Ineffective

1. Assumes mastery of something without testing the boy's understanding.

2. Tells the boy that there is little or nothing that can be done to help him meet his goal.

3. Encourages the boy in hopes that may be beyond his opportunities or capabilities; e.g., graduate training or a university degree.

4. Sets objectives which are very long-range or excessively time-consuming; e.g., reading a whole series of books, mastering a great deal of technical material.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Reading and research (on the boy's behalf).

2. Making efforts beyond normal requirements.

3. Doing favors.

4. Adapting to local conditions (using local resources for boy's self-education and development).

5. Checking understanding.

6. Setting goals and sub-goals.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Assistance offered the boy should be based on a knowledge of the facts. By finding out about available opportunities and educational facilities, the PCV will be in a better position

to give future assistance to others as well as to help the boy now. Such research should also acquaint the PCV with other aspects of local conditions and make him more sensitive to the needs of the people.

2. In making some additional personal effort on behalf of the boy, the PCV will be demonstrating his sincere interest in the community and its members. He may be able to make new local friends among those who perceive this additional effort as an index of his sincerity. However, even if he receives no actual credit, such an effort may give the PCV a feeling of accomplishment and personal satisfaction. In tutoring the boy, for example, the PCV will be performing a meaningful task which should prove personally rewarding. He will become better acquainted with the boy, and will learn a great deal about the feelings, goals, and needs of the villagers which will enable him to work with them more sensitively and perceptively in the future.

3. (See paragraph 2. above.)

4. By using local resources to develop the boy's skills, the PCV will acquire first-hand information about specific local conditions. He will also be giving the boy something to do which can have an immediate impact on the boy's need to accomplish something.

5. If understanding and comprehension are not checked by the PCV at every step, the boy could make a mistake which, whether serious or minor, might cause him to lose confidence in himself and in the PCV. When errors are compounded they become more difficult to correct. It is important for effective learning, therefore, that small errors be corrected as they occur.

6. If goals are too distant or difficult, people tend to become discouraged and frequently stop trying. The setting of sub-goals that can be easily met provides opportunities for individuals to finish something specific and to feel satisfied and rewarded. The satisfaction of accomplishment makes the next sub-goal appear easier and more attractive.

c. Cultural Variations

1. The ways in which information can and should be obtained will depend on local conditions. Furthermore, the task of gathering information may prove more frustrating in one culture than in another. Cite some examples.

2. The way in which favors are offered will depend upon the customs and practices of the society. The same act may be viewed as an attempt to curry favor in one society and as kindness in another. Cite examples of cultural differences in offering favors.

3. (See paragraph 2. above.)

4. When a project or task is set up for an individual, the kinds of persons who should be informed or consulted differ from culture to culture. Cite some examples.

5. The degree to which individuals find it socially permissible to admit ignorance or misunderstanding varies from culture to culture. It is important to determine how errors should be corrected in a specific social environment. Cite differences from culture to culture in admitting or revealing one's lack of understanding of a problem or situation.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM A-6

Situation

The biochemist has hired one of the local villagers to work at the lab as an assistant directly under his supervision. The new employee is an older man who has many relatives and friends up-country, and is regarded as an important man in the community. In addition to his job at the lab, he also holds a post as a minor village official. At the lab, his duties consist largely of keeping records of specimens brought in by the villagers, and labeling the specimen containers. Each villager participating in the project has been given a number which is on record at the lab. When specimens are brought in, the container must be labeled with the appropriate number, and the date entered both in the record book and on the container. It is important that the correct numbers be entered, because an experiment is going on in which different villagers are receiving different medications, and the results are to be compared. The biochemist is not in the lab this morning, and the PCV notices that the new assistant, when he labels the containers, has been asking the villagers what their numbers are, instead of looking for the numbers in the record book. He is also neglecting to note dates in the record book.

Your Role

You are to correct the procedure being followed by the new assistant. Unfortunately, however, his English is rather poor, and you have not yet learned enough of his native language to communicate effectively.

Other's Role

Assistant will follow directions, but does not understand many English words. If PCV uses a word such as "container," the assistant will become bewildered. He will also indicate that he does not consider the PCV his supervisor. Finally, if PCV is tactful, assistant will grasp what is to be done.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Tells assistant deferentially and respectfully that it would be helpful if he would list the names and numbers of the villagers as they come in, or note in the record book the date on which the specimen was delivered.

2. Patiently explains words which the assistant does not understand.

3. Uses pictures, or demonstrates what is to be done, rather than relying on oral explanation.

4. Has assistant do a few entries in the new way in order to determine how well he understands.

5. Praises assistant when he performs correctly.

6. If strain threatens to develop, decides to effect change through indigenous supervisor.

b. Ineffective

1. Accuses assistant of making errors or of not doing the job properly.

2. Fails to communicate the idea of what is to be done, or fails to explain his words.

3. Fails to speak in deferential and respectful manner. Becomes exasperated.

4. Fails to determine extent of understanding.

5. Fails to compliment the assistant on his understanding.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Acting respectfully, according to relative social positions.

2. Speaking understandably, non-technically, and repeating patiently.

3. Demonstrating as an effective instructional technique.

4. Determining extent of understanding.

5. Rewarding successful performance.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. If the PCV were to point out errors to the assistant, this would constitute a violation of the PCV's role. He is not the assistant's supervisor and should not assume this authority. Furthermore, the PCV is a young man and a stranger to the community, whereas the assistant is an older man with considerable status. If the PCV does not maintain his role and observe appropriate lines of authority, he could seriously offend the assistant, an act which could turn the whole village against the activities of the lab. Treating individuals in accordance with their social position is a critical element in interacting with them harmoniously. Failing to treat people of high status with the respect and deference customarily accorded them will most likely be perceived as an insult, and may be construed as the result of hostile intent.

2. In dealing with someone in a situation where there is no common language, it is important to speak slowly, clearly, and non-technically. It may often be necessary to repeat a point again and again in a variety of terms before the point is understood. It may be necessary to rephrase the point completely in more understandable language. The burden of communication here is on the PCV, and he should not expect much assistance from the indigenous person.

3. If the PCV cannot get his ideas across in language alone, it is likely that he may be able to demonstrate or draw pictures to illustrate what is to be done. This is often an effective and understandable method of communication.

4. The PCV should check to be sure that he has put his point across.

5. Acknowledging that someone is now doing something correctly provides motivation for similar performance in the future. It is a simple matter of rewarding the effort of trying to understand and to do the job correctly. Rewards are an integral part of instruction, and can be very effective in getting people to learn, in changing their behavior, and in developing good will.

c. Cultural Variations

1. The behavior required of someone in a junior or subordinate position differs from culture to culture. Initiative on the part of subordinates is tolerated in varying degrees in different cultures. Cite examples. The attributes which are accorded high status in a community will not always be the same. Age is not always revered, nor is legal or political status always a mark of social status. Cite examples.

2. The degree to which technical language can be used and understood varies from one culture to another. Cite examples.

3. Sign language is almost universally used, but the signs may have different specific meanings in different cultures. Cite examples.

4. These are principles of effective teaching, and are likely to be valid in any culture. Discuss exceptions, if any.

5. (See paragraph 4. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM A-7

Situation

A report has been received of an outbreak of typhus farther up-country. The lab keeps a stock of drugs for such emergencies. The biochemist, the assistant, and the PCV are all going up-country by jeep. The PCV has suggested to the biochemist that they take along the boy who is the part-time helper, and the biochemist has followed the suggestion. The group arrives at the village en route where they are to spend the night. The assistant begins by treating the boy as his servant, saying, "Put that over there. Bring me a towel.... Hurry, I need some water to wash my hands." The boy had worked very hard that day - loading and unloading the jeep and changing a tire - and appears very tired. The PCV, without thinking, has just said, "Here, I'll get you the water, leave the boy alone - he's had a harder day than we have." Both the assistant and the biochemist look very displeased at this remark.

Your Role

You are to react to the apparent displeasure of the assistant and the biochemist.

Other's Role

They will accept apologies, but if PCV says anything additionally offending, they will withdraw.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Apologizes immediately for his thoughtlessness in interfering with local practice.

2. After apologizing, explains that few people in the U. S. have servants; that he is inexperienced in dealing with such situations; and he hopes they will help him learn to behave more appropriately.

b. Ineffective

1. Excuses himself and leaves the scene with no further action.

2. Says something additionally offending, such as, "We don't do things in the U. S. like you do here....we don't treat our people that way."

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Recovering from own ineffective action.

2. Overcoming strain (apologizing).

3. Explaining own actions.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. While it is important to avoid making mistakes, it is almost inevitable that some error or faux pas will occur. Immediate action is essential to restore good relations. Failure to restore good relations may lead to the impression that the ineffective action was deliberate and not inadvertent.

2. When strained relations are perceived, appropriate measures should be taken to overcome this strain -- in this case, apologizing for the act which precipitated the breach. Defensive behavior (trying to justify the act or assert its correctness) will frequently lead to additional strain.

3. Most people are sympathetic to the problems strangers have in becoming accustomed to unfamiliar circumstances. Explaining that an act was based on ignorance and appealing for help to overcome this ignorance is a likely way to promote good will and understanding.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Most cultures have prescribed rules for making amends in the case of ineffective or offensive behavior. Cite examples.

2. The cultural form in which apologies are rendered often differs from country to country. Sometimes specific forms of address or self-effacing speeches are required. Cite examples.

3. Explaining one's actions through ignorance may be interpreted as weakness in some communities. Cite examples where this technique might weaken the PCV's position.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM A-8

Situation

The biochemist has gone to a small village to distribute drugs, leaving the PCV, the assistant, and the boy to handle drug distribution in a large village. But before the drugs can be distributed, it is necessary to make contact with the village elders and explain to them what needs to be done. This is necessary to overcome the reluctance of the villagers to submit to treatment. A dialect is spoken with which the PCV is not familiar. Both the assistant and the boy can speak the local dialect. The boy, in the presence of the assistant, has just volunteered to make the contacts, saying that he thinks he has met one of the village's elders at a religious ceremony in his home village.

Your Role

You are to decide what to do and carry out the action.

Other's Role

If PCV makes a correct decision, assistant will compliment him on his thoughtful insight into the relationships which prevail in the country. If PCV makes an incorrect decision, however, the assistant will merely indicate what the correct behavior should have been in the situation.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Asks the assistant to take charge and to make contact with the village elders in whatever way he thinks best.

2. Asks the assistant's advice on how the contacts should be made and what should be done to facilitate distribution of the drugs.

b. Ineffective

1. Sends the boy to make the contacts.

2. Tells assistant that he is sending the boy to make the contacts since he knows one of the elders.

3. Tells either or both that he will make the contacts himself, using the boy or the assistant as an interpreter.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Using an intermediary.

2. Preventing potential loss of indigenous status.

3. Allocating tasks appropriately.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. It is important to recognize when a direct contact by an outsider should not be made, and also to select the appropriate indigenous person to make the contact. An indigenous person is aware of the fears and qualms of his people regarding such new and different things as drugs, and is often in a better position to overcome these fears which impede the reaching of objectives. It is also crucial that the right person be selected as an intermediary, since the personal status of the intermediary and his general image in the eyes of others will influence their acceptance of his message. Sending a very young person to see the village elders would be most inappropriate when a more mature and high-ranking intermediary is available. The consequences of the wrong choice could well be either overt refusal by the villagers to take the drugs, or apparent acceptance of the drugs which they may later throw away.

2. The mission is not only jeopardized by selecting the wrong person as an intermediary, but there is the possibility that a serious insult may have been inflicted upon the person who should have been selected. Such an insult could lead to a permanent rupture of relations among persons important to the success of an entire project.

3. (See paragraph 1. above.)

c. Cultural Variations

1. The appropriate person to be selected as an intermediary is not necessarily always the eldest. Some cultures value and assign high status to personal qualities or background factors other than age and political standing. Cite examples.

2. The gravity of a particular type of slight (such as bypassing the correct intermediary and selecting someone else), will vary from culture to culture. Cite examples.

3. (See paragraph 1. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM A-9

Situation

Upon return from up-country, the boy continues his progress at the lab. However, he begins making excuses to avoid the tutoring sessions with the PCV in the evenings. After about a week, the boy says he will not continue with the tutoring, but will not explain why. The PCV has gone to visit the boy's home to find out what is wrong. His father invites the PCV to have tea.

Your Role

You are to find out what is wrong, and try to devise methods to overcome any difficulties.

Other's Role

Father is embarrassed about son's accepting so much of the PCV's time. The father cannot afford to pay in money for the tutoring, and does not want to accept such services free. When questioned by the PCV, he says, "I have no money to pay for your services, and it is not right that I should not pay something for all your time." The father will not volunteer to pay in goods (carpentry work, e.g., building a table for the PCV), but he will accept such an exchange if it is suggested by the PCV.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Asks father if he knows why boy does not want to continue tutoring.

2. Explains to father that it is part of his (PCV's) job to help local people develop their talents, and that he derives great satisfaction from tutoring the son.

3. Suggests that if the father wishes, he can pay for the tutoring with carpentry services, such as building something for the PCV.

b. Ineffective

1. After finding that father does not want to accept tutoring without charge, excuses himself and leaves.

2. Minimizes or scoffs at father's reservations at accepting tutoring for his boy.

3. Insists on continuing the tutoring on previous basis.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Respects other's ideas and feelings.

2. Explains goals and tasks.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Failure to respect the feelings and ideas of others frequently leads to antagonism and tendencies to avoid the person who has failed to pay the proper respect. Feelings of independence, pride, and personal integrity can all be threatened by insensitive acts.

2. When personal differences have occurred as the result of some lack of understanding by others of the role or tasks of the PCV, an explanation by the PCV of his role should help reduce the misunderstanding. It should not be expected, however, that an explanation will automatically lead to capitulation on the part of others to the objectives or aims of the PCV. Furthermore, even when the PCV accedes to the preferences of others, an explanation of his previous position often helps clarify matters and restores good will.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Accepting services without payment of some kind is not always a source of discomfort. Different cultures emphasize different areas of sensitivity. Cite examples.

2. Goals and tasks should always be expressed in terms of important and meaningful values of the culture and the individual. Cite illustrations.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM A-10

Situation

A field trip for collecting specimens has been set up. Since the trip will involve travel into very rough country, it must be undertaken on foot with pack animals. Two villagers, each of whom has one animal, have been engaged for the trip. The lab director had to return to his house for some final errands and has sent the PCV to supervise the loading of the animals. Upon arrival at the scene, the PCV is confronted with a dispute which has broken out between the men. One animal is needed to carry foodstuffs and camping gear and the other to carry lab equipment. Evidently food and camping gear are considered "low status" compared with the lab gear, and the men are arguing over whose animal is to carry which load. One of the men, who arrived ahead of the other, packed all the lab gear on his animal and the other man is now attempting to pull the pack off. Each wants his animal to carry the lab gear for the entire trip.

Your Role

You are to try to resolve this problem.

Other's Role

The two men will not consent to any compromises or to taking turns. Each threatens to leave if forced to carry camp gear without extra pay.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Questions men on why they are having dispute, giving each a turn to reply.

2. Proposes one or more compromise solutions, e.g., taking turns carrying lab gear, drawing lots, etc.

3. Offers reward of extra money for carrying undesirable load.

b. Ineffective

1. Does not question each man in turn.

2. Orders one of the men to carry food and camp gear without proposing compromises.

3. Orders man who has already loaded lab gear to remove it from his animal.

4. Allows men to leave without offering inducement to carry undesirable load. Gives up and waits for biochemist to arrive.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Negotiating.

2. Acting fairly.

3. Offering tangible rewards.

4. Accepting responsibility.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Any arbitrary solution to the dispute would provoke the ill-will of at least one of the men. It is generally desirable to reach some compromise solution through which all parties are satisfied. Arbitrary decisions always raise the suspicion that favoritism is at work which, in turn, tends to discourage future initiative and cooperation.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

3. If negotiations reach an impasse, it is because someone is not satisfied with a proposed solution. Some extra inducement or reward, such as money, may lead to an acceptable outcome. Offering an inducement to compensate for something

else (in this case, carrying items considered less attractive than others) may lead to satisfaction for all concerned; it could also result in additional strife should both men prefer the extra money.

4. If the PCV fails to settle the situation without calling his supervisor, the supervisor may lose confidence in him. Further, other indigenous persons may conclude that the PCV has no authority, low status and no prestige. Such a conclusion would make the PCV's subsequent work more difficult.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Some cultures have specific prescriptions for compromises in disputes such as this one. In the example, the first man there "won" the priviledge of carrying the lab gear and would not share it. This might not always be the case. Cite examples.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

3. What is considered "rewarding" may be culturally defined. Money may not always be the most attractive sort of reward to offer. Cite examples of other kinds of tangible rewards which might prove attractive.

4. The amount of prestige and authority attached to "accepting responsibility" may not always be the same. Failure to effect an amicable settlement in a dispute may have more serious consequences in one culture than in another. Cite examples.

* * * * * * * *

BACKGROUND FOR ALL PROBLEMS IN SERIES B

PCV has a background in education and general science. He has been assigned to teach general science and health education at a newly established regional teachers college. The nation is trying to introduce English in all schools, and the classes at the teachers college are conducted in English. This is the second year of the school's operation, and students are being phased in so that there are only first and second year students at the school. At the end of each year, a qualifying examination is administered for entrance to the next year.

PROBLEM B-1

Situation

The PCV has noticed after the first few classes that the students do not volunteer answers to his questions. He feels that active student participation is necessary not only for efficient learning but also as a means by which he can check on how well his ideas are getting across and determine points which may need special treatment.

Your Role

Outline some of the things you might do to stimulate class participation. You have five (5) minutes.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Announces the questions for the next class session and asks for volunteers to plan to answer them. If that fails, assigns the questions to individual students.

2. Develops a series of discussion questions and assigns students to work on the answers in small groups or teams.

3. Offers an incentive, such as a special mark, for attempts to answer questions.

4. Refrains from penalizing incorrect answers, at least in the beginning.

5. Points out that classroom participation is an opportunity for future teachers to practice speaking before a class.

6. Discusses the problem with other teachers and asks for their advice.

7. Calls in students privately to try to find the reason for their behavior, and explains his reasons for wanting student participation.

8. Asks one or more students to break the pattern. Tells what question will be asked; gives students direct source of answers or, if necessary, the actual answers. Asks students to answer a sample question in private to which the PCV is sure the student knows the answer.

b. Ineffective

1. Starts calling on students and insists that they either answer or admit they don't know the answer.

2. Tells them that this is not the way that students behave in the U. S. A.

3. Tells them that they are wasting their time and his if they don't try to answer.

4. Informs them that he does not believe that they are trying, working hard enough, or giving him cooperation.

5. Inflicts penalties for failure to answer.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Asking students to demonstrate understanding.

2. Devising methods to motivate students.

3. Preventing embarrassment or loss of status.

4. Investigating causes of problems.

5. Establishing personal relationships as basis for cooperation.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. In order to be effective, the classroom teacher must determine if the material is being understood. Therefore, the action of trying to get participation, trying to get students to answer in class, seems appropriate. It is also likely that there is a language problem which is causing some difficulty. In any case, the teacher needs some demonstration of understanding in order to adjust the level of instruction.

2. It is also likely that the students are finding their school experience quite unstimulating since classroom

learning is relatively new both to them and their culture. Providing students the opportunity to be successful will serve as an incentive and stimulate interest.

3. The students may wish to avoid the embarrassment of appearing better than others in the class. In these circumstances, allowing preparation for the questions will tend to insure success for at least several students.

4. Before coming to any conclusion and acting on it, it would be wise for the PCV to check his experience with others -- teachers and students. Perhaps their insights will be helpful in determining the cause of the problem.

5. One method of getting cooperation is to establish a close relationship with one person. He may then be able to offer clues and suggestions for resolving the problem.

c. Cultural Variations

1. In what cultures are public performances likely to cause embarrassment? Cite examples.

2. Point out different motivational techniques which might be tried, and how it is necessary to fit these into the established cultural patterns.

3. In what cultures are status and sensitivity to public error especially important? Cite examples.

4. The appropriateness of investigating and checking is also affected by cultural practices. In some places, the PCV may be looked on as the final authority, and checking might be interpreted as a sign of imcompetence. Cite examples.

5. Asking a student to come in privately might be interpreted as favoritism or as punishment. Cite examples of cultures in which one or the other might obtain.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM B-2

Situation

The PCV has increased classroom participation, but it is quite obvious now that there are serious deficiencies in English. About one third of the students cannot understand what is being said. Their English deficiency is keeping them from mastering the subject matter at an acceptable pace. The remainder are able to go along at the rate which would allow them to finish the prescribed course by the end of the term.

Your Role

You are to outline a course of action to cope with this English deficiency.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Consults with the English instructor and works out a remedial program for students whose English is deficient.

2. Prepares special assignments for the "weak" group. Advises them of special reading they might do to improve their English.

3. Has the most fluent students work with the students having trouble, helping with translations, etc.

b. Ineffective

1. Reports the situation to the school authorities and asks them to work something out.

2. Advises the deficient students to withdraw from the course until their reading of English has improved.

3. Tells the deficient students that they will fall behind if they don't improve a great deal.

4. Adjusts the pace of the class to the deficient group, and consequently does not cover all the material which is supposed to be covered in the school term.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Accepting responsibility for students' understanding.

2. Utilizing others to facilitate teaching.

3. Developing special instructional materials.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Clearly the responsibility for a student's understanding rests cooperatively on the student and on the teacher. Turning the problem over to someone else or placing it entirely on the student are not acceptable solutions. Neither is trying to get the student out of the class a solution.

2. The teacher does have available, however, other teachers on whom he can call for advice and help in remedial work. Students who are progressing satisfactorily can also be of help to others.

3. It is likely that the teacher may have to devise special techniques to help the slower students. Some of these would be: preparing special assignments; having students read special materials to overcome their handicap; and giving them individual help outside of class.

c. Cultural Variations

1. None are likely. It is the teacher's basic responsibility to see that students learn and understand despite difficulties.

2. In some cultures, the use of students to help others might create more problems than it solves, e.g., it may be inappropriate to have younger students teach older ones regardless of ability. Cite specific examples.

3. Devising special techniques for slower students may be interpreted in some cultures as unequal treatment. Cite examples where this is likely to be a problem.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM B-3

Situation

One of the students in the remedial English group is having an especially difficult time. He seems to be intelligent, but is older than the others and got a later start in his training. He has asked to speak with the PCV and is coming into his office now.

Your Role

You are to handle whatever problem the student brings up. He will probably need encouragement and special help.

Other's Role

He wants to drop out of school. Says he is too old (early thirties) and can't keep up with the younger students. He states that he should never have tried to become a teacher. He was a cobbler in the village, taught himself to read, tried to become a student at the school, and to his surprise was accepted. Now he is ashamed to go to the school authorities and wants the PCV to intercede for him. If no specific help is offered by the PCV, the student will insist on dropping out of college.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Offers student encouragement and specific extra help in English during evenings, weekends, etc., if he will stay on.

2. Offers to develop a specific program of remedial work (perhaps with the help of the English instructor) and self-study to help the student catch up.

3. Asks student to stay at least until the end of the term, and promises to work with him.

b. Ineffective

1. Tries to motivate student in general terms without offering specific help.

2. Tells student he can do better if he really tries and works harder.

3. Sympathizes, but fails to offer specific help or program of improvement.

4. Advises student to speak to the English instructor.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Demonstrating willingness to inconvenience oneself in order to help another.

2. Devising new procedures to get a job done.

3. Using appropriate motivational technique.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. A PCV's job is not likely to be limited to certain working hours. Willingness to extend oneself beyond what is expected is likely to have a positive effect on the willingness of the students to work, since they are likely to feel that someone is genuinely interested in them.

2. Some teaching problems are likely to be similar all over the world. The one notable difference in the case of the PCV will be that he will have more of them. Hence, it will be necessary for him to devise many elaborate, extensive, and unique solutions. Special instructional methods may be the rule rather than the exception, and a great deal of personal satisfaction can accrue to the PCV if he is successful. Each

new teacher is a significant addition to the welfare of the newly developing countries. Therefore, every conceivable method to prevent loss of potential teachers must be tried.

3. Showing specific, realistic ways for improvement is likely to provide more effective motivation than general or vague statements.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Willingness to take on extra responsibility will probably be universally applauded.

2. Discuss how remedial measures depend on the stage of development of each country, i.e., in this case, adaptability and readiness of people to accept various methods of training and learning.

3. The effectiveness of various motivational techniques is likely to depend on cultural practices. In some countries general appeals to patriotism may be more effective than specific personal incentives.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM B-4

Situation

One of the students in the second year class, X, has been coming into class late every day. He is of very high social rank and is deferred to by the other students. The PCV has noted that recently a few other students have tended to be tardy. Indirect comments about tardiness by the PCV have had no effect. A week ago he took X aside and warned him. X was polite but aloof and continued being tardy. This morning, the PCV has been discussing a new topic, not covered in the textbook, involving the structure of skin cells. He has diagrammed the cells and labeled the structures and has just erased the labels in preparation for practice by the students in duplicating the labels. X has just come in, a half-hour late, and the other students are snickering and whispering.

Your Role

Write, briefly, three possible actions you could take which would be effective.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Gives an immediate quiz on the subject.

2. Politely asks X to come up to the blackboard and label diagram.

3. Asks X to stay after class so that he can go over the material with him.

b. Ineffective

1. Ignores the incident.

2. Asks X to explain his lateness.

3. Repeats the material from the beginning.

4. Disciplines X immediately and publicly.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Disciplining.

2. Maintaining own position in group.

3. Dealing with conflicting goals by showing authority.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. If the PCV is to establish and maintain an effective classroom, he should insist that rules apply to everyone. X obviously has little respect for the PCV, and this situation will have to change. It may be necessary to discipline X, but the PCV should first try methods which are not too severe.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

3. The PCV's position as teacher permits him to use teaching procedures such as testing to assert authority.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Permissible disciplinary methods depend greatly on the intimacy of the relationship which has already been established between the host country and the U. S. as well as on specific cultural variations. Discuss, citing specific examples.

2. In some cultures, the teacher may have either more or less status and authority than a teacher in the U. S. Cite examples.

3. (See paragraph 2. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM B-5

Situation

Two of the PCV's students are doing very well. They have been working together on several projects and have asked to see him about a new one they are thinking about.

Your Role

You are to react to the suggested project in a meeting with the two students.

Other's Role

They are to explain what they have in mind and are to ask PCV's help in developing the project. They want to devise special classroom aids and presentations of the material they have been learning in their class for use at lower educational levels. They want the PCV's opinion and help in implementing the project.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Compliments students.
2. Proposes that the idea be developed and tried out in his class as a practice teaching exercise.
3. Gives students some specific ideas for presentations
4. Suggests they use students in class to pre-test the developed materials. Perhaps even devises and experiment to determine the effectiveness of the method by using it with half of the lower level students and not the other half.

b. Ineffective

1. Promises to help them, but offers no concrete suggestions for implementation in the classroom.
2. Gives no specific ideas for presentations.
3. Discourages students from proceeding with idea.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Encouraging participation of and contributions by indigenous students.
2. Arranging for students to have practical experience.
3. Varying classroom procedures.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. The job of the PCV is to prepare those with whom he works for independent action. In teaching, he must be alert to opportunities to encourage participation by the students so that they will develop their own skills and abilities and be able, ultimately, to pass information on to others. Also, the PCV who has a teaching job will probably be perceived by his students as representing the latest ideas in education. Thus, if the PCV fails to encourage his students, they in turn may feel that active participation and the encouragement of contributions by students is not a desirable educational goal.

2. Within the limited environments in which the PCV may often have to operate, there may be few opportunities for indigenous persons to practice some of the skills they are acquiring. Systematic programs for practice teaching, for example, may not exist; therefore, the PCV must exercise ingenuity in developing opportunities for his students to put into effect their ideas and newly acquired information on pedagogy.

3. By utilizing student projects, the PCV has a chance to vary his own classroom procedure. In a situation where classroom aids, guest speakers, and other conventional means of introducing variety into a course may be unavailable, the PCV must be alert to all opportunities for introducing stimulating variety and change in his instructional methods.

c. Cultural Variations

1. The amount of direct encouragement necessary to gain participation by students may vary from culture to culture. Also the receptivity of students to presentations by other students may vary. Cite examples.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

3. The facilities available for varying classroom procedures will differ from culture to culture. Students in some cultures may expect greater variety and change than in others. Cite examples of both of these conditions.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM B-6

Situation

The PCV has arranged for two "star" pupils to offer alternate presentations of simplified versions of difficult learning material, with apparent great success. Quiz scores have improved, and students are progressing well. The PCV has noticed, however, that since the incident of his tardiness, X has become aloof, and although he gets to class on time, he does not participate. Today, just as class ends, X comes to the PCV.

Your Role

You are to react to whatever X has on his mind.

Other's Role

X accuses PCV of favoritism in letting the two pupils do something special. He accuses PCV of wasting the class's time, allowing his favorite students to run the class, and thus boring everyone else. He says he intends to speak to the school authorities and to his father (an important man in the country) about this intolerable situation. No matter how effective a solution the PCV offers, X dismisses it with some objection, e.g., "I'm here to be taught, not to teach," and, "I would prefer to go to the authorities by myself, not with you," etc. X attempts to compel PCV to abandon presentations by the other students.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Tells X that he is probably bored because he is ahead of the others.

2. Asks X if he would like to develop a project for class presentation, or suggests such an activity.

3. Asks X to suggest teaching methods which would improve the classroom presentation.

4. Offers to accompany X to school authorities.

5. Holds firm on continuing pupil presentations.

b. Ineffective

1. Relates X's attitude to retaliation over the tardiness incident.

2. Tells X that the two students have mastered the subject and that he (PCV) is happy to have them help.

3. Responds emotionally to X's anger.

4. Agrees to abandon student presentations.

5. Tries to argue X out of telling authorities and/or father.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Treating students fairly.

2. Overcoming adverse attitudes.

3. Maintaining one's status.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Although this is not the only problem in this case, the the student X must be given a chance to compete equally with the other students.

2. The critical behavior in this situation is the attempt to change the attitude and resultant behavior of X. Preoccupation with his status in the class probably reduces X's learning efficiency. Although equal opportunity regardless of social status is a principle in U. S. teaching methods, it is still not a principle which is accepted universally. It would be desirable to make X understand the importance of equal educational opportunities, and that classroom recognition will reflect performance rather than extraneous qualities.

3. In dealing with this situation, it is necessary that the teacher's status be maintained. X is attempting to lower PCV's status by belittling him or by using other higher status figures. If the PCV feels secure in being able to justify his actions, he should not permit such threats to his status to alter his plans for the course.

c. Cultural Variations

1. In some cultures, certain students do expect and customarily get preferential treatment. Cite examples and indicate the problems this may create for the PCV.

2. The various techniques which can be used by a teacher depend on his established position in a community. The degree to which Americans are accepted in various world areas depends on many things, i.e., previous exposure, political climate, etc. Discuss and elaborate.

3. (See paragraph 2. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM B-7

Situation

At a faculty meeting, the PCV finds himself seated next to the indigenous English instructor. This instructor has a reputation of being a constant complainer and is generally avoided by others at social affairs.

Your Role

You are to react to whatever the English instructor says.

Other's Role

Asks PCV about the English of the students and whether he (PCV) feels it could be better. The English instructor then complains about the scarcity of teaching materials. He blames the school authorities for much of this and tries to badger the PCV into going to them. Continues to complain.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. In response to the English instructor's question, the PCV asks him what he thinks about quality of students' English.

2. Makes qualitative evaluations of students' English which are either neutral or positive.

3. Cites recent evidence to indicate students are doing well in English.

4. Offers the English instructor help in devising instructional materials which are more relevant to what he is doing.

5. Suggests that instructors collaborate in order to improve the lesson plans, by having the English instructor use science and health education material in teaching English, and by having the PCV take trouble to explain English terms more carefully in his own classes.

b. Ineffective

1. Sympathizes with instructor without offering constructive suggestions.

2. Expresses general dissatisfaction with students' English.

3. Recommends a procedure to the English instructor without offering to help or cooperate.

4. Agrees that school authorities should take a more active part in curriculum integration or agrees to go to authorities.

5. Suggests that school authorities be contacted.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Recognizing accomplishment.

2. Getting cooperation in introducing improvements.

3. Refraining from interfering with others' prerogatives and responsibilities.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Perhaps one of the reasons the English instructor is in the "out group" is that he has made legitimate criticisms which have been disregarded. Here is a chance to do something positive about these complaints. Therefore, it would be appropriate to give a neutral to positive assessment of the students' English in order to help the instructor with his own motivational problem. Recognition of achievement is usually an effective motivator.

2. Some positive suggestion to remedy the situation is needed. It is probably best to involve the instructor in working toward a cooperative improvement in the instruction. In this case, since the PCV is relatively new, he does not want to be in the position of recommending too many innovations at once. Making the improvement a cooperative enterprise may help avoid such criticism.

3. It does not appear to be appropriate at this point for the PCV to take the problem (if it exists) to the school authorities. In any event, before doing so, the PCV should investigate to determine whether materials are inadequate and, if so, whether the authorities already know of the situation but can't improve it for good reasons (e.g., lack of funds). If the situation can be handled among the instructional staff, the PCV will have made a contribution without overstepping the bounds of his role.

c. Cultural Variations

1. In some societies individual achievement is not highly regarded and comments on it may not be approved. Cite examples.

2. The directness of approach for introducing improvements varies among cultures. In some cultures it is necessary to use extremely indirect suggestions.

3. In some cultures, each individual's specific responsibilities and prerogatives are clearly delineated and zealously maintained. Americans tend in general to treat these matters less formally than other cultures. Cite examples.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM B-8

Situation

Toward the end of the term, the PCV is called to the school administrator's office to discuss preparations for final examinations and grading.

Your Role

You are to react to what the administrator has on his mind.

Other's Role

The administrator tells the PCV that the student, X, is the son of a very wealthy and influential man who can help or harm the school a great deal. This man expects his son, X, to be an honor student. The administrator wants to make this clear to the PCV and explain the political "facts of life" to the PCV. He will bring pressure for an immediate decision by the PCV which will assure the administrator that his wishes will be carried out.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Listens respectfully to the administrator without interrupting or making any negative statements.

2. Indicates that he understands the administrator's position.

3. Points out the implications and long-range effects of the policy (without moralizing).

4. Responds politely and sympathetically but does not commit himself.

5. Offers to introduce a special competitive honors program in which X can volunteer to participate.

6. Suggests that the honors system be abandoned entirely.

b. Ineffective

1. Refuses point blank to be a party to favoritism.

2. Moralizes, argues, or tries to get the administrator to retract his policy.

3. Agrees to administrator's suggestion.

4. Evaluates X's work.

5. Gives X special consideration or treatment.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Dealing with discrimination.

2. Explaining practical implications of a policy.

3. Negotiating.

4. Maintaining personal standards.

5. Suggesting alternate course of action.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. There is no doubt that the PCV is "on the spot." The best thing is to listen to the administrator so that his side of the story can be understood. Precipitate or emotional reactions to a proposal to discriminate (unjustly from the PCV's view) will not ease the situation. It is better to hold your decision.

2. If pushed to react, it is probably wise to explore, with the administrator, the results of implementing his wishes. For example, school accreditation or recognition might be jeopardized; the concept of equal opportunity and treatment which the administrator has presumably espoused becomes compromised; etc. Appeals to needs which are greater than the political needs of the moment are in order.

3. One should indicate that every consideration will be given to the administrator's wishes, but one should also allow room for an objective decision.

4. All of the above behaviors are, in effect, attempts to maintain ethical personal standards.

5. In order to maintain one's personal standards, all possible alternate courses of action should be explored so that the standards are not compromised when they are held necessary to do a job well.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Discuss the merits (in terms of results) of acting with authority vs. acting with deference in different cultures.

2. Political considerations vary locally and situationally. Discuss how practical considerations sometimes conflict with values.

3. Compromise, "horse-trading," placating, etc., are useful tools for negotiation. The propriety of any specific tool will vary with culture. Their usefulness may be dependent upon the degree of authoritarianism in the culture. Cite examples.

4. When personal ethical standards are consistent with the standards existing in a host country, there is no problem for the PCV. Cite examples, however, where cultural practices will make the maintenance of personal standards more difficult.

5. (See paragraph 4. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM B-9

Situation

After studying students' grades and evaluating class performance prior to the final exam, the PCV sees that X is very close to qualifying for the honors list if he can do well on the final exam. Realizing, however, that X is poorly motivated and will probably only try for a passing grade on the exam, the PCV has decided to talk with him. X has just entered the PCV's office.

Your Role

You are to try to motivate X to study so that he does well on the final exam.

Other's Role

X knows that his father's position has always resulted in placing his name on the honors list and consequently he doesn't understand why he should "knock himself out." Besides, he has other interests. If PCV probes these other interests by asking about them, X will confess interest in gambling. Science is interesting, but X knows he'll get good marks anyway. He wants to impress the PCV with this, since he doesn't think the PCV understands how important his father is.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Explains that the purpose of school is learning and not grades or honors.

2. Tries various methods for motivating X: appealing to his pride; patriotism (country needs able workers like himself); compliments X on his ability to do good work; appeals to X's sense of fair play and ethics.

3. Asks X about his interests.

4. Makes a token wager with X that he can't make honors list on his own.

b. Ineffective

1. Tells X that he (PCV) is "on the spot."

2. Tells X that he won't make honors list.

3. Tells X that he can be assured of making honors list.

4. Threatens X.

5. Criticizes him, loses control of discussion.

6. Fails to follow up on opening given by X to find out about his interests.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Explaining goal of learning.

2. Using a variety of relevant motivating techniques.

3. Appealing to a strong personal interest.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

All of the behavior requirements here are focused on one goal -- to give X every opportunity to make the honors list, and to avoid making a decision which might be unsatisfactory.

1. By explaining the goals of learning, the PCV is appealing to the intellectual and ethical side of X. The latter may be crucial.

2. The various motivational techniques, such as recognizing X's accomplishments, appealing to X's pride, etc., are

aimed at trying to convince X of the value of achieving a goal by personal effort rather than by dependence on another's intervention.

3. Finally, if the immediate motivational drives of X can be found, the PCV has a most effective tool to accomplish his goal. In this case, appeal to the gambling interest of X might be quite effective.

c. Cultural Variations

Discuss the relative merits of various motivators in different cultures.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM B-10

Situation

Final exams are over. The PCV has graded the results and prepared the final marks according to a written formula suggested by the administrator: one-third of the term mark is for the quality of the class work, one-third for scores on intermediate exams, and one-third for the final examination. It is the policy of the school for the PCV to have a private evaluation conference with each student at the end of the term. The PCV has had several of these conferences already, and now it is X's turn. After a careful review of all the records, he feels that X gave his best effort, and the PCV has given him honors.

Your Role

You are to review X's work with him, offering any suggestions you feel are necessary for his development.

Other's Role

X will listen to PCV's explanations, and try to get him to bring out both good and poor points.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Explains to X how the grade system works.

2. Explains X's grades and why he made honors.

3. Compliments X on his work.

4. Indicates in good-humored way that he will pay off bet to X.

5. Tactfully offers X positive suggestions for his development by discussing further training, offering books or references, offering practical pedagogical advice, etc.; however, does not explicitly point out deficiencies.

b. Ineffective

1. Fails to explain the grade system.

2. Tells X he has made honors without explaining why.

3. Tells X only about negative aspects of his work.

4. Tells X he didn't need his father's pull after all.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Explaining basis of decision.

2. Recognizing work done.

3. Tactfully developing indigenous abilities.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. A thorough explanation of the grading system and how X's grade was figured is desirable in order to give X an understanding of some of the principles of grading. If X is to be a teacher, an explanation of sound grading systems will help make him a better one.

2. It is important to point out to X how well he did. Helping him recognize that he has the ability to perform on his own may motivate him toward better efforts in the future.

3. Few students graduate from any course without some deficiencies. The purpose of such a conference is to make clear to the graduate that further improvements are required. However, to indicate tactlessly that the student has deficiencies might be discouraging at this time. Outlining a program of further work that is relevant to the particular deficiencies of the student gains the same end in a positive and personally inoffensive way.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Grades and grading systems have different meaning in different cultures. Cite examples, pointing out the differences.

2. Discuss the relative effects of public vs. private recognition of work done in various cultures.

3. In some cultures, intimating that there are aspects of performance which are below standard is considerably less acceptable than in others. Give examples.

* * * * * * * *

SERIES C

BACKGROUND FOR ALL PROBLEMS IN SERIES C

PCV has majored in education at college. Following training, he has been assigned to work in a provincial office of the Ministry of Education of a country which has had strong ties with a European nation for a long time. He works in the department concerned with teacher recruitment, hiring, and evaluation. The department is relatively small, consisting of a Director, two assistants (one of whom is the PCV), and two clerk-typists. The PCV is the only non-indigenous person in the provincial office. The provincial capital where the office is located is a medium-sized city. There are strong class and status lines in the customs of the country. As a consequence, there is not much interaction between professionals working in the government offices and others in the community. The civil servants tend to restrict their associations to other civil servants and to provincial officials and dignitaries.

PROBLEM C-1

Situation

The Director of the department has told the PCV that he has succeeded in having orders for two new typewriters approved. The PCV is a good typist; he has noticed that the two clerk-typists, although very accurate, are extremely slow. He realizes that the problem is not that of typewriters, but of typists who are minimally proficient. Under these circumstances, the Director is likely to be disappointed if he expects an increase in productivity. However, the indigenous people here are sensitive to criticism. The Director has just been congratulating himself in front of the PCV on his ability to get typewriters, which are quite scarce. He has just said, "We will be able to do a great deal more with these new machines!"

Your Role

It is up to you to make the Director aware, without offending his pride, that he should not expect a great increase in production. You might point out that you could be of some help to the clerks with the new machines, and volunteer to assist in some specific way.

Other's Role

If PCV makes any direct suggestion that the clerks are poor typists, or that obtaining the machines is not a very good idea, Director will become very quiet. He may also suggest that the PCV underestimates the abilities of the Director and his people. If PCV offers to assist in helping the clerks become familiar with the new machines, without implying any inadequacies, the Director will encourage him to go ahead.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Congratulates Director on accomplishment and volunteers help in preparing clerks for arrival of the machines.

2. After congratulating Director, points out that the new machines will probably have new features which the old ones did not, and, in order to save time, he might help the clerks get used to the new machines when they arrive.

3. Shows interest in new typewriters by asking many questions, allowing Director to point out all of their advantages.

b. Ineffective

1. Tells Director that clerks are slow typists and that he (PCV) can help them improve.

2. Tells Director that he (PCV) will get the clerks ready for the new machines and instruct them in their use.

3. Tells Director not to expect too much more work.

4. Indicates that the Director ordered typewriters without adequate consideration of the abilities of the personnel.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Making persons feel important.

2. Developing abilities of indigenous persons.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. When a supervisor believes he has made a right decision and improved efficiency of his operations, he feels successful. Receiving recognition for his acts makes him feel not only successful, but also well-disposed to the person who has expressed this recognition. Criticism would tend to spoil pleasure and a non-committal response by PCV might be inferred as disapproval.

2. One of the goals of the PCV is to help train indigenous peoples to do things which they can continue without him after he has left their country. This is perhaps one of the most important functions he can perform. He should, then, take every opportunity to develop the abilities of the people, even in informal situations.

c. Cultural Variations

1. In many cultures, it is more critical to maintain status and to make another feel important than it is to do a job in the most direct way possible. Discuss problems and conflicts here.

2. Discuss the relative importance of developing abilities in various cultures, especially when this may conflict with other goals. In many countries, there is not much incentive to develop abilities. Often economic gain cannot be achieved, and, furthermore, it may be socially unacceptable. Discuss problems and conflicts.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM C-2

Situation

The new typewriters have arrived. In the meantime, the PCV has met with the two clerk-typists, tested them, and found that they type only about 20 - 25 words per minute. Their work, however, is quite accurate. Since the typing load in the office is light, the typists have had no need and little opportunity to increase their speed. The PCV has just suggested to them that their speed could be improved if they would do certain drills, and work for awhile under his supervision.

Your Role

You are to try to convince the typists that it would be advantageous if their typing speed could be increased. You might offer to help increase their speed outside of the normal working hours---just a few minutes a day. However, this should not be done at the cost of breaking down your good relationship with them. If you have difficulty, it might be better to drop the idea for the time being.

Other's Role

Tells PCV, "But I don't need to type faster---I always finish my work on time, and there is never any rush. I don't understand why I should type faster. My boss seems satisfied, he has never said anything about this to me." The other clerk agrees, and says, "If we try to type faster, they'll probably just give us more work. Everything is fine now." If they are pressured at all, they will become more resistant. However, if PCV offers them reasonable explanation of why they should improve their typing speed, and makes them feel that such improvement is worthwhile, they will agree to try.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Explains economic advantages of increased production, both to the country and to the typists as individuals.

2. Agrees with them that there does not seem to be any point in increasing speed now, but points out that increased speed might be more important in the future.

3. Compliments them on the accuracy of their work.

4. Indicates that getting good speed out of the old typewriters was sometimes difficult, but that perhaps just having new machines will make it easier for them to work more rapidly.

5. Offers to help them in future if they should want to build up their speed.

b. Ineffective

1. Says that the Director is not satisfied with their work.

2. Assures them that they won't get more work if they increase their speed.

3. Tells them that they are very slow, and that by U. S. standards they would be considered inadequate.

4. Pressures them into changing their views.

5. Demonstrates own speed on the typewriter.

6. Makes such statements as "Well, if you don't want to improve yourself....," or, "The typewriters sure won't be much good to you."

7. Drops idea permanently.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Demonstrating willingness to help beyond normal expectations.

2. Recognizing value of work done.

3. Establishing importance of work goals.

4. Getting people to work toward personal goals.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Offering extra help, at personal inconvenience or sacrifice, may help others realize that the PCV's purposes and goals are directly related to their needs and wishes for improvement. There may be some reluctance for others to accept the PCV as a helper, and the offering of extra assistance may help persuade them that the PCV is sincere. Furthermore, it may be

motivating to others to see the example set by the PCV in working beyond normal or routine requirements. Such an example may prompt others to adopt a similar course of action.

2. Even though work pace is slow by U. S. standards, it should be recognized that people in other countries may have geared themselves to doing things at a different rate. If this is pointed out to them directly, they may be made to feel very inadequate. Furthermore, their skills may be deficient in some ways and they may feel self-conscious about this in front of strangers. Even slight recognition that they are doing something correctly may motivate them to perform better. Stressing the value of achievement, even though it might be marginal in other frames of reference, may encourage individuals to do better.

3. It is important for people to know what they are working for. Increased production has usually led to more economic success, both for an organization and for the individuals involved. Despite the fact that there may be no immediate need for an increase in skills, situations do change, and these changes may require higher levels of skill and ability. For this reason, it should be pointed out to people how important it is to prepare themselves for the time when greater demands will be made.

4. (See paragraph 3. above.)

c. Cultural Variations

1. Willingness to take on extra duties will probably be generally approved unless doing so casts another individual in a bad light by contrast or threatens to raise work quotas which are deliberately set.

2. These are all motivational techniques. However, people in different cultures can be motivated in different ways. Cite examples of situation in which these techniques might and might not be appropriate.

3. (See paragraph 2. above.)

4. (See paragraph 2. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM C-3

Situation

A young man in another department has been granted a scholarship to study at a U. S. university. He has come into the PCV's office to ask questions about living conditions in the U. S. He has only a limited idea of the standard of living in the U. S., and expects to have a new car, an air-conditioned apartment, opportunities to travel extensively, etc. Actually, he will be getting about $120 a month while in the U. S.

Your Role

You are to try to re-orient his expectations to a more realistic level appropriate to his future income. One thing you might do is to point out to him some of the economic "facts of life", and to help him be more realistic about how he will live.

Other's Role

Continually plays up image of well-to-do college boy whose parents are supporting him, who has a car, goes on all-night parties, etc. If the PCV points out the economic "facts of life", the young man will become discouraged and suggests that he should reconsider his decision to attend college in the U. S. If the PCV suggests methods of getting along on his income, the student will respond positively by re-orienting his expectations.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Points out specific prices of things, and illustrates the limits of an allowance of $120.

2. Points out the amount of money most students have available, how they live, and how parents have sacrificed to send them to college; consequently, how they have to economize.

3. Helps him work out a budget for living in the U. S.

4. Points out the possibility of part-time work to supplement his income.

5. Expresses pleasure that student will be able to go to U. S.

b. Ineffective

1. Shows amusement or surprise at his naivete.

2. Tells him directly that he is being unrealistic.

3. Tells him he won't be able to get along on $120 per month.

4. Allows student to leave disdouraged.

5. Allows student to change decision to go to U. S.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Representing the U. S. accurately.

2. Providing information.

3. Enlisting interest in the U. S.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. One of the goals of a PCV is to present an accurate picture of the U. S. to people in other countries. One of the ways of doing this is to point out in specific terms the relationship of income to the cost of living.

2. It is important that the PCV provide specific information rather than vague generalities about the U. S. economy. Specificity will help indigenous people to develop an accurate picture of the U. S.

3. By pointing out realistically how people in the U. S. live, the PCV can take opportunities to provide indigenous peoples with more information about the U. S., our beliefs, our daily activities, and our individual hopes and ambitions.

c. Cultural Variations

1. The amount and accuracy of information which people have about the U. S. will vary according to their past experience with the U. S. and its people. Basic attitudes will also vary accordingly. Cite examples where information is likely to be accurate and the results and attitudes are likely to be a problem for the PCV.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

3. Cite countries in which the PCV is likely to have more difficulty in enlisting interest in the U. S., e.g., the new countries which are extremely nationalistic in outlook.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM C-4

I

Situation

The PCV is having lunch with an indigenous employee from another department from whom he has been getting information for a special report. The indigenous employee was educated at a famous European university and is highly respected in the Ministry of Education. His general manner is aloof, and the PCV has noticed that he treats others in the Ministry with condescension, which they don't seem to mind.

Your Role

You are to carry on a luncheon conversation with this man, opening the conversation by asking him about the university he attended.

Other's Role

Indigenous employee is very devoted to European values and ways of doing things. He feels that his education is vastly superior to one that he could have obtained in the U. S. He criticizes U. S. education openly and specifically, and challenges PCV to counter these criticisms. He even asks the PCV if he feels that he is as well-educated as he (the indigenous employee) is. He becomes slightly argumentative and tells the PCV that he considers Americans to be generally provincial, unsophisticated, and lacking in culture.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Points out that European and U. S. educational objectives have traditionally differed, and that the results are bound also to be different.

2. Points out positive aspects of U. S. higher education, e.g., that it is both public and private, and though of variable quality, affords good education to a large number of people. Cites facts and figures on our cultural life, e.g., free libraries, orchestras, museums, books published, quality of literature, scientific achievements, etc.

3. Compliments employee on his excellent training and expresses regret that he (PCV) did not have an opportunity to attend European schools as well as U. S. schools.

4. Maintains tact, self-control, and objectivity.

5. Points out advantages of the U. S. education system without in any way being derogatory to other systems.

b. Ineffective

1. Argues rather than discusses issues with indigenous employee.

2. Boasts of U. S. methods as superior to others.

3. Agrees that U. S. methods are inferior.

4. Agrees that his education and/or culture is inferior.

5. Fails to maintain poise and friendly manner.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Maintaining self-control.

2. Treating people according to individual characteristics.

3. Dispelling false beliefs concerning U. S.

4. Overcoming adverse attitudes.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. One may encounter persons who seem to be doing their best to be difficult to get along with. It is at these times that the PCV should be especially alert to tendencies to lose his temper or fail to act pleasantly. If he can be irritated into losing his temper, the PCV will have reinforced the original negative attitude. Such action will not increase the PCV's acceptability in the country or in his job.

2. Despite the fact that people may be irritating, individual characteristics should be carefully identified and considered. One must converse with a well-educated person at his level of discourse about topics of interest.

3. Despite a Western education, an individual may have misunderstandings about the U. S., especially when comparing it educationally and culturally with other countries or areas of the world. Careful explanation of alleged or actual differences can do much toward dispelling negative attitudes.

4. More difficult than explaining away established beliefs is dealing with overt negative attitudes toward the U. S. The methods for doing this are many, but one should maintain an understanding, calm demeanor in any case.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Points out how intensive arguing in some cultures is expected and respected, while in others it is not acceptable.

2. Points out the methods for assessing a person's status position in different cultures and how treatment varies accordingly.

3. Persons from some countries may seem to be particularly critical of the U. S. Cite examples and discuss reasons for this.

4. (See paragraph 3. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM C-5

Situation

The PCV has noticed that most entertaining in the social class to which he belongs, by virtue of his assignment and education, takes the form of rather elaborate and costly dinner parties which the indigenous personnel hold for each other. He has been invited and has attended several of these. His colleague, the indigenous assistant, has just invited him to dinner tonight, but he is unable to attend for a very good reason.

Your Role

You are to try to refuse the invitation, but may accept it if necessary.

Other's Role

Indigenous colleague is very insistent. Attempts to brush aside excuses, implies that PCV doesn't like him or doesn't want his company because he feels superior to him. Indicates that his own status is involved by mentioning that other guests are anticipating meeting the PCV.

Possible Behavior

a. Effective

1. Frankly explains reasons for refusal and indicates that he will be glad to accept at another time.

2. Invites colleague to own home at some specific time in near future.

3. Accepts invitation if it appears that colleague feels it is extremely important.

b. Ineffective

1. Flatly declines invitation without explanation.

2. Fails to present reasons for refusing, or alternatives that are genuinely acceptable to colleague.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Accepting and refusing social invitations tactfully.

2. Weighing the relative merits of alternative actions.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. The PCV may find himself in great demand at social functions. He may have high status, and he may be a desirable addition to a social event. If he must refuse, it is necessary for him to show why, in a way that will make clear that no offense is intended. He must make it clear that he is not being snobbish. He can do so by offering alternatives which indicate realistically that he is willing to associate with the indigenous person---not vague, indefinite commitments for the distant future.

2. It may be necessary to accept the invitation if the consequences of a refusal are likely to be graver than the failure to meet other commitments. The PCV should recognize that indigenous values may differ from his own, that what he considers a good reason for refusing may be viewed as trivial by the indigenous colleague.

c. Cultural Variations

1. In some cultures, hospitality is one of the most important customs and a key measure of status. In other cultures, however, it is of less importance. Cite examples of other culturally diverse values.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM C-6

Situation

The work day is over, and as the PCV leaves his office, he meets the Director and the other indigenous assistant simultaneously. The Director invites the PCV, but not the other assistant, to join him for tea at his club. The assistant smiles and says to the PCV, "Oh, I was hoping that you could join me today, since you could not make it the last time I asked."

Your Role

You are to avoid choosing between the company of the two indigenous persons. Outline, briefly, the possible courses of action you might take in this situation.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Thanks both for their invitations.

2. Excuses himself from both invitations, mentioning some specific thing which he must do at this time.

3. Contacts both in private at a later time to express regret that he couldn't accept the invitation and explains frankly his reasons for refusing.

b. Ineffective

1. Neglects to thank both.

2. Invites them both to join him at this time.

3. Accepts either invitation.

4. Excuses himself without making some specific valid excuse.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Acting courteously.

2. Acting within the established social code.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Courtesy is obviously a universal requirement although unfortunately it is sometimes neglected.

2. In this situation, it is likely that it would be unacceptable to proffer an invitation to both at this time since it is obvious that the Director has not included the assistant in his invitation. It is also possible that the Director does not wish to associate socially with the assistant generally---or only at times and in situations appropriate to their status relationships. PCV should make no choice at this time, but should create an opportunity later to associate with both privately.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Cite cultural variations in specific methods showing courtesy.

2. Point out cultural differences with regard to entertaining persons of different status levels.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM C-7

Situation

Through an American foundation, funds have been obtained for a special series of seminars for indigenous teachers. The series is to begin in about three months, and a great deal of preparatory work must be done by the whole staff. It is especially important to prepare syllabi for the seminars. It is apparent to the PCV that this will require a large amount of typing which the two typists will not be able to manage at their current level of proficiency. Hiring additional personnel is not likely to help, since additional typewriters will not be available. The PCV is virtually certain that the Director must be aware of the typing load, since plans for the seminars are well under way. However, nothing has been said about how the typing is to be done on time.

Your Role

You are to get approval from the Director to give instruction to the typists in order to increase their proficiency. You are now in his office.

Other's Role

Director never suggests that PCV might help increase proficiency of typists. Offers all sorts of other solutions: order more typewriters, hire more people, get a postponement in the seminars, arrange for longer work days for the typists, etc. If PCV offers directly to help find a solution to the problem, Director will flatly accuse him of interfering and overstepping his authority, since he (Director) is very sensitive and wants to feel that he is "running the show", making decisions, responsible for solutions, etc. However, if the PCV casually brings up the point that he might help typists increase their proficiency, Director will agree that the PCV should do whatever he can.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Says that he (PCV) has been thinking about the problem of preparing for the seminars, and would like some advice and guidance since he (PCV) is inexperienced in this sort of thing.

2. Brings up problem of typing load, implying that Director has undoubtedly been thinking about this. Wonders if he might be of assistance in implementing Director's decisions and solutions.

3. Casually mentions method for increasing typing speed and own first hand knowledge or experience in its use.

4. Offers Director choice of: a) showing Director the method so that Director can use it in improving clerk's proficiency or can teach another subordinate to do so, or b) using method himself (PCV) to improve proficiency of clerks.

5. Tactfully accepts Director's solutions, but also points out practical advantages of own (implicit) solution, if Director appears not to have perceived them.

b. Ineffective

1. Tells Director about problem and offers to help solve it.

2. Implies Director was unaware of problem or could not have worked out a solution himself.

3. Says anything implying that the clerks are generally inadequate or unsatisfactory.

4. Flatly rejects Director's other solutions as unworkable and impractical.

5. Points out advantages of own solution, although it is clear that Director has already thought of them, or otherwise "pushes" own solution.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Maintaining appropriate role (refraining from interfering).

2. Allowing indigenous person to create a solution to a problem.

3. Allowing credit to be taken by someone else.

4. Analyzing specific situations.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. The PCV is, after all, an invited guest of the country. Although he is expected to advise, the policy of assistance without interference should prevail. Direct interference often implies that the PCV is trying to take over because the other person can't handle the job. This can only lead to friction and resentment.

2. If possible, advice should be given in a manner which seems as if the indigenous person, not the PCV, is creating a solution to a problem. This will increase the likelihood of its being successfully implemented. People will work harder to push their own plans to successful completion. Offering the Director choices permits him to adopt a solution and to obtain public credit for applying it if this is what he wishes. Offering to teach the method to him also permits him to evaluate its potential effectiveness.

3. (See paragraph 2. above.)

4. If it is clear that the Director understands a solution's merits but is resisting adoption for unstated reasons, it is necessary to hypothesize what such reasons might be, to test them (in this case by offering alternative courses to the Director) and to refrain from further action if the operative factors and implications are not determinable at the time.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Discuss the perceptions of interference and assistance in different cultures.

2. Discuss the importance of permitting indigenous solutions and of giving credit, especially in those countries which have had a history of colonialism.

3. (See paragraph 2. above.)

4. Effective analysis ordinarily requires knowledge of specific customs and mores, as well as historical antecedents of behavior.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM C-8

Situation

The Director has now decided that the typists must increase their skills to be prepared for a significantly greater output in the coming rush. He has asked the PCV to supervise them, and to do whatever is necessary to get results. The Director has sent a memo to the typists, telling them that the PCV is now to supervise them until further notice. The other assistant has stopped by the PCV's office to tell him that he has overheard the two typists talking, and that they are apparently upset, He reports that they feel the PCV is responsible for their increased work load. The time has come for the PCV to have a talk with them. As he enters their office, he hears one of them say, "He doesn't have to do the work. We do."

Your Role

You are to explain the need for getting the job done, get cooperation from the typists, and begin a program which will raise their proficiency.

Other's Role

At first, the clerks are very emotional, making remarks such as, "Everything seemed all right until you got here." "I don't understand why we have to do all this extra work in such a hurry." "Why couldn't you anticipate all this?" "I don't see how we can do a better typing job in such a short time." If the PCV is

authoritative, they will threaten to quit, telling him to get someone else who can do the job for him. If, however, the PCV makes them think that they are key persons to the success of the entire undertaking, they will agree to try his suggestions.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Immediately makes typists feel important and essential, telling them that he needs their help, that he is under pressure to do a job which he can't perform without them.

2. Explains reasons for rush -- special seminars which are very important to the future of education in the country.

3. Emphasizes present abilities -- accuracy -- and tells them that the extra work required to build up speed will be minimal.

4. Promises to help them as much as possible with the work itself, and to work along with them if necessary.

5. Sets up specific program for speeding up the work, e.g., establishes a specific schedule, permitting reasonable compliance from indigenous point of view, sets sub-goals for progress which are likely to permit increasingly successful accomplishment in stages.

6. Gets help of typists in setting up the program.

b. Ineffective

1. Tells them that they are going to have to speed things up, and that he is to supervise them in this.

2. Blames Director or other person for need to make haste.

3. Fails to indicate his dependence on them or to establish "esprit de corps."

4. Summarily tells them what they will do to improve skills.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Emphasizing importance of individual's contributions in getting them to work toward goals.

2. Setting goals and sub-goals to permit realistic anticipation of ultimate and intermediate success.

3. Encouraging indigenous participation.

4. Appealing to deeply felt motives.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Creating an effective team very often consists of relating the needs of many individuals to a meaningful common goal. Here, it is important that the typists realize that they are the only people who can accomplish the job, and that as such, they are key individuals, not mere cogs in the machinery. The importance of each individual in attaining the goal needs to be pointed out and emphasized.

2. Resistance may result from ignorance of the degree of improvement that is expected and consequently from fear of not being able to meet a potentially impossible goal. Thus, it is necessary to set goals that are realistic for indigenous persons. It is also desirable to set sub-goals which permit more immediate success, so that the ultimate goal does not appear to be always too remote to be reached. Successful accomplishment of the sub-goals serve both to encourage further effort and to measure progress.

3. When people participate in setting goals, the goals are more likely to be perceived as personal goals. Furthermore, realizing what must be done, they can plan more realistically.

4. In this case, the seminars are very important to the country's progress. An appeal to strong motives, e.g., love of country, desire to see the nation develop, etc., may be an effective method of enlisting cooperation.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Discuss the lack of individual participation and cooperation in contributing toward general goals in some societies. How can this idea be introduced meaningfully within the present cultural development of different countries?

2. Discuss cultural variations in the perception of realistic goals. Such perceptions are strongly related to the existing level of development. For example, in a country where typing is new and 20 words per minute is considered rapid, a speed of 50 or 60 words per minute may seem unattainable.

3. (See paragraph 1. above.)

4. Deeply felt motives differ among countries. Nationalistic motives may be most important in some; tribal, family, or personal motives in others. Discuss and cite examples.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM C-9

Situation

The rush is on! The PCV has trained the clerk-typists to a higher skill level, but the work to be turned out is a greater typing task than anyone predicted. To help out, the PCV has started coming to the office in the evenings and has been doing some of the typing. He has been getting quite a lot done, and there is no doubt that his typing has been helpful. However, the other assistant has become aloof because he feels that persons in his and the PCV's position should not do such work. It is clear that, in his eyes, the PCV has suffered a loss of prestige.

Your Role

You must re-establish your prestige.

Other's Role

Colleague will be only politely communicative until PCV has satisfactorily explained his position. Will become friendly if PCV can make him understand his (PCV's) motives.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Explains to colleague that he felt the mission to be more important than personal status, and that job will not get done otherwise.

2. Explains that, in the U. S., this is the usual attitude towards work.

3. Apologizes for breach of custom and asks colleague to explain indigenous ways and colleague's personal position as an aid to understanding.

b. Ineffective

1. Fails to explain own position adequately.

2. Attacks status lines openly as inefficient, ineffective, and outmoded.

3. Boasts of superiority of U. S. ways.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Explaining own behavior.

2. Changing attitude of indigenous person.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Just as we find the ways of others strange and alien, indigenous people will often find our behavior incomprehensible. For the development of mutual understanding, then, it is important that the PCV explain why he behaves as he does when it is obvious that his behavior is perceived as strange. The critical point here is that the explanation should be related to U. S. customs rather than a transparent rationalization.

2. It is unlikely that this single incident or the PCV's explanation of it are likely to make a radical change in what appears to be an established sociological pattern. However, if the PCV is to carry out his mission of helping people develop their countries, he should take every opportunity to offer information which might have some impact on attitudes, customs, and practices which may be amenable to change.

c. Cultural Variations

1. The people in some countries will be more willing to listen to our points of view than those in others. What factors account for this variation among countries, and where are the "willing" people most likely to be found?

2. Changing attitudes about status is a function of the firmness of the existing status lines. In some countries, class and status lines are rigid, while in others, they are becoming somewhat less structured. Cite historical trends in the latter cases, and examples of both.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM C-10

Situation

The materials for the seminars have been completed on time, and the Director is very pleased. He has come into the PCV's office. The two clerk-typists are also in the office straightening out some final details of distribution, etc. The Director makes a very complimentary speech to the PCV, praising him for his efforts and for seeing that the job was completed on time. He has just finished his speech and is about to leave the office.

Your Role

You are to respond to the Director's praise.

Other's Role

Others will listen attentively to the PCV, but make no remarks.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Accepts praise graciously.

2. Mentions that the clerks were instrumental in getting the job done. States that the job could not have been done without their extra work. Expresses gratitude to clerks.

3. Tells Director that much credit should go to him (Director) for his expert supervision.

b. Ineffective

1. Minimizes importance, extent or difficulty of job, e.g., "It really wasn't such a big thing," or, "I was just doing my job."

2. Fails to share the praise or mention contributions of clerks and Director.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Taking, or refusing to take, credit for work done.

2. Sharing credit and acknowledging accomplishments of others.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. In this instance, the PCV should show some balance between accepting credit for the job and giving credit to others. If he refuses to take any credit, he may do a disservice both to himself and to the Director. By refusing credit or minimizing his contribution, the PCV is indirectly indicating that the Director shows poor judgment about where credit should go. Accepting the praise graciously, therefore, would be appropriate, provided that it is followed by giving credit to others who were involved in getting the job done. Public acknowledgment of accomplishment is a reward to those who have worked hard. This is especially relevant in the case of the supervisor, and serves not only as a reward, but demonstrates genuine esteem.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

c. Cultural Variations

1. In some cultures, the PCV will find that some people are so eager to give him credit that conflicts may develop with others. In other cultures, it will seem that credit is given only to indigenous people. Cite examples of both, and discuss effective actions on the part of the PCV.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

* * * * * * * * *

BACKGROUND FOR ALL PROBLEMS IN SERIES D

The Peace Corps Volunteer (PCV) has a background in physical education and hygiene. He has been sent to a remote village where a serious health problem exists, and where the level of physical fitness and health education are very low. His mission is to set up specific training for better health and sanitation practices. There has been an indigenous Village Agent (VA) there for some time, presumably working with the villagers on health and agriculture problems.

PROBLEM D-1

Situation

The PCV has just arrived at the village. No one has met his bus. He has walked through the town, and by giving the name of the Village Agent, he has been directed to the Agent's house. On his walk through the village, the PCV has noticed that most of the houses are in very poor condition. There are no signs of sanitary facilities or gardens. The PCV has finally arrived at the VA's house. It is very neat and trim, and has a well-tended garden. He has just entered the house.

Your Role

You are to find out about the villagers and the current situation in the village, what work is to be done, what the VA has tried; in general, you are to size up the problem. So far, it appears to you that the VA has accomplished little except for making himself comfortable. But you should try to get his help and recommendations about getting started.

Other's Role

The VA is discouraged, but not lazy. He has been in the village about six months and has made no progress in interesting the villagers in improving their living conditions. He says that he has tried, but can't get the villagers to repair their houses, build sanitary toilets, plant gardens, etc. One of the ways he tried to interest the villagers was by building his own house with their help. But they regard his place as something "special" that they cannot hope to achieve. In response to the PCV's question about the villagers, he says that they are apathetic, fatalistic, and lazy. If the PCV asks for recommendations about starting work, the VA tells him to set up training if he wishes, but that he has tried training and it will not be effective. He says that the villagers will come to a training demonstration out of curiosity but later will do nothing about their own situations. He recommends that the PCV go elsewhere -- to another village. The VA says that he has applied for a transfer himself, before his regular tour of duty is finished here. If the PCV is persuasive, the VA will agree to continue in this village, working with the PCV.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Introduces self, performing usual social amenities.

2. Casually asks about conditions, indirectly and non-specificially, e.g., "How are things going?"

3. Compliments the VA on his house and garden.

4. Asks about work to be done.

5. Asks about abilities, interest and motivations of villagers.

6. Points out that VA has had to work alone, and that the job has probably been too much to expect of one person.

7. Asks for VA's recommendations as to where "we" should start.

8. Tries to induce VA to continue on job with PCV's help.

9. Supports VA by telling him that he (PCV) will help him in every way.

b. Ineffective

1. Begins discussion of work without getting acquainted with VA.

2. Agrees that villagers seem hopeless.

3. Tells VA that he hears (or sees) that things aren't going too well.

4. Asks VA what he has been doing to improve things (putting VA on the defensive).

5. Tells VA that he has fallen into lazy ways and is thinking only of his own comfort.

6. Tells VA that he is not doing his job and that perhaps a transfer will be the best solution.

7. Asks VA for a free hand to run things in his own (PCV's) way.

8. Fails to ask for VA's recommendations.

9. Tells VA that he (PCV) will be able to get things going.

2. It would be proper to ask the VA about household objects, particularly new objects unfamiliar to the PCV. This would demonstrate that the PCV is interested in learning about the people and their homes and would create a favorable impression on both the VA and the village woman.

3. Since the PCV does not know how to respond to the offer of tea, the best solution is to defer the question to the VA. This would not only provide the answer, but would also show the VA that: a) you are concerned about doing the right thing, and b) you are relying on him for guidance.

4. If this house is typical of those in the village, the PCV will have to get used to such physical surroundings. One must be prepared for unfamiliar conditions and observe them without giving overt signs of discomfort. Showing displeasure or disgust with the filth would be a form of insult to the villagers and would indicate that the volunteer considers himself superior to them.

c. Cultural Variations

1. In some cultures it may not be appropriate to speak to the woman in the house or it may be necessary to wait until formally introduced before speaking to her. Cite examples of these different social forms in different cultures.

2. There may be some items in the home which should not be "noticed" or asked about, e.g., certain religious objects. Cite other examples.

3. Discuss ways of dealing with hospitality customs in different cultures. In some areas it may be expected that an offer of tea in a villager's home will be declined.

4. Visitors to new areas of the world usually approach such areas with general expectations of what they will find and how they will be treated. Despite this, displeasure may show inadvertently if conditions are sufficiently unusual. Obviously, particular conditions will vary with region.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-3

Situation

The PCV and the VA have devised a plan to help improve the homes of the villagers. The first step of the plan is to provide an example to the villagers by selecting one house and helping the occupants make improvements. The PCV has decided to ask the village leader to cooperate by encouraging the villagers to

watch the demonstration. The VA has arranged for the visit with the village leader. Although the VA's personal relationship with the village leader is good, he has not been able to get the leader's cooperation in the past.

Your Role

You are to try to get the village leader's cooperation in encouraging the villagers to watch how the improvements are made.

Other's Role

The village leader is most reluctant to deal with the PCV until he knows him better. He is shy, and wants to talk only with the VA at first. When responding to the PCV, he is almost monosyllabic; when responding to the VA, he is very voluble. He will respond to the Agent's request, but not to the PCV's. The VA is reluctant to deal with the village leader unless encouraged to do so by the PCV. If the PCV takes over, the VA will withdraw; however, if the PCV senses that the VA should be used as an intermediary, the VA will ask for the village leader's help.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Recognizes the village leader's reticence and immediately involves the VA in the conversation, despite the VA's reluctance, by asking VA questions, asking him to tell the leader things, etc.

2. Attempts to put the village leader at ease by interacting with the VA. Perhaps discusses matters of mutual interest while the village leader listens and becomes more at ease.

3. Asks the VA to ask the VL for suggestions as to which house might be used for the demonstration.

b. Ineffective

1. Tries to get village leader to deal directly with him (PCV).

2. Ignores the VA; doesn't work through him.

3. Presses for a commitment of cooperation from the village leader.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Using an intermediary.

2. Obtaining support of key people.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. It is usually appropriate to use an established individual as an intermediary in initial contacts with key people. The intermediary can pave the way sufficiently to permit the PCV to gain confidence and good will for himself once initial strangeness is overcome.

2. Support and cooperation will probably not be obtained without first gaining the confidence of the village leader. He must see the PCV as one who really wants to help, yet is not one who will try to ram his ideas across but is willing to consider the advice of others. To push for a commitment from the VL may antagonize him and increase his reluctance to deal with the newcomer. Soliciting his advice about the demonstration house would show that the PCV is able to defer to more knowledgeable people.

c. Cultural Variations

1. The use of a go-between is usually appropriate in most cultures; sometimes persons may take it as a mark of disrespect if direct contact is not made, especially if the intermediary is not respected or disliked. Some intermediaries are not suitable if they are identified with hostile interests, e.g., oppressive landlords, opposition political groups.

2. The time required to build confidence depends to some extent on the amount and type of previous contact with aliens and the rigidity of the status system in the community. Cite specific cultures or areas that vary with regard to these two points.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-4

Situation

The village leader has agreed that the villagers should watch the demonstration project and has selected the house. He also believes that some of the villagers should help on the project. A friendly relationship now exists between the PCV and the village leader. This morning the leader helped the PCV to compile a list of villagers with abilities which might be used in the project. (The VA had not asked the leader about such abilities in the past.) The PCV has discovered that two men, who have worked on a construction project in a larger town, are familiar with carpentry and masonry. Others can weave grasses. The PCV has returned to his quarters. The VA returns a moment later.

Your Role

You are to talk the project over with the VA. It would be helpful in planning to tell the VA about the information you obtained this morning, and to discuss how this information can help in initiating the project.

Other's Role

The VA is beginning to become more enthusiastic. This morning, on his own, he persuaded the resident of the selected house to help in the work. The VA has also talked to others about helping. He tells the PCV about these successes. If his success is not recognized, his enthusiasm will diminish. If the PCV recognizes the VA's accomplishments, however, the VA will ask the PCV what he has been doing, and will participate in further planning.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Listens to VA's story before telling him of his own success.

2. Expresses approval and pleasure at progress of VA.

3. Asks VA what his plans are now.

4. Asks VA about skills of villagers as a technique for bringing up his own findings.

5. Offers his help in getting the project organized and under way.

b. Ineffective

1. Does not let VA tell his story first, but immediately begins telling VA about his discoveries.

2. Suggests how things might best be organized before consulting VA.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Recognizing accomplishment.

2. Encouraging others to plan.

3. Acting tactfully by indirection.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. The PCV should be alert to opportunities to offer encouragement by asking about and praising the VA's initial

contributions. If the PCV uses this opportunity to talk primarily about his own discoveries, he will, in effect, imply that the VA's successes are of secondary importance.

2. One way of encouraging others to take a more active role is to encourage them to suggest plans about next steps. This implies confidence in their abilities. It would be inappropriate at this time for the PCV to take over from the VA unless specifically asked to do so. Offers to help and to support will reinforce the idea that the PCV is willing to follow the VA's lead.

3. In view of the VA's present enthusiasm, it would be a good time to begin some of the planning necessary to get the project under way, but without seeming to take the lead. By asking for suggestions, the PCV will be able to bring out his information in the form of helpful comments. For example: "Where do you suggest we get our materials?", "Who can help us with the materials once they are at the site?", and "The village leader told me that there are a few people here who are good at working with these materials. Maybe you could use them."

c. Cultural Variations

1. Recognition for work done is a basic human desire which the PCV will have to be aware of no matter where he goes. In giving credit to others, it may often be necessary to forego credit for one's own accomplishments. Discuss the implications of this action for the PCV and discuss instances in which it may be better to take merited credit oneself than to give credit to another, e.g., when credit may lead to the promotion of an incompetent person to the detriment of himself and others.

2. In some cultures there will be little or no experience in planning and organizing as we know it in the U. S. Discuss and cite examples. How might this planning be taught?

3. Indirection is not always an efficient method for getting things done, but in some cultures it may be the best way to get one's points accepted. Give reasons for this, citing examples.

* * * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-5

Situation

The rebuilding of the first house has been completed, with the PCV and the VA helping, teaching, showing, and doing a lot of the work themselves. In analyzing

the problems encountered with this first house, the PCV finds that the main delays occurred when each phase of the rebuilding was completed and all the less skilled men had to be taught about the completed phase before it was possible to start the next phase. This meant, in effect, that each man on the job actually did all of the tasks in the course of rebuilding the house. He realizes that the work methods must change if the job of rebuilding the whole village is to be done in a reasonable time. The crew that worked on the one house cannot possibly rebuild all the houses in the village. The PCV has decided, therefore, that in order to speed things up he will have to have men who do nothing but make clay bricks, others who only lay bricks, others who weave, and so on. In order to do this, rebuilding will have to stop for a time while men are taught to do these specific tasks. Then several houses can be built at once and the project will speed up considerably. The PCV would like to get this change under way soon so he can begin working on improvements in sanitation.

Your Role

You are to discuss your plan with the VA and get his cooperation.

Other's Role

The VA feels that the work is progressing well, but agrees that it will take a long time. He thinks that training more men would help, but that the villagers might lose motivation if the work stops now after only one house has been completed. The VA asks questions about how long it will take to train the men, how they should be selected, who would supervise them, etc. If the PCV suggests the VA take charge of the entire project, because he has done so well in getting things organized on the first house, the VA will be very flattered and will agree. He asks the PCV to help by giving advice from time to time.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Asks VA when he thinks job of rebuilding entire village might be finished at the present rate.

2. Asks VA what he thinks could be done to speed things up.

3. Suggests that if more men are to be trained they might be trained as specialists.

4. Responds with specific information on training time, methods of picking out new trainees, and supervision.

5. Suggests that the first crew help train and supervise the new men.

6. Suggests that VA take charge of entire project as general supervisor, complimenting him on his past work.

7. Agrees to act as advisor in future.

b. Ineffective

1. Lays out whole plan for mass-producing the work without asking VA's advice.

2. Tells VA that if the village wants to advance they are going to have to adopt some advanced methods.

3. Fails to respond with specific information for implementing new plan.

4. Fails to suggest that VA act as general supervisor.

5. Declines to act as an advisor or says that he must get on with other work and will be very busy.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Introducing new method or improvement.

2. Demonstrating own competence.

3. Utilizing abilities appropriately.

4. Preparing for future participation.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. Before agreement can be reached on a change from an existing practice, there must be agreement that a change is necessary. In this case, the VA should be guided toward recognizing the need for a change in work methods. This might be done through a series of leading questions, such as: "How long will the project take at the present rate?", "Why do you think the first house took so long?", "What can be done?", etc. The VA is thus led, by his own responses, to the conclusion that there is a need for a new method to solve the problem. He is also guided toward the PCV's method as a logical solution. It would also be appropriate to question the VA as to possible drawbacks to the contemplated method.

2. Once the PCV has gained acceptance of a general plan, he must be prepared to present the major details for carrying it out. If he presents details in a piecemeal fashion, or parries for time, or defers at this point to the VA, the VA who probably still has reservations about the plan, may infer that the PCV lacks real competence and is not advocating improved methods.

3. Using the experienced men for training the others is a logical plan, but it carries the risk of conflicting with established status patterns. These patterns need to be considered both in selecting the trainees and in grouping

trainees with specific instructors. Similarly, before utilizing the skills of the VA for managing the work, it should be determined that the villagers will accept him in this role. If this is not a problem, the PCV would demonstrate confidence in him by giving him the chance to lead the rebuilding project.

4. The PCV should not withdraw entirely from the project just because some major problems have been solved. It is necessary to check on understanding and to correct specific deficiencies as they become apparent. Since the VA has had little experience with "mass-production" methods, and it is a totally new plan to the villagers, he will probably appreciate further guidance. Even if he doesn't welcome it, it would still be necessary for the PCV to somehow supervise this transition phase.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Introducing new methods and techniques generally requires great tact, especially where the same methods have been used for a long time. Cite examples of countries where innovations are most likely to be resisted. Also cite examples in which specific kinds of changes might be resisted even though the idea of change is acceptable.

2. Demonstrating one's technical competence is a universal requirement. It should never be done boastfully or arrogantly. The ways in which it can be demonstrated will vary, e.g., in some regions, displaying any lack of knowledge would damage prestige; in others some persons may be sufficiently sophisticated technically to recognize an "educated" guess as being inadequate and may lose confidence thereby.

3. Supervisory responsibility is a new experience for many people in certain areas of the world. Discuss cultural factors which might influence the acceptance of supervisory responsibility and/or the ability to supervise effectively. Organization of work on the basis of individual ability is not as frequent in some countries as in others. Cite examples of countries where the division of labor is based primarily on factors other than demonstrated proficiency. Give examples of this in the United States.

4. In some countries, people may tend to become dependent on the PCV's advice. Since the goal is to make them as independent as possible, this dependency could create a conflicting situation for the PCV. Cite situations where this is most apt to happen. In other locations, a strong striving for independence may lead to premature attempts to get along without the help of the "outsider." Where might this happen and in what kinds of work situations?

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-6

Situation

Plans are under way to train more men and to get more houses rebuilt. The PCV is now ready to begin work on training in other health and sanitation measures. His mission instructions are to put primary emphasis on the control of flies and on the construction of sanitary toilet facilities. The VA is now doing well in supervising the rebuilding project. His cooperation is also needed in the other health and sanitation work. The PCV has just told the VA of his plan for the next steps.

Your Role

You are to seek the VA's cooperation in your plan to work on fly control and toilet facilities next.

Other's Role

The VA tells the PCV that these two problems are of less immediate concern than the problem of certain body parasites. He tells the PCV that he is afraid of an outbreak of typhus or other disease that may be spread by these parasites. He indicates that he has DDT, but that the villagers are afraid to be dusted. He also says that he has no experience with dusting persons with DDT and that he does not have a duster. If the PCV offers to make "de-lousing" his first priority, the VA will help him. If the PCV persists in going ahead with fly control and toilet construction first, the VA will say that he is too busy with his present work to help.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Agrees with VA that immediate attention should be given to body parasites.
2. Suggests that VA contact the village leader about getting the people to cooperate and to overcome their fears.
3. Offers to help VA set up a procedure for "de-lousing" the villagers in their homes.
4. Offers to show VA how to do the "de-lousing" operation.

b. Ineffective

1. Insists that VA help with fly control and toilet construction first.
2. Criticizes VA for not telling him there was DDT around before, or for not having made a duster already.
3. Says he will take care of the problem.
4. Fails to take into account villagers' fears.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Establishing relative importance of goals.

2. Overcoming irrational fears.

3. Devising new methods using available facilities.

4. Demonstrating new method.

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. Despite the fact that the PCV's mission calls for him to do certain specific things, he is here to do what is best for the health of the villagers. A knowledgeable person has given his opinion that "de-lousing" is of more immediate importance than the PCV's mission. It is likely that he is either right or has some other reason for not going ahead with the PCV's plan at this time. In either case, his opinion should be respected. In any event the "de-lousing" should take relatively little time and is probably a prerequisite for accomplishing the official mission.

2. If the village leader can be convinced that the dusting carries no danger with it, it is likely that the rest of the villagers will accept the procedure. The VA is certainly in the best position to overcome any fears which the village leader may have. Further, if the PCV agrees that the idea is a priority item, the VA will probably be willing to use his influence with the village leader to get the necessary cooperation.

3. Here is a case where ingenuity is important. A duster for DDT should not be hard to improvise, and the PCV should offer to make one. For example, the DDT could be put into a container punched with holes and used as a shaker.

4. Merely telling the VA how the "de-lousing" might be done is not enough. To insure that the job is done right, the PCV might demonstrate on himself and on the VA. This demonstration might also be used to overcome resistance or fear on the part of the village leader or other villagers.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Establishing relative importance of goals and priorities of action is a universal requirement which must always be done with regard to specific circumstances as well as a part of general planning. Circumstances, of course, vary with region, time, individuals, etc. Cite examples in our society as well as in others under various conditions.

2. Overcoming irrational fears often requires specific knowledge of the cultural reasons for the fears. Demonstration may be ineffective; appeals to written or legendary authority and institutional leaders may be necessary. Cite examples.

3. Ability to improvise is a function of exposure to many kinds of situations. Just as "jungle" improvisation might be difficult for us, mechanical improvisation might be difficult for certain other peoples. What other methods for dusting, for example, might have been suggested? Are there social or cultural factors that might encourage resistance to using improvised equipment? Demonstrations, though usually valuable, are not invariably effective because culture can condition even perceptions. Consider the following incident: An American woman, in showing her native cook how to bake a cake, broke the eggs, smelled them, and discarded the bad ones. When she checked on the cook later, he was smelling the eggs and discarding every third one. None of the eggs smelled bad to him; over-age eggs were considered a delicacy in his culture.

4. The selection of the person upon whom to demonstrate may be a key issue. The people might consider the PCV to be immune to the DDT, and the VA foolish for taking the risk, but might follow the VL because of his prestige.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-7

Situation

The villagers have been dusted and their houses have been sprayed with DDT. The PCV is now ready to turn his attention to the fly problem. This morning he talked again to the VA about the problem, but again the VA has balked. He tells the PCV that the villagers do not understand the connection between flies and disease. The VA says that he has told them that flies are dangerous but they do not listen to his warnings.

Your Role

You are to try to teach the VA how to demonstrate the danger of flies to the villagers.

Other's Role

Reacts as appropriate to the instruction. For example, if the PCV asks him to repeat the instructions he will do so, but with some hesitation. If the PCV has not suggested pictures in the demonstration, VA will tell him that the villagers generally understand pictures.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Shows VA how to use pictures to depict the role of flies in spreading disease.

2. Has VA repeat steps of demonstration, one at a time.

3. Compliments the VA on his understanding.

4. Asks VA what he thinks of the effectiveness of the presentation.

b. Ineffective

1. Tells VA that he should use pictures to demonstrate how disease is carried by flies, but fails to give specific demonstration.

2. Lectures to VA on how to teach danger of flies.

3. Demonstrates to VA, but fails to review VA's understanding of procedure.

4. Becomes impatient if VA fumbles or does not repeat accurately all the steps of the demonstration.

5. Fails to check with VA about effectiveness of the demonstration.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Using meaningful material in teaching.

2. Checking on understanding.

3. Praising.

4. Evaluating teaching method.

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. It is obvious that mere talk will not convince the villagers of the importance of flies in spreading disease. A simple graphic presentation would probably be more effective. Diagrams should be as self-explanatory as possible, with necessary lecturing held to a minimum. For example, a simple four panel series of drawings might show the following:

a) A line sketch of a sick person in one house showing flies around waste matter associated with the sick person.

b) Flies in flight to another house.

c) Flies landing on villager's food in second house.

d) Second villager shown as sick.

It might be even better to incorporate an analogy between flies and some other "messenger" idea which is familiar to the villagers.

2. If the VA is to use the demonstration with the villagers, the PCV should check to see that he can repeat the demonstration correctly. Such checking ensures that the facts are not distorted. Verbal assurance that something is understood is often not sufficient.

3. Elaborate praise is not necessary for every simple act performed correctly by an indigenous person. A simple acknowledgement of correctness is often all that is necessary to reinforce learning. The purpose in this instance is not so much to reinforce the VA, but to point out to him subtly that it is appropriate for him to praise the villagers when they, too, demonstrate understanding of a principle.

4. Since the PCV is still a relative stranger, he has little or no idea of whether his proposed method will work. He needs feedback from someone more familiar than he is with the minds of the villagers.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Pictorial demonstrations are fine if the indigenous people have the background to understand the material presented. Maps, for example, might be inappropriate in some cultures, but very useful in others; in some cultures tri-dimensionality is not perceived in pictures. Discuss the relative merits of different teaching or demonstration methods in different cultures.

2. Discuss the generality of learning principles such as reinforcement, trial and error, etc., as their application might be affected by cultural practices in different countries.

3. (See paragraph 2. above.)

4. (See paragraph 2. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-8

Situation

The PCV is now ready to start on the problem of constructing sanitary toilet facilities in the village. Several designs are possible, depending on the availability of materials. Therefore, an assessment must be made of the materials available, and a design selected which is compatible with these materials.

Your Role

You are to initiate the project and have arranged to talk with the VA about it.

Other's Role

The VA listens more than he talks. If he is not questioned about customs, he will be hesitant to go along with any plans. If questioned, however, he will cite some custom or belief which is a limiting, but not insurmountable, factor in the building of the toilets, e.g., placement of privies with regard to household shrines.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Asks VA about the kinds of materials which are readily available.

2. Asks what kind of design would be most suitable for the village.

3. Suggests to VA that they assess the resources of the village to determine what kind of facility would be most feasible and easy to build.

b. Ineffective

1. Tells VA to make a survey of the available materials and report back to him.

2. Tells VA that he (PCV) will make the survey himself.

3. Tells VA that he (PCV) will select a suitable design for the toilets and then they can work on the construction program.

4. Fails to ask for information about customs or beliefs which might be relevant to the project.

5. Ridicules custom or belief.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Organizing effectively.

2. Anticipating problems (indigenous customs).

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. It would seem at this time that the best way to work with the villagers is through continued cooperation with the VA. He has a great deal of knowledge about the village and should be consulted on any matters affecting the villagers' behavior. After the goal has been set, one of the first steps in organizing the job is to make an assessment of materials and designs. If the VA does not have the needed information, he would most likely know how to go about getting it.

2. The PCV will be demonstrating to the VA how he has progressed in his understanding of the villagers by mentioning the possibility of problems in a discussion with the VA. In addition, he needs the VA's advice on ways to overcome any cultural factors that affect the feasibility of the plans.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Variations are likely to be regional as well as cultural, depending on availability of raw materials. Customary behavior should be considered in any new design. Cite variations.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-9

Situation

This afternoon, the VA is out supervising his project. Just after he left, a villager comes into your quarters, obviously very upset.

Your Role

You are to react to whatever the villager has on his mind. However, you have only 25 minutes to spend with him because you have been requested to see the village leader within a half hour.

Other's Role

It seems that the VA has put him in charge of making the whitewash for the new houses. The VA gave him a recipe orally, which he repeats for the PCV:

1/2 bushel of whitewash mix

7 pounds salt

3 pounds ground rice cooked to a paste

1 pound glue

1/2 pound Spanish whiting

Mix and add 5 gallons water

The VA has given him:

1/2 bushel whitewash mix

1 10 pound bag of salt

1 5 pound jar of glue

1 1 pound tin Spanish whiting

The villager has brought all of the materials to the PCV in a wheelbarrow. He asks for help in getting the right amounts of each material into the mix. He has a large tub for making the mix. The only other equipment around is an empty one-quart bottle, a stick, and a few pieces of twine. The villager's wife has made the rice paste and used her gourd to measure it into three equal parts. It takes about 7 or 8 minutes for the villager to explain his problem. If the PCV demonstrates hurriedly the villager will show that he does not understand.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Listens patiently to villager's problem.

2. Writes recipe as villager tells it to him.

3. Helps villager by making a crude scale out of a stick and a few pieces of twine; shows how to measure the required amount of material.

4. Uses 1 pound of whiting as basic measuring standard.

5. Makes sure the villager understands what is going on. Has him participate in all the steps.

6. Successfully completes the training within the time limit.

b. Ineffective

1. Tells villager to get further instruction from the VA who has just left.

2. Criticizes the VA's failure to follow through.

3. Mixes whitewash for villager without showing him how.

4. Fails to make him understand how to do it.

5. Fails to solve problem of how to make the whitewash.

6. Uses the rice as basic measuring unit.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Devising method using available materials.

2. Checking on understanding.

3. Preserving the status of others.

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. The PCV needs to devise a method for mixing the whitewash and needs to show the villager how to do it then and there, despite the time pressure, to avoid appearing discourteous or insulting to the villager. This necessitates using the materials that are readily available. An approximate scale can be constructed for weighing all the materials, and filling the quart bottle twenty times will get the right amount of water.

2. At each step of the instruction, the PCV must make sure that the villager understands how to get the right amount into the batch. This is best done by watching him do it, rather than by asking if he understands.

3. Criticism of the VA will diminish his status in the eyes of the villagers and will have repercussions on the relationship between the VA and the PCV and on the VA's ability to accomplish his projects. Criticism in this case would best be given to the VA in private.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Not relevant.

2. The degree to which complicated instructions can be understood will vary both with the individual and with the culture. Cite examples, especially of cultures, where problems in following instructions are likely to exist, and indicate reasons for such problems.

3. It is fairly universally true that it is better not to criticize a supervisor in front of those he is supervising. Cite cultural differences as to the severity of the consequences of doing so.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-10

Situation

At a council meeting the village elders decided to abandon the more distant of the two pits that were being used as sources of clay for bricks in order to save the costs of haulage and unnecessary duplicated effort. As partial compensation to the owner of the abandoned pit for his loss in revenue, the council has decided to offer his older son a job in the pit still being used, to hire his cart for hauling finished bricks and to employ his second son as its driver. The owner of the abandoned pit has invited the PCV to his home for tea. The PCV is pleased and honored to find that several heads of prominent families were also invited. He realizes that all belong to one of the two main clans of the village. A couple of hours have been spent in conversation.

Your Role

You are to respond to developments in the conversation.

Other's Role

One of the elders asks PCV what he thinks about the desirability of building a new village community center. He then says that some of the villagers have discussed this informally and outlines the plans for a building with facilities for council meetings, a kitchen, club rooms for adults, recreation rooms for older and younger children, etc. It is obvious that he is thinking of an imposing civic building that would probably require more bricks than will be used in all the other village reconstruction work. He suggests that since more than half the village redevelopment work is done it would be wise to begin soon on the community center. He invites the PCV to the next council meeting and suggests that the PCV lend his support to the plan when it is proposed to the other village elders.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. In response to the direct question says that he thinks a new community center might be a worthwhile project.

2. Suggests that a more modest center than the one proposed may be more feasible in view of the limited funds allotted for the redevelopment project.

3. Expresses gratitude for the invitation but declines to attend the council meeting.

4. Explains that he thinks the project is a matter for community decision and that he, as an outsider, should not influence council decisions.

5. Says that if the council decides to build the center, he will be happy to give technical advice and help in building it. Says that if the council as a whole wishes him to attend in order to give his advice on the technical aspects of constructing such a building, he will be glad to do so.

b. Ineffective

1. Says that a community center is a bad idea, particularly after the elders have made it clear that they desire it.

2. Commits himself to support of the plan as proposed.

3. Accepts invitation to advocate the plan at the council meeting.

4. Fails to make a distinction between political involvement and technical assistance; fails to explain his reasons for refusing the invitation.

5. Fails to offer technical assistance if the plan is adopted by the village.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Tactfully avoids involvement in indigenous politics.

b. Relevance of Behavior Requirements

1. The PCV should not demean a new plan regardless of its origin. He may suspend judgment until he has been able to consider its merits, or express reservations if he can justify them. He should not express unqualified approval which may force him to commit himself to its support if such can involve him political matters. Involvement in indigenous political matters usually entails support of one faction and consequently almost invariably implies opposition to at least one other. Once he is involved the outsider cannot remain impartial and is bound to incur the resentment of at least one side. In this case, the PCV knows that the whole council has attempted to economize and

it would be unwise to advocate a costly project unless the village government decides to adopt it by whatever processes are customary. There may be political implications that are not apparent to the PCV; the plan could be a move to wean popular support from the Village Leader and his faction or it could result in loss to the owner of the other clay pit and so on. It should be recognized that declining to support one faction may consitute support of its opposition. But in declining the volunteer demonstrates at least that he does not willfully seek a partisan role. He should attempt to make clear the distinction between his technical role and any role that can involve him politically. Furthermore, it may be possible to make the distinction by demonstrating his continuing willingness to support both sides with substantive technical assistance despite his refusal to become involved otherwise.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Avoiding involvement in indigenous political affairs at any level -- local, provincial, or national -- is a universal requirement for Peace Corps Volunteers. This does not imply that volunteers should forego their own political beliefs. Rather, they should not permit their personal beliefs or technical positions to influence indigenous political matters.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-11

Situation

The Village Agent has gone to a village about twenty miles away and is expected to be absent for several days. One of the construction supervisors arrives to see the PCV.

Your Role

You are to react to whatever the supervisor has on his mind.

Other's Role

Supervisor is unhappy because the VA is absent. His men are restless and slowing down on the job. Says that the other supervisors feel the same way, and have selected him to speak for all. If PCV asks the supervisor what he thinks is causing the slowdown, supervisor will indicate that perhaps it is because the men see that the job of rebuilding all of the houses in the village is almost over and after that there will be no more pay. Says some of the men are planning to leave the village to look for other work.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Tries to determine the reasons for the work slowdown.
2. Tells supervisor that he will check to see if he can locate work for the men.
3. Tells supervisor to reassure men that with their skills they will not remain out of work long.
4. Tells supervisor that he will get word to the VA as soon as possible about the situation.

b. Ineffective

1. Tells supervisor that he (PCV) can do nothing until the VA comes back.
2. Does not try to get at the reasons for the work slowdown.
3. Does not try to motivate supervisor to encourage men to work without a slowdown.
4. Promises men work after they have finished.
5. Indicates that right now there is need for men in another village.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Accepting responsibility.

2. Reassuring.

3. Keeping people informed.

4. Acting within appropriate limits of authority and responsibility.

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. Since the VA is not to be back for some time, the PCV cannot delegate this immediate problem to anyone else or put it off. The PCV is the person with the most knowledge about the rebuilding project and perhaps is recognized as the real force behind the VA. The PCV must take action in this situation.

2. Since the PCV is aware of the general conditions throughout the country, he may properly reassure the men about the future need for skills. The men feel insecure because they don't know what their future employment may be. Neither does the PCV specifically, but he does know enough about the needs of the country and the skills of the men to be confident that there are other jobs for them. However, he should be careful not to promise anything specific. With appropriate organization the men can go to other villages to work as their jobs terminate here. But if the men knew about specific openings, they might go off on their own, leaving their present work uncompleted.

3. The VA is the responsible person for the rebuilding project, and therefore, the PCV should inform him of this new development at the earliest possible moment. Obviously, the VA did not anticipate such a problem when he left. He should now be informed so that his guidance on the problem will be available soon. PCV should send a complete report, telling the VA what he (the PCV) has done.

4. The PCV's present assignment is limited to this village. Therefore, he has no authority to promise men work elsewhere or to tell them about other openings in other villages. This would be a step beyond his authority and responsibility. For example, if the men left, the PCV would be blamed. Or, if the village leader decided that the men should stay in the village, the PCV's promise of work elsewhere could not be kept.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Discuss the degrees of responsibility that the PCV can be expected to have or be given in various communities in different countries.

2. In some countries, reassurance about future welfare by "public" officials traditionally carries little weight. Discuss the implications of such a tradition for the PCV working at the local community level in such a country.

3. Providing information to people who should receive it is a universal requirement.

4. (See paragraph 1. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-12

Situation

The PCV has written a letter to the VA about the problem of potential unemployment. The VA replied quickly, stating that he thinks that before anything further is done, there should be a systematic survey of other villages in the region to determine the rebuilding needs, local resources, opinions concerning redevelopment, and the man-weeks of work that would be involved in making necessary repairs. Further, he states that he would like the PCV to undertake this survey. Since this survey would take considerable time, the PCV realizes that even if he could undertake it by himself, the unemployment problem would be acute before the survey were finished. Another consideration for the PCV is his work in the village where his superiors expect him to remain until they notify him of a change. The PCV has, therefore, decided to discuss with the village leader the problem posed by the VA's letter in the hope that they may be able to arrive at a solution.

Your Role

You are to outline the problem to the village leader and react to his decisions. You should try to reach a decision or solution with him.

Other's Role

Agrees that the men should probably go to other villages to work, since that will increase the prosperity of his village too. However, he does not know what to suggest since he, also, feels that the PCV should not leave the village to make a survey. If PCV devises a workable solution, the village leader will support him in implementing it.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Offers alternative solutions which are workable and within the capabilities of the villagers. For example, says that he will train some men, one to go to each village, to get the information.

2. Requests village leader's opinion on the merits of each proposal.

3. Thanks the leader for his help.

4. Presents solution which involves appropriate use of the abilities of indigenous persons.

b. Ineffective

1. Flatly indicates that VA's request is not well thought out since he (PCV) cannot go off on such a mission.

2. Fails to come up with a workable solution.

3. Fails to ask VL for his opinions of alternative solutions.

4. Agrees to follow VA's suggestion.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Solves social problem, employing indigenous abilities

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. A number of solutions are possible, but one of the more obvious as well as effective ones would be to use some of the men who are about to become unemployed to conduct the survey. This would be making good use of available talents. The men are now familiar with building methods and problems. The leader should be consulted as a measure of respect and in order to obtain advice and information which he is likely to have both about his own villagers and others in the surrounding area.

c. Cultural Variations

1. There are cultural or political problems in many countries that may prevent the use of indigenous talent in ways which seem "best" from the standpoint of a particular project or of a visitor, e.g., the villagers may be reluctant to leave the village, or it may be imprudent to send them to other villages if there is inter-village rivalry or inter-tribal hostility. Discuss.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-13

Situation

The PCV has decided to go ahead with a method for estimating available redevelopment work within a twenty mile radius of the village. Using a map of the region he has encircled an area which includes twelve other villages. He has divided the circle into quarter segments and picked, at random, one village within each segment as a sample, representing all the villages in that segment. He believes that the results of a survey of the four sample villages would give a reasonable approximation of the needs in all twelve villages, yet could be accomplished in a reasonably short time. The supervisor on the local rebuilding project has agreed to support the PCV's plan. The PCV has called together the supervisor and four of his assistants to explain his plan and its implementation.

Your Role

You are to explain how and why you arrived at your plan and precisely the kinds of information that each man should obtain at the village to which he will be assigned. When you finish your explanation, each man should be prepared to go to a specific village to conduct the survey according to your plan.

Other's Role

The four men will ask questions and make suggestions, indicating lack of understanding of the sampling method, among other things. One will want to go to a different village in the same segment, since he has a relative there, and will want to know why this would be inadvisable. One will ask what "sample" means. Another will say that he doesn't think the job can be done in such a short time and will ask to be replaced, etc. If PCV asks for volunteers to go to each village, all four will choose the same one. The supervisor will support the PCV in all his actions, but will be of no real help with the men. He merely tells them they must obey the PCV, but shows that he probably doesn't understand the plan well himself.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Tells the men they have been selected to do job because of their knowledge of redevelopment and why it is important to them and to the village; emphasizes importance of each individual's contribution.

2. Explains sampling plan simply, in non-technical terms, using appropriate visual aids, e.g., map, survey forms.

3. Explains in detail the kind of information that is needed: village population; number of houses; estimation of the condition of each house; type and amount of repair needed; time required; available local building materials, water supply, tools; local opinion concerning house improvement; availability of local labor and skills.

4. Maintains control of the group, answering questions and objections, but still develops entire plan without creating antagonism.

5. Allocates responsibilities appropriately.

b. Ineffective

1. Becomes involved in complicated explanations beyond understanding of the group or gives explanations in insultingly great detail.

2. Fails to present whole plan including all of the items that should be investigated.

3. Fails to emphasize the importance of the survey or the importance of each individual's participation in it.

4. Fails to set specific times when the men are to report progress or to return.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Displaying supervisory skill (planning, directing, organizing and maintaining control of group, instructing, motivating, assigning responsibilities).

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. Managing and Supervising

a) Planning

It is important that all points on which information is wanted in the survey be included in the instructions to the men. Otherwise, one is likely to get only such data as one has asked for specifically, and nothing else. Alternative procedures should be provided in case difficulties arise after the survey begins. For example, these might be as simple as instructing the men to report back to the PCV when original plans cannot be executed.

b) Instructing

Even if there were no language difficulties, the PCV should use the simplest words to give explanations and instructions. Words that are not in the men's vocabularies should be anticipated and alternate ways of explaining should be devised which avoid such words. When necessary, words should be clearly defined on the basis of already meaningful concepts. Since understanding verbal instructions may be a problem, the PCV should be prepared with visual aids, drawings, etc.

The PCV should not belabor the men with explanation and instructions that are already familiar for fear of boring or insulting them. In general there is little risk of errors of this sort when dealing with technical material in underdeveloped regions. In doubtful cases the volunteer usually should risk error in this direction rather than leave people confused or ignorant.

c) Organizing and Maintaining Control of Group

Explaining new plan to four different people whose behavior will be influenced by the proposals in it and who have difficulty in understanding its purpose and substance requires patience, ability to carry out one's intentions with firmness despite interruptions, ability to create and maintain interest and common purpose and sufficient patience and tact to prevent hurt feelings so that the men ultimately understand what the PCV wishes them to do, why it is important, and agree to accept his assignments.

d) Directing

It is appropriate in this situation for the PCV to direct the men, rather than to permit them to develop their own plan, since only he has the knowledge to accomplish the job properly. He has the backing of three important people who believe the survey should be accomplished: the VA, the village leader, and the supervisor of the men assembled. It is appropriate, therefore, that he use the authority which these three have explicitly conferred upon him.

e) Motivating

Although the PCV is acting from a position of authority, it is important for him to point out why the survey is being done and to motivate the four men by giving them some stake in the project. For example, he should explain that they are helping their fellow craftsmen and the village as a whole. He should make it clear that he has chosen them for tasks of such importance because he has confidence in their abilities.

f) Assigning Responsibilities

In assigning men to specific villages, their preferences should be taken into account. Their special

skills and personality characteristics should be matched to the particular requirements of each village, if any are known, e.g., a diligent man should be sent to a large village, a tactful and mature man to a village whose leaders are especially concerned with status.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Managing and Supervising

a) Planning is a universal requirement; its depth and detail depend to some extent on the technical sophistication of the people who are to implement the plans, hence will vary with region and culture.

b) Understanding of technical terms is a function of experience and schooling which, in turn, depend upon the culture and opportunities it provides. Cite examples of commonplace words we all use every day that are abstract concepts in many parts of the world.

c) In some cultures the members of the group will be docile and cooperative; in some they may agree to cooperate without really understanding what is required and without asking questions; in others they may resent the foreigner's authority and impose major objections and difficulties.

d) (See paragraph 1.c) above.)

e) See previous discussions of cultural variations in motivating. Cite examples of culturally determined incentives, needs and rewards.

f) Ideally, men should be assigned to tasks on the bases of individual interest and skill. Tradition and political considerations, however, should enter into practical decisions regarding assignments overseas.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-14

Situation

The four men have returned from their survey of housing needs. Each has handwritten notes of his findings but none has prepared a written report summarizing the findings for the PCV. A meeting is in progress; the PCV will interrogate the men so that he can write a report of the findings. The PCV needs the same kinds of information about each of the four villages.

Your Role

You are to interview the men for the information they have collected. Basically your problem is to get information on the same topics from each man.

Other's Role

The four men first talk among themselves about their respective trips and personal experiences. When their attention is drawn to the purpose of the meeting, each will volunteer only generalizations about the survey. Some suggested generalizations are: "Families in 'my' village are larger than those here"; "Gardens are all on the outside of 'my' village"; "Only the young women in 'my' village were interested in rebuilding; the young men and older persons were not"; and, "They say in 'my' village that the Americans now run everything here." Except for such volunteered generalizations, none of the men will volunteer specific information. However, each will give a specific answer to a specific question.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Welcomes men back from their trip.

2. Interviews men together, but asks each the same question on a topic before proceeding to the next topic.

3. Listens with interest to conversation about matters not directly related to the questions.

4. Asks men to make estimates of missing facts.

b. Ineffective

1. Fails to welcome men back.

2. Interviews each man separately, going through all questions consecutively for each.

3. Quells discussion of extraneous matters.

4. Shows disappointment at missing facts, or openly criticizes men for failure to get certain facts.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Obtaining information systematically.

2. Being alert to volunteered information.

3. Respecting feelings, convenience, and wishes of others.

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. It is economical in terms of time to interview all the men at one time. Also, the men are likely to stimulate each other's memories. A group interview will reinforce the cooperative attitude which has prevailed in the survey project so far. Nevertheless, the PCV must obtain information from individuals, not group opinion. One way is to get an answer to each question from each man before asking another question. General discussion may be permitted after each specific question is answered if this is necessary to maintain group morale, but each general discussion should be terminated tactfully after a short period by asking another specific question of each of the four men.

2. The PCV should be alert to volunteered information that may furnish clues to conditions that he could not anticipate in planning the survey.

3. The men have been away for some time. It would be appropriate to let them recount personal experiences, to ask them about their families and how they fared during the men's absence, and so on. Permitting each man to answer one question and engaging in more or less irrelevant discussion before broaching a new topic will allow each person to contribute to the meeting frequently without becoming bored as might be the case if each man were interviewed fully while the others waited. Asking men to estimate missing data is a relatively subtle corrective measure as well as a means for obtaining information. The men have brought back information, and although it may be inadequate, allowances should be made for their effort and inexperience. More general improvements can be made later and privately.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages in various cultures of the following alternatives which the PCV might have used in the foregoing situation:

   a) Obtaining information from each man by use of a written questionnaire.

   b) Requiring written reports.

   c) Permitting the supervisor (who recommended the men) to conduct the group interview along lines suggested by the PCV.

d) Conducting four separate individual interviews.

2. Being alert to information is a universal requirement.

3. Regard for the feelings, convenience and wishes of others is a universal requirement.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-15

Situation

The PCV has been expecting a new assignment on instructions from headquarters. Meanwhile, he wishes to undertake some small project to fill in the time. He has decided to develop experimental gardens of interest to the village's young people. As usual, he is to present his plan to the village leader.

Your Role

You are to explain your plan. It is to be a pilot project for determining the best varieties and growing conditions for a particular vegetable, and for developing young people's interest in scientific agricultural methods. You are to obtain the leader's permission for the project, and if possible, a small house near the site of the proposed gardens.

Other's Role

Village leader is in sympathy with the garden plan and asks many relevant questions, such as, "How large will the gardens be?", "Will everyone be growing the same thing?", "Will the children be competing with one another?", etc. On the matter of the house, he suggests that the PCV have a large one that is available. Further, he insists that the village provide the PCV with a cook and a house boy. He says that the people in the village will have more respect for the PCV, that if he accepts the servants he will have status necessary for someone in the PCV's position. If the PCV refuses, the village leader will be hurt.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Explains plan, establishing modest goals.

2. Asks leader if there is a house available near the land that would be used.

3. Explains to the leader that he (PCV) is unaccustomed to servants and their proper use, and thus would feel better without them for the time being at least.

4. Graciously accepts house and servants on trial basis.

b. Ineffective

1. Establishes broad, extensive goals for the project.

2. Tells leader that he wants a house near the garden plots.

3. Refuses flatly to consider the acceptance of servants. Says that he will not go on with the project if this is one of the conditions.

4. Lectures leader on superiority of U.S. customs regarding servants.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Establishing realistic goals.

2. Requesting or accepting benefits or services tactfully.

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. Since the PCV's intention is to develop a short-term project, an elaborate plan would be inappropriate. It is not likely that a large-scale project could be organized and carried to completion unless the PCV's term in the village were extended. Even if the PCV's term were extended, a pilot project would probably be preferable to an extensive agricultural effort. After all, it is not intended that the experimental gardens produce food for the village. Rather, the purpose is to show what can and cannot be done by villagers in their gardens and to demonstrate techniques which the villagers can learn readily.

2. Even though the relationship between the PCV and the village leader is well established, it would be inappropriate for the PCV to tell the leader what he wants. It would be more appropriate for the PCV to mention his need for a change in quarters and permit the leader to suggest quarters which he thinks would be suitable for the PCV.

The basic problem in accepting or rejecting the offer of house and servant results from the conflict between cultural institutions which have influenced the lives of the PCV and the village leader. To the PCV, the thought of accepting services without direct compensation approaches the immoral. But the refusal to do so may be viewed as equally immoral to the village leader. In this situation, but unfortunately not in all situations involving incompatible cultural beliefs, negotiation is possible. The PCV can explain to the village leader that he is not accustomed to servants and would be embarrassed because he does not know how to treat them, or if

necessary, a definite trial period be arranged, perhaps to start several weeks after the PCV has moved into the house. It is important to remember that the leader is trying to honor the PCV, and that he does not intend to change the PCV's character or personal principles.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Discuss the following statement: In some regions, project goals that appear to be simple to Americans are too elaborate for the indigenous populations. In others, where people are impatient to develop rapidly, projects proposed by Americans are felt to be disappointingly meager and slow (though they may be realistic).

2. The major cultural institutions of any society are supported by a philosophy (often implicit) which most persons in the society accept. Discuss the implications of this statement for changes in any one institution, such as education, government, etc.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-16

Situation

The PCV wishes to move to the site of his garden project for several reasons: Twenty to thirty youngsters must be instructed at odd hours during the day when they are free of chores at home; the plots must be irrigated frequently in the early stages; and the PCV wishes to be able to protect the shoots from day-and-night-prowling animals before fences can be erected.

Your Role

You are to tell the VA, with whom you have been living, that you wish to move to new quarters.

Other's Role

If the PCV is not tactful, the Village Agent will be disturbed at the move. The VA will suspect that the PCV wishes to move because the VA has offended him. If the PCV justifies the move only in terms of his (PCV's) convenience, the VA will suggest that the PCV will not find it too inconvenient to travel the distance between the present quarters and the gardens, that arrangements can be made for the children to call on the PCV at this house before going to the plots, etc. Also will indicate that he regrets that they will not be able to see as much of each other, to talk over plans, etc.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Explains special requirements of project relevant to the intended move before mentioning intention to move, e.g., irrigation, protection of crops, or need to be on hand to supervise youngsters should they appear at gardens unexpectedly.

2. Expresses intention to move, but with regrets; indicates that he has enjoyed sharing house with VA, that he has learned much from him, that he could not have gotten along without VA's advice and instruction.

3. Requests permission to use VA's house insofar as project's responsibilities permit and to leave some of his belongings there.

4. Invites VA to visit him frequently, even to share new house with him if VA wishes.

b. Ineffective

1. Tells VA of intention to move without giving valid reasons.

2. Tells VA he wishes to move because it will be convenient.

3. Fails to express regret.

4. Fails to request permission to continue using VA's home.

5. Fails to invite VA to new house.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Maintaining close personal relationship despite obstacles.

2. Reassuring others who are disturbed.

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. The PCV will be confronted with circumstances beyond his control which may endanger or destroy well-established personal relationships. A change in external relations, particularly such as the intended removal from close contact, can be misinterpreted to mean a change in personal regard. Consequently, the PCV must make it clear that he does not wish to change the status of the relationship. The suggested behaviors are designed to provide such reassurance.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

c. Cultural Variations

1. The requirements are more likely to vary with the degree of friendship that exists than with general customs and traditions, although in certain cultures, under certain circumstances, behavior that amounts to a rejection of hospitality may be gravely insulting. Cite examples.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-17

Situation

The PCV has moved to the new house provided him by the village leader. After a few days in his new home an unexpected situation occurs. The servants who came with the house, the cook and house boy, expect their families to be fed by the PCV. They have been taking food home to their families without asking permission. Since the PCV cannot afford to support all these people, he must do something about the situation. He has decided, therefore, to go to the village leader.

Your Role

You are to try to persuade the village leader either to remove the servants (whom you didn't want or need in any event) or to adjust the food situation in some way.

Other's Role

If the PCV is tactful, the village leader will try to compromise by offering to support the families out of village funds, then by withdrawing only one servant. The village leader implies that he will agree to PCV's requests on condition that his two children be given preferential treatment in the experimental garden project. He asks that they be given the first garden plots.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Asks if it is customary to feed servants and their families.

2. Indicates that he feels servants could be of more use to the village in some other capacity, since he (PCV) does not need servants and is making little use of them.

3. Explains why he cannot support servants (lack of funds).

4. Explains that he would feel uncomfortable in burdening the village.

5. Agrees to give the leader's older child the first garden plot, and the second child the third or a later plot, pointing out that he does not wish to incur resentment of the other villagers by acting unfairly.

6. Agrees to retain one servant and to accept partial support for his family.

b. Ineffective

1. States bluntly that he cannot go on supporting servants and their families.

2. Accuses servants of pilfering.

3. Agrees either to take both of the leader's children first, or flatly refuses to consider them.

4. Fails to compromise with regard to the number of servants or the amount of support.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Negotiating

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. Negotiating is a frequent and important overseas requirement. In essence it involves:

a) Finding goals that are not mutually exclusive.

b) Compromising on specific issues (usually in quantitative terms -- in this case the number of servants, the amount of support, the precedence of the children).

c) Sometimes discovering apparently extraneous issues that permit compromise (in this case the children's precedence in the project), but are of value to the parties involved, or permit additional room for maneuvering or "saving face".

d) A solution to the problem that is at least partly satisfactory to both parties.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Cultures vary with regard to the propriety and amount of negotiation that is customary and with regard to the issues that are negotiable. In the U.S., for example, favoritism or fairness are ostensibly, and in fact frequently, not negotiable. Cite other examples in the U.S. and other societies.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-18

Situation

A number of the adults in the village have helped the PCV clear the brush off the land which will be used for the experimental garden project and have helped to level and deep-till the small plots which the children will use as gardens. While helping in this heavy work, the adults themselves became interested in the prospects of gardening and two of them have now come to the PCV requesting participation in the garden project.

Your Role

You must decline the requests of persons who have helped you in your work.

Other's Role

Show enthusiasm for developing community gardens to supply village with more food. If PCV rejects their offers to plant, cultivate, and harvest and does this without explaining the value of keeping the present project experimental, they will grumble and make derisive remarks. If the PCV explains that it is the results of the experiment rather than the immediate products from the experimental gardening which will help the village over the long run, they will withdraw demands for direct participation but will maintain interest in the project as an experiment.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Points out that the village depends upon its adult agricultural workers for an established food supply which should not be jeopardized by experiments that may fail.

2. Compares the experimental nature of the gardens to the first few house-rebuilding attempts; early mistakes needed correction but were not repeated in rebuilding subsequent houses.

3. Points out that because of his impending departure he (PCV) is not in a position to undertake a full scale project that would probably need to involve many of the villagers.

4. Suggests that they discuss their interest with the VA who is able to give them assistance in agricultural improvement.

5. Expresses hope that the children who will tend the experimental gardens have the same enthusiasm as their fathers, and asks for parental cooperation to sustain interest.

b. Ineffective

1. Tells him bluntly that their requests cannot be met because his plan does not provide for general participation.

2. Belittles the project as something beneath adult interests.

3. Fails to indicate the appropriate source of assistance (the VA).

4. Chides the villagers on not understanding the "experimental approach", or becomes impatient with their persistent interest in the food the gardens might produce.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Refusing request for assistance.

2. Providing explanations for refusal.

3. Directing persons to appropriate sources of aid.

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. Refusing requests for assistance is a delicate matter requiring great tact. The refusal must be explained in terms that are valid to the persons making the request. In this case, pointing out the experimental nature of the garden project (employing an analogy from the villagers' experience), the project's unsuitability for full scale food production, the importance of not risking the village's food supply and the inadvisability of initiating a large venture just before the PCV's departure are calculated to provide appropriate reasons for refusal. Obviously, appropriateness will depend on situational circumstances.

2. (See paragraph 1. above.)

3. Whenever a request for assistance is made, the requester should be directed to the appropriate source of aid, if one is available. If none exists, the PCV should go out of his way to provide the assistance himself if this is at all possible, or should inform the proper American or indigenous authorities that such a lack exists.

c. Cultural Variations

1. The suggestions made above apply universally. Explanations should be culturally meaningful. Reasons that are apparently logical to the PCV may carry little or no weight with persons from other cultures. For example, in some situations, unless reasons are couched in terms of status or religious requirements or other compelling factors that are usual causes of action in the culture, they may carry very little logic indeed.

* * * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-19

Situation

The PCV has obtained the seeds for his experimental garden project. He is now ready to begin the project.

Your Role

You are to instruct two of the youngsters in how to measure the boundaries of adjacent plots, each 10' x 20', and to lay out rows two feet apart. They are to plant the seeds six inches apart at a depth of one-half inch. The seeds of each variety are to be placed in alternate rows. You have kept the varieties of seed in two separate packets. If the seeds are mixed inadvertently, they cannot be separated since they are identical in appearance.

Other's Role

The boys, who are in their late teens, do not understand English, and there is no interpreter available. All instruction, therefore, must be given by demonstration. They do only exactly what they are shown. They have some difficulty in appreciating the need for straight rows and uniform distances and depths. The older boy assumes that he will be given precedence in choosing a garden plot.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Demonstrates how to measure off equal size plots by using some standard approximating a foot - perhaps a stick.

2. Demonstrates where and how to dig holes, plant seeds at proper depth, etc.

3. Has boys do each task after he has demonstrated.

4. Gives approval for correct performance.

5. Avoids favoritism but observes local protocol expected by both boys, e.g., permits the older to choose his plot first and demonstrates for him first.

b. Ineffective

1. Talks to boys in English.

2. Shows impatience with either if they do not follow his instructions.

3. Fails to correct errors.

4. Fails to show approval of good performance.

5. Gives older boy preferential treatment beyond that necessitated by local custom.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Teaching in absence of common language.

2. Giving treatment that is equitable according to local custom.

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. The main purpose of this situation is to instruct without spoken language. Sign language, demonstration, and other non-verbal techniques of teaching are demanded. The PCV is likely to encounter such situations more or less frequently. Even when the PCV can speak the language of the country there will be times when he does not know all the correct words.

2. Since the experiment should not be compromised, it will be essential that the treatment of the two plots be the same. The treatment of the two boys by the PCV, however, need not be identical since both of them will expect the older to receive precedence. Therefore, the older boy should be instructed to do each step before the younger one, but each should be given as much instruction as is necessary for him to learn the entire procedure correctly.

c. Cultural Variations

1. Signs, such as finger pointing, have special significance in some cultures, and certain signs might be offensive or even frightening. They often have specific sexual or religious connotations. Cultures also vary with regard to the many non-verbal cues of daily interaction, e.g., our "questioning looks" or "understanding nods" may mean something entirely different in other cultures.

2. Higher status persons tend to expect that more attention will be given to them than to their inferiors. However, persons with lower status may require as much or more of the instructor's attention. In some cultures, strong status demands, particularly those regarding age and sex, may make for delicate teaching problems.

* * * * * * * *

PROBLEM D-20

Situation

Most of the seeds have germinated, but many of the shoots of one variety appear to be dying. In the meantime, more seeds of each variety have arrived. The village leader has just arrived at the garden plots to look at the results of his sons' work.

Your Role

You are to dispel the village leader's misunderstanding of the experiment.

Other's Role

The village leader is chagrined that half the shoots are dying. He thinks that his sons failed to take proper care of their plots, and that they probably did not recite the proper blessings as they planted the seeds. When PCV explains that one variety of the vegetable may not be suitable for the area, the leader will suggest that only one variety be planted from now on. If the PCV explains clearly the need for continuing with both varieties for several more trials under different planting conditions, the leader will be mollified.

Possible Behaviors

a. Effective

1. Explains plan for the experiment to village leader in simple terms.

2. Reassures leader that sons worked diligently.

3. Explains necessity of continuing with planting of both kinds of seeds, e.g., shows leader other plots where both varieties are flourishing because of different soil composition.

4. Suggests sons continue in the experiment as a good example to others who might become discouraged.

b. Ineffective

1. Fails to explain experiment.

2. Explains experiment elaborately and technically or otherwise inadequately.

3. Agrees that sons' shortcomings may have had something to do with failure, or fails to reassure the leader about sons' competence.

4. Tells leader abruptly that blessings had nothing to do with the failure.

5. Agrees to change the experiment by giving sons only one variety of seeds for future plantings.

Topics for Discussion

a. General Behavior Requirements

1. Explaining a technical matter in meaningful terms.

2. Respecting others' customs and feelings.

b. Relevance of Behavior Principles

1. The experiment should be explained accurately and simply. There is little need for an elaborate explanation of experimental design, especially since the leader is upset. Rather a demonstration of results, pointing out the differences in seed varieties, soil, and other probable causative factors is more likely to correct misunderstandings.

2. It would be inappropriate to discount the importance of ritual and belief overtly. Rather, they should be respected and, if possible, they should be used for getting things done. This does not mean that one need adopt another's religious beliefs; it merely means that one must be tolerant of them. Respect should also be shown for the leader's concern for his sons' behavior and apparent lack of success by reassurance and clear indication that the PCV wishes them to continue in the experiment.

c. Cultural Variations

1. The amount of explanation necessary varies with the sophistication and interests of the listener. Discuss various ways to explain "experimental design" to persons of different ages and cultural backgrounds.

2. Respecting the customs and feelings of others is a universal requirement. Cite examples of failure to respect customs and of advantageous use of customs.

APPENDIX B

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

TOPICS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Below is a list of subjects which all Peace Corps Volunteers should learn about their host countries. The list is not exhaustive, mutually exclusive, nor consistent in levels of abstraction. Knowledge of each of the items or lack of it was mentioned by the project's respondents as factors in effective or ineffective overseas behavior. The list is not meant to substitute for the many excellent anthropological works on the countries to which the Peace Corps is or will be invited. The list is intended only to suggest the variety and range of information which should be acquired for effective service overseas.

1. Physical environment

   a. climate and weather
   b. geography
   c. topography
   d. flora and fauna
   e. housing
   f. equipment
   g. food and drink
   h. clothing

2. Religion, philosophy, and law

   a. sects and schools
   b. morals and ethics
   c. tradition, dogma, and taboo
   d. rules and regulations
   e. rites
   f. holidays

3. Societal structure

   a. nature of social groups
   b. stratification
   c. status of women
   d. sex and family relationships
   e. intergroup relations (class, caste, race, ethnic, tribal, village)
   f. personal and group loyalties and responsibilities
   g. social control (discipline, etc.)

4. Economic matters

   a. varieties of work
   b. levels of technological development
   c. major institutional practices
   d. resources
   e. money or exchange system

5. Education

   a. philosophy and scope
   b. formal educational system
   c. methods

6. Politics

   a. formal governmental structure
   b. officials and leaders and their interests
   c. other factions and their interests
   d. lines of authority and communication
   e. political issues
   f. practical political processes

7. Psychological factors

   a. capabilities
   b. work habits
   c. incentives
   d. attitudes concerning
      1) time
      2) age
      3) physical proximity
      4) physical size
      5) being photographed
      6) friendship with outsiders
      7) technical innovation
      8) the United States and other countries

8. Recreation and the arts

9. Etiquette (table manners, tipping, greetings, invitations, etc.)

10. Historical development of all of the above

33703 Army-Ft. Benning, Ga. 16 Mar 62 1000