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THE CONTENT AND EVALUATION OF CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING PROGRAMS

Richard W. Brislin

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THE CONTENT AND EVALUATION OF CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING PROGRAMS

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November 1970

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SUMMARY

Cross-cultural training has as its purpose the development of attitudes and behavior of U.S. military personnel such as to enable them to function most effectively in a foreign environment. The purpose of this paper is to review and evaluate military cross-cultural training programs in order to provide a cross-service comparison of the various programs and to suggest methods for evaluating long-range behavioral effects of such training.

Operational programs now under way within the services are: Personal Response Program (Navy, Marine), Troop-Community Relations Program (Army), and Area Orientation/Overseasmanship Training (Navy). In addition, the DoD has supported some experimental programs and they are also reviewed in this paper. These include: The Cultural Assimilator (sponsored by ARPA and ONR), Contrast-American Technique and COPE (sponsored by Army/HumRRO), and the Self-Confrontation Technique (sponsored by the Air Force). Non-DoD programs are also examined.

The programs reviewed exhibited many desirable aspects but also several important weaknesses. The primary critical point to be made about all of these programs, both operational and experimental, is the lack of data about effectiveness and inadequacy of methods for evaluating programs. In some programs no evaluation has been made, and in others the evaluation is overly dependent on verbal or written reports of the trainees. Little data have been gathered on trainees' actual behavior in overseas situations, even though the purpose of cross-cultural training is to encourage such favorable behavior.

It is recommended that research be conducted to determine whether the present operational and experimental programs are having the desired effect. In so doing, the following procedures are recommended: responses to trainee attitude questionnaires should be verified by other means; evaluation should be carried out objectively by researchers unassociated with the program under study; attitudes of host nationals should be sampled; data must be gathered on observed behavior of Americans toward host nationals.

If training effects are to outlast the classroom, social support for desired behavior is in order and means for accomplishing this should be explored. It is also recommended that techniques be developed for large-scale training programs. Lastly, a literature review of experience with trainee selection techniques and of the documentation of current programs is recommended.

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. BACKGROUND

Several programs exist in the military which have the purpose of training personnel to interact effectively in other cultures. Realizing that citizens of the USA often have difficulties working and socializing with foreign nationals, these programs prepare Americans to interact with people who hold different beliefs and values. These programs deal with the human element of working in other cultures and often complement other programs dealing with technical preparation for an overseas assignment. Such efforts are often called "cross-cultural training programs."

Officials within the military have recognized the need for cross-cultural programs. General William Rosson has written:

> "An individual or a unit may be extremely well-trained for counterinsurgency in terms of tactical and technical proficiency, yet be of little value for want of ability to communicate with the friendly forces we seek to assist, and for want of understanding of the problems and attitudes of the country concerned." (1962, p. 5)

Admiral Elmo Zumwalt, commenting on USA-Vietnamese interaction, claimed success for the Navy's effective turnover of its assets to the Vietnamese as due in large part to the cross-cultural training effort, Personal Response:

> "A significant amount of the credit for the outstanding relationships between U.S. Navy and Vietnamese Navy personnel goes to the Personal Response Program." (1969, p. 1)

The purpose of this paper is to review and evaluate cross-cultural training programs of the services so as to provide a cross-service comparison of the various programs and to suggest methods for evaluating long-range behavioral effects of training.

This paper reviews:

1. The content of programs now in operation or recently in operation, and their effects, if such evaluation data exists. Separately reviewed and evaluated are those programs considered to be experimental rather than operational.

2. Well-established principles of cross-cultural training as expressed in the literature and by program administrators.

3. Techniques for evaluation of cross-cultural training, especially the long-term effects of an individual's behavior toward members of another culture.

This paper will quote and review many studies and summaries of programs, but is not intended to provide the information to plan and carry out a new cross-cultural training course.

The paper is a review of training for interaction in other cultures. It does not directly address the question of black-white relations within the American military services, although some of the points regarding such issues as communication and program evaluation will obviously be applicable.

The training programs under review generally contain classroom exercises such as group discussions, lectures, demonstrations, films, or video-taped interactions between Americans and members of other cultures. Often these materials must be presented to large numbers of people at one time. Guided readings, either books or more structured programmed material are often given to trainees. Some training programs have members of other cultures present to answer questions. Other programs encourage action of some kind to be done outside the confines of the training center; for instance, suggesting that Americans might help clean up a polluted area or visit a home in another country. Such actions, it is thought, reinforce favorable attitudes learned during training.

Specific information about a given country is also presented during training. This is often called "area information." Some

training programs teach geography and history while others deal with such human problems as decision-making styles and customs that should be appreciated. One need within the military is to obtain facts about human interaction problems in different countries because such material rarely appears in handbooks. Such information is available on Laos (Kraemer and Stewart, 1964); Korea (Humphrey, 1966; Froelich, 1969); Vietnam (Hickey, 1964; Bourne, 1970); and the Philippines (Guthrie, 1966).

Information on many countries is given in Foster (1965) and Foster and O'Nan (1967). The periodical, Journal of Developing Areas, contains bibliographic references to recent work on interaction problems in other cultures (as well as other topics). For instance, the recent list by Burton (1970) contained articles on Nigeria, Algeria, and Latin America.

B. ORGANIZATION OF THE REPORT

The subsequent sections of this report review operational programs, that is, those programs now under way within the three services; experimental programs, that is, those programs still under investigation by DOD; and non-DOD programs, specifically Peace Corps and academic programs. Section V reviews the various methods used for the evaluation of training programs, while Section VI reviews the desirable aspects of the various programs. The interesting but still unresolved issue of whether training should be cultural-specific or cultural-general is discussed in Section VII. The principal conclusions reached after reviewing all of the foregoing programs are presented in Section VIII. Recommendations for improving the methods used for evaluating training programs and for improving the program techniques are outlined in Section IX.

II. OPERATIONAL PROGRAMS

A. THE PERSONAL RESPONSE PROGRAM

"Personal Response" is a cross-cultural training program begun in 1965 by the U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps. The program began in South Vietnam for the training of Marine and Navy personnel with regard to American-Vietnamese interaction. Although the program is now more widespread (and there are plans to increase the range of trainees even more), some people think that the program is only for Vietnam. Information about the program was gathered from articles by McGonigal (1968), Newman (1968), the Ph.D. dissertation by O'Connor (1970), and interviews with officials in Washington, D.C., Quantico, Virginia, Camp Pendleton, California, and Coronado, California.

Newman (1968, pp. 3-4) described the basis and philosophy of the program:

> This project grew out of the realization that the behavioral patterns and attitudes of people are a natural consequence of their religious, cultural and ethical convictions and value systems and that greater understanding of a people could result from increased awareness of these convictions and systems. Such increased understanding is regarded as one of the keys to the modification, and eventual elimination, of unfavorable attitudes and offensive behavior patterns toward indigenous citizens. Simultaneously sound educational and communications techniques are employed to promote positive attitudes and effective inter-personal encounters between American military personnel and the citizenry. The key to these constructive patterns of behavior is respect for indigenous peoples and their way of life based on their intrinsic worth as human beings and on the traditional concern of Americans for the freedom and dignity of men.

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1. The Content of Training

The fundamental elements of the Personal Response program (hereafter PR) provide the ideas and concepts around which training efforts center. All examples are for Vietnam since the largest amount of effort has been centered there.

1. The nature of communication between Americans and members of other groups is discussed. This topic includes nonverbal communication (Hall, 1958), e.g., gestures, facial expressions, etc.

2. Self-awareness is emphasized so that individuals may realize the basis of their own attitudes and then be able to understand why they behave in certain ways toward members of out-groups.

3. Role-reversal drills are implemented in which Americans play the role of another, perhaps a Buddhist monk.

4. Ideology is discussed, for instance, the American belief in the equality, freedom, and dignity of man.

5. Area information is taught. This information is specific to a given area, such as Vietnamese eating habits, sanitation problems, methods of respecting women, etc.

To implement the teaching of these elements, materials and methods have been developed. Newman (1968) listed seven types, and another has been added recently:

1. Study resources, such as the Unit Leader's Personal Response Handbook and material on Vietnam's religions.

2. Lecture-discussions on sanitation, food, customs, government practices.

3. Group-discussion materials, suggested in the Unit Leader's Personal Response Handbook. In these groups, problems of American-Vietnamese interaction are often raised.

4. Role-playing scenarios in which, for example, a Marine might play a Vietnamese farmer and argue with another Marine simulating a routine patrol. The purpose of these exercises is to have Americans

see the Vietnamese point of view. At times these exercises become quite emotional, as in sensitivity groups. Disparaging remarks might be directed at an individual, and then this scene discussed. The question is asked, "How did it feel to be 'put down'?" Any hard feelings are lessened when the purpose of the exercise becomes clear.

5. Newspaper and informational articles.

6. A multi-media presentation including slides and taped sound. The developer of this teaching unit realized that 18 to 22 year old trainees are used to receiving information through several senses since they have been brought up with television.

7. The results of data collection, such as responses to attitude questionnaires and critical incident measures, that gauge program effectiveness and needed emphasis. For instance, one survey (summarized in O'Connor, 1970) asked Vietnamese citizens about Americans. The data revealed that Vietnamese admire these positive traits: Americans are brave, generous, pay their debts, and like children. They disliked these negative traits: Americans scorn the Vietnamese people, are too loud, cause inflation, and encourage prostitution. Such information is very useful as guidelines for lectures and discussions, role play situations, etc.

8. Posters and bulletins that remind Americans about host national customs and common courtesies.

2. Trainees

Marine and Navy enlisted personnel receive training in one or more places. All enlisted Marines going to Vietnam and Okinawa receive four hours of pre-deployment training at Camp Pendleton, California. Officers receive one hour at Camp Pendleton. Training there is under the direct control of a chaplain. Just after the writer's visit to Camp Pendleton was completed, a two and one-half hour program for young NCOs was to begin. The desire to increase this block of time to three days was expressed.

In South Vietnam, Americans in combined action platoons (14 Marines, 1 Navy man, and 35 Vietnamese PFs) receive seven hours of PR. Other Navy and Marine personnel receive training from visiting teams stationed in DaNang or Saigon. The trainers or leaders of these visiting teams are most often not chaplains but rather experienced NCOs and line officers trained by a chaplain and a Personal Response (line) officer for five to eight weeks. This line officer is assigned to the office of the chaplain in charge of PR in either Saigon or DaNang. Both the chaplain and line officer have PR as their full-time job. All Navy chaplains assigned to Navy commands in Vietnam (not having PR as primary duty) receive a two-hour pre-deployment briefing at Coronado, California. Navy chaplains assigned to Marine units in Vietnam receive a four-hour PR training/briefing at Camp Pendleton.

At Quantico, Virginia, Marine officers of the rank of major and above may take a three-hour elective course in PR. All newly commissioned second lieutenants also receive such training. With so many training centers it is easy to wonder if there are large variations in the training content described previously. This potential problem is minimized since the Unit Leader's Personal Response Handbook is used at all places and thus provides some standardization.

A small effort has been made in training the Vietnamese in PR. The PR officer in Saigon recently trained 14 Vietnamese Naval officers for one week. These officers were then to go back to their own units to train Vietnamese personnel. In addition, the Vietnamese were encouraged to show Americans how Vietnamese make their living, eat, raise children, etc.

3. Evaluation

Data on the evaluation, or effectiveness, of the PR program is minimal. McGonigal (1968), one of the first chaplains to work on PR, was able to gather questionnaire data from trained and untrained units in Vietnam. This study was undertaken before all units began to receive training, as is the case today. McGonigal found that trained units reported more favorable attitudes toward the Vietnamese than

untrained troops. No data was available on favorable behaviors toward the Vietnamese, or whether the Vietnamese felt that there was a difference between trained and untrained troops.

One chaplain long involved with PR indicated that the one great weakness of the program is the lack of evaluation data. This chaplain would like to know if his program is effective so that certain training aspects can be changed if evaluation studies show weaknesses. In other words, feedback to the trainers is needed. As well as being aware of the need, program administrators realize that evaluation in the field (Vietnam, Okinawa, etc.) is difficult and expensive, demanding a sizable budget. These and other issues in evaluation are discussed later under a separate section.

4. Problems Involved in Personal Response

Discussions with Personal Response administrators brought out several problems associated with the program. Their openness in discussing problems indicated a healthy desire to improve it for the future.

1. There is little data on the effectiveness of the program as determined by its long-range effects on actual behavior in the field. This point was discussed above.

2. Large numbers of people must be taught at one time so that personalized instruction is impossible. At Camp Pendleton, for instance, 340 men are instructed at a time in a big auditorium. Techniques are needed to instruct large numbers of trainees.

3. Officers having responsibility for the program cannot always select the people who will actually train enlisted men in the field. Some officers do not want to be involved in PR since they do not believe it to be especially beneficial to their careers.

4. The program to instruct the Vietnamese themselves in PR is relatively small.

5. When chaplains themselves interact within troops, they sometimes are unable to communicate effectively because of their position.

Swearing, telling dirty jokes, and lecturing with cigarette-in-hand does not help.

6. Some trainers put together entertaining and attention-getting presentations, but are ineffective because it is apparent that they do not deeply believe in the program. The writer was told this story: An insincere officer described PR ideology and the need for good American-Vietnamese relations to an audience of enlisted men. His presentation was effective in keeping attention and generating discussion. But upon completion he was asked, "That was fun, but do you really believe all that *#!?"

7. In any new program like PR the first generation of administrators, as innovators, may possess tremendous enthusiasm. This may not be true for their successors. This problem has not yet occurred with PR, but the possibility should be kept in mind. Attention needs to be given to providing continuity and momentum.

B. TROOP-COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM

Since 1964, the Army Research Office has sponsored a cross-cultural training program developed by the American Institutes for Research (AIR). The program has trained large numbers of U.S. Army troops after they have been assigned to Thailand or Korea. Training takes place in these countries. In Korea, parallel programs exist for both U.S. and South Korean personnel. Information about the program was derived from the writings of Humphrey (1964, 1968), Spector (1968, 1969), Spector, Parris, Humphrey, Aronson, and Williams (1969), and from conversations with AIR officials. In addition, an unpublished summary of the program written by Dr. Bert King (summarized in R. Campbell, 1969) was helpful.

1. Content of Program and Trainees

The reasonable goals, which also provide the framework for the program, are:

a. Develop in Americans positive regard for host nationals,

b. Develop an understanding of the fundamental similarities among human beings,

c. Develop habits of dealing with each host national on an individual rather than a stereotyped level,

d. Provide trainee "with a way of observing, analyzing, and integrating cross-cultural phenomena which permits him to deal independently and realistically with the situations and problems that he encounters while living abroad,"

e. Prepare trainees to withstand culture shock,

f. Develop feelings of responsibility in each person for the improvement of relationships with host nationals,

g. Reinforce training "through group facilitation and support, and ... develop within each individual a sense of group involvement,"

h. Give specific information about host-national attitudes, customs, etc.

These are based on the ideology that there is a fundamental goodness in human beings, and that this ideal can be communicated to U.S. troops. The content of the program consists of briefings, discussions, and an action program. Examples will be for Korea since the largest amount of training has been done there.

1. Briefings are given to the senior officers and unit commanders. They consist of descriptions of the program and of its practical benefits. The briefings are designed to elicit cooperation and enthusiasm so that these officers will pursue the program aggressively. Spector (1969) realizes that the program will not be effective unless it is supported at high levels.

2. Discussions are held, and consist of 16 one-hour sessions designed for junior officers and enlisted men. Discussion leaders are prepared by additional training. These discussions are often aimed at specific problems and concerns expressed by U.S. personnel. Spector (1969) wrote of a discussion topic and the method for bringing up significant points:

> "For example, many of the men object to the smell of human waste which is used as fertilizer in many developing countries. This practice tends to reinforce the notion that host nationals are inferior. Yet when the men realize that

human waste is necessary under present conditions to produce sufficient food to sustain the population, and when they have consciously articulated the preservation of human life as a primary value, they see it as a positive rather than a negative attribute of the host nationals. Their annoyance with the smell is viewed as trivial when measured against the larger need.

"The men are encouraged to search for significant reasons for prevailing host national conditions, attitudes, and behavior. They are shown how the struggle for survival--a society's methods for maintaining human life, welfare, and order--is related to its peoples' feelings of obligation and propriety; how the availability of natural resources affects economic conditions and personal concerns and habits, and so on. The discussions return again and again to first principles and primary factors for elucidation of cross-cultural issues and problems.

"Further, the men are encouraged to search their own experiences, the experience of other Americans, or of the U.S. in an earlier day for parallels to the behavior and conditions they find abroad so that they can more readily recognize factors which have contributed to or caused the conditions they meet in the developing world. Thus, it is noted that we too in the United States used human waste extensively before the development of the chemical fertilizer industry, and for precisely the same reason. In this way, the men are provided with conceptual and analytical tools and habits that on the one hand continually reinforce the identity and similarity between themselves and their hosts, and on the other enable them to find the realistic operative reasons for the things and events that they encounter." (pp. 16-17)

3. Action programs are, in this writer's opinion, the most important aspect of the training. After the troops have discussed specific problems, as in the previous example, Spector (1969) points out that they tend to be less hesitant to engage in action relevent to that problem. At this point in training, they are presented with specific action recommendations. For instance, since the man no longer has such negative feelings about human waste used as fertilizer, he may visit a Korean home. The pleasant experiences associated with this action reinforce the positive feelings learned during the discussions. Such actions may be that troops:

a. Learn some of the local language,

b. Spend time with Koreans,

c. Eat Korean meals,

d. Refrain from ridiculing Korean behavior,

e. Avoid derogatory language and names,

f. Encourage peers to take similar actions.

After the first action, e.g., eating some Korean food, the soldiers are often interested in learning more. They may ask for information about table manners, what other foods taste like, where to find it, etc. It would be useful if the numbers of these behaviors could be documented since such data are a good measure of program effectiveness.

As training continues, the troops are encouraged to participate in more extensive action programs, for instance:

a. Teaching English in Korean schools,

b. Socializing with Korean residents,

c. Undertaking small-scale community development projects, such as tree planting, farm development, or playground organization.

2. Evaluation

The evaluation of this program is the most extensive of any within the Department of Defense, but improvements can still be made. Three evaluative studies have been done in Korea, all of which are summarized in Spector (1969) and Spector et al. (1969).

1. An attitude survey was taken of large numbers of troops in trained and untrained units. Trained troops reported more favorable attitudes toward host nationals, than did untrained troops, and felt that Americans (rather than Koreans) had more responsibility for good U.S.-Korean relations.

2. In the first step of another evaluation study, ratings were made by both Army program staff officials and research scientists concerning which units had effective versus ineffective programs. Effectiveness was based on the number of lessons presented, extent to which minimum training standards were exceeded, etc. Soldiers in effective programs reported more favorable attitudes than soldiers in ineffective programs. It is interesting to note that the men in ineffective

programs still reported more favorable attitudes than men who were in units that received no training at all.

3. Using the same unit effectiveness ratings, it was shown that Korean soldiers working with Americans in effective units reported better U.S.-Korean relations than soldiers working with Americans in the ineffective units.

Those researchers who accept attitude measures exclusively for evaluation will find the above results impressive. Those who feel that such evaluation methods are too dependent upon attitude measures, and the writer is one of these, will be more critical.

Unfortunately, no studies of actual behavior of U.S. troops toward Koreans have been made. Are there fewer fights? Do GIs volunteer free hours to help host nationals? The purpose of training, of course, is to increase incidents of constructive behavior and not to increase the number of favorable verbal or written reports on an attitude scale. This point will be brought out again in the section on evaluation, with the caution that there is no established relation between what people say they like and what constructive behavior they will thus engage in.

3. Problems

Although 50,000 men a year are supposed to receive training in Korea, the actual figure is closer to 25,000. Methods must be found to ensure that training takes place within every unit, and why the above discrepancy exists.

C. AREA ORIENTATION/OVERSEASMANSHIP TRAINING

Since May of 1961, the Navy has sponsored an overseas orientation program under the direction of David Rosenberg. This program is administered by the General Military Training and Support Division of the Office of the Assistant Chief for Education and Training, Bureau of Naval Personnel. The training consists of a three-hour demonstration and subsequent discussions, and has the purpose of preparing Americans for pleasant and trouble-free liberty in foreign ports. The emphasis of the training is on the person-to-person relations between Americans

and host nationals. Information about the program was gathered from articles by Smith (1961), Clarke (1963), Mapes (1967), David (1968), and a short summary by program director, David Rosenberg (1970) as well as several discussions with him. In addition, Rosenberg presented his program, along with demonstrations of his techniques, to the Institute for Defense Analyses in early 1970.

1. Goals, Content, and Trainees

The vast majority of trainees have been U.S. Navy sailors about to go on liberty in foreign ports. Well over 750,000 men have been briefed. Through the request of others, however, the program has been given to dependents of active duty personnel, reserve units, Army personnel at Ft. Bragg, congressmen, the State Department, educational institutions (including the U.S. Naval Academy), and foreign nationals.

The program is based around the efforts of one man, with Rosenberg travelling to most Navy ports around the world. It is difficult to convey the spirit of the three-hour demonstration. Rosenberg is a folk-dancer (expert), linguist, stand-up comic, magician, tour guide, slide-show commentator, and "old-salt." He possesses a tremendous amount of information about most countries, and he is usually able to give answers to questions that come up during discussion periods. Most of the time books are not needed. The atmosphere is that of a three-ring circus with Rosenberg prancing about, performing dance steps, putting on different costumes, throwing candy, and giving very practical advice on how to have a good time and stay out of trouble. He brings along many flags, road signs, and large souvenirs to show his audience. He covers drinking (but begs his audience not to get drunk), meeting host nationals, getting dates, buying worthwhile souvenirs, and respecting local customs. Mapes (1967) wrote:

> "American servicemen, of course, are constantly barraged with films, booklets, chaplains' talks, and medical lectures urging them to stay out of trouble in foreign lands. But the Navy's overseasmanship program is unique in that it speaks to sailors in their own language. The service hopes that with a little of Dave's entertaining prodding, sailors will forsake the time-honored dockside gin mills to see something of the countries they visit and spread some American goodwill in the process."

Rosenberg exploits the talents and interests of the members of his audience. Before he arrives on board, sailors fill out a "skill finder," a questionnaire asking each person what his interests are, what dances can he do, what instruments can he play, what skills can he teach others, etc. After the answers are summarized by personnel on the ship, Rosenberg knows how to best address his audience. He brings strangers together who have the same skills, and points out where these groups can explore their interests in the host country. A major point of emphasis is that Americans should know the diversity of customs and practices in their own country so that experiences in foreign countries will not be so strange. In face-to-face interactions after the demonstration, he draws individuals out, chatting about mutual interests, giving as much information as he can. He tells the sailors "what's in it for them." He encourages sailors to try new experiences rather than sit in bars and tourist traps that cater to Americans. Rosenberg's underlying assumption is that Americans would like to have pleasant liberty, doing new things, if they only knew how. The purpose of the program is to give such instruction, showing the trainee how to be comfortable in another culture. Information is specific (e.g., in Spain, do not cheer the bull at bullfights; in Oslo, do not hail a cab, call one, etc.). When Rosenberg briefs crews about to leave for a hemispheric defense exercise in Latin America, specific information about those countries is presented.

2. Evaluation

Data on program effectiveness is minimal and anecdotal. Navy officials are convinced that the program has decreased the number of sailors who were arrested or made trouble during liberty. For instance, Rosenberg presented his program on several ships before a recent cruise to South America, and it is reported that there were no arrests in 23,000 individual liberties. Many unsolicited letters have been received by officers and enlisted men explaining that they found the program valuable. Rosenberg's program has been part of three major network television programs, and a Wall Street Journal article. There have, however, been no formal evaluative studies of the program.

3. Problems

1. Evaluation data is minimal. Realizing this, Rosenberg would welcome collaboration with researchers and would cooperate in every way possible. He would like to know which aspects of his demonstration are effective so that he can emphasize these and experiment with the aspects that are not "coming across." A formal study of the number and types of incidents during liberty for trained versus untrained ships would be a good start.

2. The program is a one-man effort, and Rosenberg himself can only handle so many demonstrations a year. He would like to select and train an assistant and increase his staff. This, of course, means that more funding will be needed. Obviously, the assistant would have to be an exceptional person.

3. Rosenberg has begun to put some material on video-tape to complement, but not supplant, the live demonstrations. Professional assistance would be helpful.

Having met David Rosenberg and seen his demonstration, it is difficult not to be as enthusiastic about the program as he is. Evaluation studies, however, will be useful in pointing out aspects that could be expanded or discarded. Any training program, after all, is open to improvement.

III. THE EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAMS

A. THE CULTURE ASSIMILATOR

Social scientists at the University of Illinois, supported by ARPA and ONR, have developed and evaluated the culture assimilator. This technique has been subjected to more empirical study than any other training method. The information presented here was gathered from several summary statements of the research (Triandis, 1968; Fiedler, 1969; Mitchell and Triandis, 1970) and the work of Foa and Chemers (Foa and Chemers, 1967; Mitchell and Foa, 1968; Chemers, 1968).

1. Goals and Content

The goal of assimilator training is to prepare trainees for specific interpersonal situations in a specific country. In addition, training should "expose members of one culture to some of the basic concepts, attitudes, role perceptions, customs and values of another culture" (Fiedler et al., 1970, p. 1). Since training is culture-specific, there is a different assimilator for every pair of cultures. That is, assimilators are designed so that members of one given culture (e.g., USA), learn about another (e.g., Iran).

The culture assimilator is a reading exercise comprised of a series of episodes that previous visitors to a given country have labeled as problem situations. Each episode describes an interaction between a visitor (Americans, in the examples below) and a host national. After reading about the interaction, the trainee selects from among four different interpretations. If the trainee makes the right choice that best explains the interaction, he is praised and then asked to study the next incident. If he makes a mistake, he is directed to read why his choice is wrong and asked to restudy the episode and make another choice. Trainees proceed at their own rate, and no trainee can proceed

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beyond any one incident until he has discovered the correct interpretation of that interaction between people.

Assimilators have been developed for the Arab countries, Thailand, Iran, Greece, India, and Honduras. An assimilator for black-white relations within the USA is being developed under Prof. Fiedler, now at the University of Washington. The interaction incidents are validated by asking host nationals to give the correct answer, without seeing any of the alternatives. The host nationals also indicate how important the story is and how frequently they feel it might occur. All incidents must score high on these ratings. After these indices of agreement, importance, and probable occurrence are used to discard non-useful incidents, the assimilator contains 75 to 100 episodes, from an original pool of 150 to 200.

The example below is from the Thai assimilator (Fiedler et al., 1969, pp. 4-7). The numbers (X-1, X-2, etc.) refer to different pages in the readers' booklet of incidents and interpretations. The incident:

Page X-1

> One day a Thai administrator of middle academic rank kept two of his assistants waiting about an hour for an appointment. The assistants, although very angry, did not show it while they waited. When the administrator walked in at last, he acted as if he were not late. He made no apology or explanation. After he was settled in his office, he called his assistants in and they all began working on the business for which the administrator had set the meeting.

The four alternatives, one of which explains the incident, are then presented:

> If you had happened to observe the incident exactly as it is reported in this passage, which one of the following would you say describes the chief significance of the behavior of the people involved?

1. The Thai assistants were extremely skillful at concealing their true feelings.

   Go to Page X-3

2. The Thai administrator obviously was unaware of the fact that he was an hour late for the appointment.

   Go to Page X-4

3. In Thailand, subordinates are required to be polite to their superiors, no matter what happens, nor what their rank may be.

Go to Page X-5

4. Clearly, since no one commented on it, the behavior indicated nothing of any unusual significance to any of the Thais.

Go to Page X-6

Trainees then turn to the page indicated by the alternative they chose.

Page X-3

You selected 1: The Thai assistants were extremely skillful at concealing their true feelings.

This is not entirely correct.

It is quite characteristic of Thais to try to appear reserved under any circumstances. If the assistants were extremely skillful at concealing their true feelings, would you know that you were not seeing their true feelings? Also, does the reference to the chief significance of the behavior of "the people involved" limit it to the assistant?

Go to Page X-1

Page X-4

You selected 2: The Thai administrator obviously was unaware of the fact that he was an hour late for the appointment.

A very poor choice.

While the administrator acted as if he were unaware of his tardiness after observing the hour's wait, don't you suspect that perhaps he was acting?

Go to Page X-1

Page X-5

You selected 3: In Thailand, subordinates are required to be polite to their superiors, no matter what happens, nor what their rank may be.

Very good. You are utilizing the information in the episodes to its fullest extent. Continue. This is the correct response.

To some extent their "deference to the boss" may be observed almost anywhere in the world, but you are far more likely to find it carried to a higher degree in Thailand than in the United States.

There were certain clues to help you select 3: the assistants' concealed feelings, the administrator's failure to apologize, the fact that no one mentioned the tardiness, and the subsequent keeping of the appointment which the administrator had set.

Did you use them at all?

What you have already learned from earlier sections of the culture assimilator can help you. What did you learn about respect for older and higher status persons in Thailand? And about the attitude of students toward an American professor?

Go to Page Y-1
(the next incident)

Page X-6

You selected 4: Clearly, since no one commented on it, the behavior indicated nothing of any unusual significance to any of the Thais.

This is completely wrong.

While the behavior reported in the passage does not seem as significant for the Thais in this relationship as it might be to Americans, why was nothing said about the tardiness? And why were the assistants "very angry" although they "did not show it?"

Isn't there a more significant level of meaning for this behavior?

Go to Page X-1

Foa and Chemers (1967) suggested that success in cross-cultural interaction may be dependent upon knowledge of the differentiation of roles in different countries. For instance, in some countries residents do not distinguish the role of a woman and the role of a high-status leader. Women can never be leaders in some countries. In certain countries (e.g., USA), people can have a heated argument in the role of work partners and then go happily off to a social engagement together. This role differentiation does not occur in the Mid-East.

2. Evaluation

Studies reviewed by Fiedler et al. (1970) and another by Nayar, Touzard, and Summers (1968), supported the usefulness of assimilator training. Two laboratory studies using Arab and Thai assimilators compared USA subjects who had received training with other subjects who

had received instruction only in geography. The "geography" subjects were a control group for effects of attention, or simply getting any training no matter what the content. Data from both studies showed that assimilator training lessened interpersonal and adjustment problems (as rated by the Americans themselves) in actual contact between Americans and foreign nationals.

The one field study that has been conducted compared teenage volunteer workers in Honduras who had received assimilator training with those who had not. An independent performance measure, made by the program director and his staff members, was the major criterion or dependent variable. Adjustment measures were also gathered from the teenagers themselves. Results showed that the assimilator-trained groups were superior on both measures to the groups who had not received assimilator training. An unexpected finding was that teenagers who had participated in the project the previous year had better performance ratings than first-year volunteers. This finding may indicate that assimilator training helps people who have already spent time in a foreign country to integrate their cultural experiences.

3. Problems

1. Not enough field assessment has been done, as the developers have pointed out.

2. The best content for assimilators has not been determined. Should they contain information about interpersonal attitudes, customs, value contrasts, etc., or some mix?

3. If similarities between the cultures are to be emphasized, there is little data to show what types of topics should bring out the similarities. Furthermore, it is difficult to determine when similarities or differences between cultures should be emphasized.

4. Evaluation to date has been conducted using subjects of high motivation and/or intelligence (college and high school student volunteers). These people may not be typical of the average American enlisted man.

4. Future Goals

Triandis (1968) indicated the following goals for future assimilator training:

1. Make the assimilator more flexible to the individual trainee's needs.

2. Present information so as not to arouse defensiveness and hostility.

3. Emphasize the most attractive aspects of the foreign culture.

4. Provide the trainee with skills in effective interaction, flexibility in response to different situations, ability to suspend judgment, and appreciation of cultural differences.

The culture assimilator seems to be a valuable tool and can easily become a part of operational programs.

B. HUMRRO'S CONTRAST-AMERICAN TECHNIQUE AND PROJECT COPE

The Army-supported Human Resources Research Office (HumRRO) has developed the Contrast-American technique and is currently working on the closely related Project COPE. The Contrast-American technique consists of a role-playing encounter between a USA resident and a person of another, mythical, culture. Members of this mythical culture hold values in complete contrast to those of Americans, hence the title of the technique. Through interaction with such a person, it is hoped that Americans will develop a self-awareness of their own beliefs, values, and cultural background. This work is documented in several sources (Stewart, 1966, 1967a, 1967b; Stewart and Pryle, 1966; Danielian, 1967; Danielian and Stewart, 1967; Hoehn, 1968; Kraemer 1969; Stewart, Danielian, and Foster, 1969).

1. Goals

Kraemer (1969) presented the belief that increasing self-awareness will increase cross-cultural understanding.

"...training for international assignments might be improved by the inclusion of a process designed to develop the trainee's 'cultural self-awareness,' that is, his awareness of the cultural nature of his own cognitions, particularly of the various subtle ways in which his own cultural background will influence him in his interaction with host-country nationals. This means that the trainee would become aware that many of his cognitions, previously thought 'natural' or 'normal,' and therefore universal, may not be shared by members of another culture." (p. 2)

Kraemer then presented the goals that the training should implement:

"This training, if its effects carry over into the field, should contribute in many ways to the individual's ability to communicate. It should make him aware of how little he knows about the cognitions of host-country nationals and cause him to make fewer false assumptions about these cognitions; it should lead him to suspend judgment of host-country nationals and their culture when confronted by behavior that he cannot interpret; it should help him develop a preference for seeking cultural explanations of difficulties in communicating with host-country nationals rather than explanations in terms of individual shortcomings on their part; and it should motivate him to keep on learning more about their cognitions during his entire stay in the host country. His awareness of the cultural nature of his own cognitions should enable him to recognize other cultural alternatives more readily." (p. 2)

This culture-general approach, Stewart et al. (1969) point out, should be the basis for only one segment rather than the entire content of a cross-cultural training program.*

2. Content and Trainees

Thirty-five Westinghouse Corporation executives have undergone the Contrast-American training under the director of HumRRO personnel. Data gathered from them will be reviewed in the next section. In addition, Peace Corps trainees and Army officers at Ft. Bragg have participated in the development of the criterion tests. Army personnel have also participated in role-play encounters.

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*The issue of cultural-general versus cultural-specific training is discussed in Section VII.

The American is asked to interact with an actor trained to portray values in contrast to those familiar in the USA. For instance, where Americans are optimistic and strive for goals, the Contrast-American is portrayed as fatalistic, believing that his actions have little or no impact on his surroundings.

American Values	Contrast-American Values
Stress material goals	Stress spiritual goals
Achieved status	Ascribed status at birth
Competition viewed as constructive	Competition viewed as destructive
Anticipation of the future	Remembrance of past
Place reliance on self	Place reliance on superiors and patrons

Role-play situations* are then arranged so that some of the values of both the Americans and contrast-culture member will become clear. For instance, (Stewart et al., 1969, pp. 30-31):

> "One of the scenes was designed around the topic of leadership. During one of the simulations of this scene, Captain Smith, the American role-player, tried to persuade the Contrast-American I, Major Khan, to take measures to improve leadership in his battalion. Captain Smith found fault with some of the techniques utilized by some of Major Khan's second lieutenants.
>
> "American: And I know that ... if they are allowed to continue, then the efficiency in the duties that they're performing, or their soldiers are performing, will be reduced.
>
> "Contrast-American: What kind of duties are they performing which are not good?
>
> "American: They have an inability, I think, to communicate with noncommissioned officers and to properly supervise the accomplishment of the task. They almost have the attitude that this work is the type of work which they should not take part in; they should merely stand by and watch. I know you have a big respect for General George Washington and I should point out this example.

---

*The role-playing technique is discussed in Section IV.

One time during the War for Independence, there was a sergeant with some artillery pieces which were stuck. He was standing by, very neat and clean in his uniform, cajoling his soldiers as they looked at him, and shouting for them to push harder to get this cannon out of the mud. General Washington rode by on his horse, noticed this situation and stopped. His rank was not showing, for he had a large cape on over his uniform; it was rather cold that day and had been raining. He asked the sergeant what the problem was, and the sergeant told him, 'Sir, the soldiers cannot get this cannon out of the mud.' Then General Washington dismounted from his horse, walked over and assisted the soldiers in pushing the cannon out. Afterward he walked over to the sergeant and said, 'Sergeant, tell your commander that General Washington has assisted your men in pushing the cannon from the mud.'

"Contrast-American: Yes.

"American: He was willing to assist his men and do anything that they were doing if it were really necessary.

"Contrast-American: Perhaps if he were not in a disguise, not wearing a cape, if he were in his uniform of a general, he would never have come down from (dismounted from) the horse. He would have waited there as a General.

"American: I think--

"Contrast-American: --people would have gotten extra energy while pulling that cannon, they would have looked at him, that big, tall, towering General sitting on a horse, they would have looked at him and derived all inspiration and strength from him, and then pulled out the cannon without his assistance. His very presence would have been enough."

This episode brings out the American desire to "get the job done" and the Contrast-American's desire to maintain the status relation between the officer and his men. After the encounter, trainees receive feedback about their behavior by means of discussions with the trainer. Current efforts at HumRRO under Project COPE are concerned with the development of video-taped instruction so that:

1. Many people can receive training by viewing the tapes, and
2. No instructors will be needed.

3. Evaluation

Thirty-five Westinghouse executives completed four tests prior to and 5 days, 9 months, and 21 months after training, making a total of 16 tests for each subject.

Type A tests measured ability to identify values of Contrast-Americans.

Type B tests measured ability to predict behavior of Contrast-Americans.

Type C tests measured knowledge of American predispositions.

Type D tests measured affective (liking) reactions to American and Contrast-American orientations.

The reliability of the tests was adequate as determined by pretesting with samples of Army officers and Peace Corps trainees.

		Test Period After Training		
	Type of Test	5 Days	9 Months	21 Months
A.	Identify Values	Gain		Gain Not Sustained
B.	Predict Behavior	4 pt. Gain		Gain Maintained
C.	American Predis-position	No Gain		
D.	Liking Reactions		Some Gain	

On B tests, as shown here, there was a four-point gain from the test taken five days after training as compared with the before-training tests. This gain was maintained 21 months after training. Since the range of the test was 0 to 16, this represents a substantial gain. For type A tests, there was a gain after training but it did not hold up as well as type B after 21 months. Type C test gains were minimal. Exact numbers for test D were not reported, although a statistically insignificent trend (gain) after training was mentioned. Note that the most significant gains (test B) were in the area of behavior prediction rather than attitudes. Roth (1969) feels that training in such behavior is possible, while training to change attitudes may be impossible in the short time allotted for cross-cultural instruction.

Subjective reaction by trainees was reported to be favorable. An interesting note was that the audience reacted more positively when

the intercultural aspects of overseas work were studied. In other words, this information may have given the trainees a proper set for learning.

4. Problems

1. The HumRRO work has developed without any data on the assumptions underlying the program. For instance, Stewart et al. (1969, p. 4) say:

> "While the ultimate desired product of such training is, of course, effective behavior, there is no attempt to teach solutions directly or to provide models for behavior. The purpose is to deal with the cognitive-affective components that underlie behavior, recognizing that increased understanding and awareness provide the trainee with greater capability and flexibility in meeting the intercultural situation effectively."

No rationale is given for not "teaching solutions or to provide models." The other elements, teaching solutions and providing models, may be more important than the elements of the present program.

2. Kraemer (1969) mentioned that role players complained because they did not have sufficient instructions of a specific nature. This may indicate that culture-specific training would be more acceptable to the trainees. It is interesting to note that Stewart (now at the University of Delaware) directs a cross-cultural training program preparing Catholic nuns for overseas assignment. In an in-house document by Stewart and Rhinesmith (1969), a program for orientation into the Bengali culture was outlined. The training was quite specific, dealing with life, festival, daily chronological, and social events. Perhaps when actual programs are set up (rather than the experimental work reviewed here), the need for specific training becomes clear.

3. With such little data it is difficult to comment on the Contrast-American technique. All that can be done is to present a summary of the program, hoping that it will be evaluated for use with military personnel. Even assuming that the data from Westinghouse executives is adequate, it does not follow that the technique will benefit the younger and less-well educated American soldier.

C. THE SELF-CONFRONTATION TECHNIQUE

At Wright-Patterson Air Force Base several psychologists of the Training Research Laboratory conducted a research program in cross-cultural interaction during the mid-1960s. The technique they emphasized was called "self-confrontation." A trainee played a role with another person in a simulated cross-cultural encounter, the entire episode being video-taped. After the role playing, the trainee and trainer played back the tape (the "confrontation"), criticizing weak points in both verbal and nonverbal behavior. Trainees then played the role again so that learning could be measured. The technique has been documented in many publications, and these provided the information presented below. (Haines, 1964; Haines and Eachus, 1965; Eachus, 1965, 1966; Eachus and King, 1966; King, 1966, 1967a, 1967b; Gael, 1967).

1. Experimental Method and Evaluation

Three experiments were conducted. Study 1 used college undergraduates as subjects, study 2 used military volunteers, and study 3 used officers (First Lieutenants through Lieutenant Colonels) from a Psychological Operations and Civic Action (POCA) course. The first two studies compared a self-confrontation group of trainees against a control group who read descriptions of the other culture. The third study did not have a control group, but compared the performance of the officers to subjects from studies 1 and 2.

In the first two studies, self-confrontation subjects read introductory material about a fictitious "country X" and a description of the role-play situation suggesting specific verbal and nonverbal behaviors that would lead to effective interaction. The following passage is an example of this material (Eachus and King, 1966, p. 4).

> "You will play the part of Captain Brown, the head of a United States Air Force Mobile Training.... The team is to train certain components of the Country "X" Air Force in the latest air-drop and night-flying operations. You are in an extremely important position requiring not only technical skill, but also interpersonal skill in dealing with personnel in the Air Force of Country "X"....the failure of the Americans to observe or respect traditional Country "X" customs and protocol usually is misunderstood and misinterpreted. Such circumstances could seriously affect the success of the training mission."

The experimental subjects then role played, had their video tape criticized, and role played again. Control subjects were given reading material for the same amount of time that role-play subjects spent being taped and criticized. Control subjects then role played so that a comparison could be made between their performance and the experimental subjects.

In the second role-play situation, self-confrontation (experimental) subjects performed better in verbal and nonverbal behaviors than the subjects who had spent the early part of the experiment reading. The experimenters interpreted this as showing the value of the self-confrontation technique. In addition, the self-confrontation subjects retained more than 90 percent of their learning measured at the end of a two-week interval.

In the third study, the Air Force officers did not study "country X." Rather, they studied Iran. Their interaction with an actor simulating an Iranian was video-taped and then replayed so that criticisms could be made. The officers showed an increase in learning from the first to the second role play encounter. They performed better on both these occasions than the subjects in studies 1 and 2. The experimenters interpreted this finding as showing that the officers were more highly motivated and were representative of a more select population. No retention data was gathered. The experimenters had hoped to measure behavior during actual overseas assignment of these and/or similar officers, but funds for the project were discontinued.

2. Problems

Although the Air Force researchers claimed highly favorable results for the Self-Confrontation technique, some questions can be raised about alternative explanations.

1. Self-confrontation subjects might have done better than control subjects in the second role playing encounter simply because they were more familiar and comfortable with the video-tape equipment. Rather than any cultural learning during the first encounter and subsequent criticism, self-confrontation subjects may have been more

self-assured than the control subjects. The control subjects, after all, were taped only once, the experimental subjects twice.

2. The officer subjects in study 3 interacted with a person from an actual country, Iran, rather than "country X." They may have performed better than earlier subjects not because they were from a more select population but because they were interested in studying a real country. This criticism is similar to the one made of the HumRRO contrast-culture technique. The writer feels that using material about a real country would arouse more interest and encourage more learning than using materials about mythical cultures.

3. The retention data taken only two weeks after the first training session seems inadequate since, in actual assignment, people must interact with foreign nationals months and years after training.

4. No estimates were reported in the write-ups of the program, but it seems that the cost of the technique may be prohibitive for use in training large numbers of people, thus making it impractical.

The Self-Confrontation technique needs more evaluation to show if it is indeed useful for cross-cultural training.

IV. REVIEW OF NON-DOD PROGRAMS

A. INFORMATION FROM PEACE CORPS RESEARCH

Like the Department of Defense, the Peace Corps has supported programs to prepare Americans for assignments in foreign countries. Several studies have been conducted on Peace Corps training programs for different countries. These studies are valuable, especially since several findings have been discovered by different investigations working independently, and since the findings, within limits, are applicable to DOD programs.

1. At the end of training and before deployment overseas, administrators of Peace Corps programs evaluate the potential success of volunteers. Several independent investigators (Guthrie and Zektick, 1967; Stein, 1963; Smith, Fawcett, Ezekiel, and Roth, 1963) have shown that evaluations at end of training do not correlate (have no relation) to evaluation of performance in the field. In the Guthrie and Zektick (1967) study, Peace Corps volunteers on assignment in the Philippines were evaluated there by both American officials and host nationals. Neither rating of effectiveness correlated with the volunteer's success measured after training back in the USA. Guthrie (1969) explains these findings by pointing out that the expectations about behavior and ways to obtain rewards in the USA are well known to its residents. After assignment to another culture, however, expectations and rewards are much less clear. It seems that the person effective in the USA is not necessarily effective in the different environment of the foreign culture. An anecdote may help this explanation. Many people have heard stories about missionaries who were rated average or ineffective in a USA big-city church but who were very comfortable and productive in primitive villages overseas. These missionaries were able to meet the expectations of the village but not the big city.

The important point is that assessment of knowledge or predicted effectiveness after training in the USA is not sufficient. Assessment must be carried out in the host country if at all possible.

2. Arnold (1967) established a program to provide training during assignment in the host culture. Noting that American volunteers had adjustment problems, especially during the first six months, Arnold started discussion groups. All Peace Corps members in a certain area were brought together frequently to discuss any issue that they desired. Adjustment and "culture shock" problems were often brought up. In addition, the meetings provided social support for the members. Arnold noted that the number of premature returns (volunteers who go back to USA before their two-year assignment is up) for the discussion group members was only 25 percent of the figure for nonparticipating volunteers in similar cultures. The comparison data was from Thomson and English (1963, 1964). This criterion is not perfect, of course, but it does provide a behavioral measure that is more valuable than asking the discussion group members how much they like their assignment.

The important point to be remembered from the Peace Corps experience is that training before assignment should be complemented by additional training at different times during residence in the foreign culture.

3. Several researchers (Thomson and English, 1963; Dobyns, Doughty, and Holmberg, 1965) have investigated the satisfaction and effectiveness of volunteers during their assignment. Their findings include:

a. Volunteers who are able to use their skills (e.g., teacher, farmer) are more satisfied than volunteers who are assigned to a job in which their skills are not needed. The premature return rate was lower for those using needed skills.

b. Volunteers who are skillful in the language of the host culture, and/or who interact frequently with host nationals, are more effective as measured by the number of projects implemented.

These points indicate that cross-cultural training should complement skill training (a point also made by R. Campbell, 1969) since people may be unhappy if their skills are not used in the host country. The findings also indicate that training should emphasize language skills and encourage interaction with host nationals.

4. Kerrick, Clark, and Rice (1967) and Haigh (1966) investigated certain cross-cultural training techniques. Haigh suggested that trainees spend time in an American subculture (e.g., a ghetto area, Appalachian Mountain community) prior to overseas assignment. Haigh's group of volunteers worked on an American Indian reservation as part of their training. This is similar to the recommendation (Guthrie, 1963; Bennington, 1958) that a foreign national be a part of the training team. Unfortunately, the only evaluation of Haigh's (1966) suggestion is the enthusiastic response by the trainees.

Kerrick et al. (1967) found that a lecture was more effective than a discussion group in persuading Peace Corps volunteers to adopt certain health practices. This apparently contradicts the earlier discussion of Lewin's (1947) and Coch's and French's (1948) work. The reconciliation comes when it is explained that volunteers did not have much to say about health practices since they were still learning about them. The subjects in the Lewin and Coch-French studies knew their material and could discuss it. The important point is that group discussion will be effective only when the trainees know enough about the topic to discuss it.

B. THE UNIVERSITY-ALTERNATIVE MODEL

The article by Harrison and Hopkins (1967), presenting a cross-cultural training model different from most university learning, has become very popular. The article has won an award, has been reprinted several times (e.g., Peace Corps, 1969; Wight, 1969), has been the basis for a dissertation (Bolton, 1969), and has been frequently cited. It was written with Peace Corps training in mind, but its arguments are applicable to all cross-cultural learning.

1. Content

Harrison and Hopkins charge that traditional university learning, the location of most Peace Corps training, is inadequate for cross-cultural problems. The greatest weakness is that university learning does not deal with interpersonal relations, that is, the human rather than technical aspects of overseas work. The goals of university and cross-cultural education, and methods of learning, are presented side-by-side to emphasize the need for new training techniques. Some examples:

University Education	Overseas Education
Communication	**Communication**
To communicate fluently via the written word and, to a lesser extent, to speak well. To master the languages of abstraction and generalization, e.g., mathematics and science. To understand readily the reasoning, the ideas, and the knowledge of other persons through verbal exchange.	To understand and communicate directly and often nonverbally through movement, facial expression, person-to-person actions. To listen with sensitivity to the hidden concerns, values, motives of the other. To be at home in the exchange of feelings, attitudes, desires, fears. To have a sympathetic, empathic understanding of the feelings of the other.
Problem Solving	**Problem Solving**
A problem is solved when the true, correct, reasonable answer has been discovered and verified. Problem solving is a search for knowledge and truth. It is a largely rational process, involving intelligence, creativity, insight, and a respect for facts.	A problem is solved when decisions are made and carried out which effectively apply people's energies to overcoming some barrier to a common goal. Problem solving is a social process involving communication, interpersonal influence, consensus, and commitment.
Source of Information	**Source of Information**
Information comes from experts and authoritative sources through the media of books, lectures, audio-visual presentations. "If you have a question, look it up."	Information sources must be developed by the learner from the social environment. Information-gathering methods include observation and questioning of associates, other learners, and chance acquaintances.

University Education	Overseas Education
Role of Emotions and Values	Role of Emotions and Values
Problems are largely dealt with at an ideational level. Questions of reason and of fact are paramount. Feelings and values may be discussed but are rarely acted upon.	Problems are usually value- and emotion-laden. Facts are often less relevant than the perceptions and attitudes which people hold. Values and feelings have action consequences, and actions must be taken.

Harrison and Hopkins then list the goals of their proposed program. Trainees should:

1. Develop ability to become more independent of external sources of information and problem definition,

2. Develop ability to deal with feelings created by value conflicts,

3. Be able to make decision in stressful situations,

4. Be able to use own and others' feelings as information.

A training program was then established for 82 Peace Corps volunteers being assigned to Ecuador, Chile, and Bolivia. The ten-week training program had these characteristics:

1. From their arrival, the trainees would be encouraged to participate actively in the planning of their program. In fact, in a sense, there would be no program unless they planned it by determining what kind of training program was needed in order to reach the objectives they had formulated.

2. Formal classroom lectures would be played down; small-group interaction would be played up, as would informal interaction of all kinds.

3. Except for Spanish (four hours a day) and weekly evaluation sessions (to be discussed later), attendance at the "happenings" of the program would not be compulsory.

4. An effort would be made to do away with component labels and thus to "integrate" the elements of the program.

5. The program would be "experience-based." There would be ample opportunities furnished for "doing things," such as organizing and operating co-ops, raising chickens and pigs, planting and tending gardens, approaching "academic" subjects through research projects, and so on. Trainees with needed skills would be urged to teach them to others, formally or informally. The emphasis, in short, was to be on trainee activity, not passivity.

6. Emphasis would be placed throughout on awareness of the environment of the training program: of what was going on and how the trainees were reacting to it (and to one another). This was to be achieved through weekly small-group "evaluation sessions." The personnel of these core groups, including the leaders, would remain fairly constant throughout the program.

2. Evaluation

Unfortunately, no data was gathered on program effectiveness, in fact, the writers made a point of saying that no data collection efforts were made. About all that can be done then is to present a summary of the program. The Harrison-Hopkins model seems to have sound ideas that should be subjected to empirical research. Perhaps the fact that there is little data in the cross-cultural training literature as a whole forces people to accept the nonempirical but well-written Harrison-Hopkins article.

C. EFFECTIVENESS OF TECHNIQUES FOUND WITHIN LARGER PROGRAMS

The training programs reviewed previously are composed of several techniques, and these techniques have been studied by social psychologists interested in attitude change. Although these researchers have not always dealt with cross-cultural training, their findings are applicable to such instruction.

1. Guided Reading

Vassiliou et al. (1968) tested the intercultural attitudes of 62 Americans living in Greece after they read an essay about the Greek culture. Learning about Greece increased, but intercultural attitudes

did not improve. This finding does not surprise investigators who feel that more active effort than reading an essay is necessary for attitude change.

This study is particularly important for its military application. A common practice within the services is to give people books or pamphlets about other countries. The above study indicates that even if these are read, there may be no increase in favorable feelings toward members of that country. If the purpose is to convey content rather than feeling, guided reading (where there are assurances that the material is studied) seems useful. But if the purpose is to change feelings or attitudes, a more active procedure is necessary. The criticism applies less to programmed reading materials, such as the culture assimilator, which demand active participation.

2. Equal Status Contact Between Groups

Amir (1969) has reviewed a great deal of literature and has concluded that the following often-heard notion is true: Pleasant contact between ethnic groups, in an equal-status situation, increases favorable attitudes. The point to be remembered, however, is that the separate points in this principle must be in effect. That is, the contact must be pleasant and the groups must meet in an equal-status relation (one group, especially the majority group, cannot have more power or be able to receive more rewards than the other). Especially effective contact occurs when the members of the groups engage in interdependent activity to achieve a goal that is desired by all concerned (Sherif, 1958).

In a well-designed experimental work program, Cook (1970) provided highly prejudiced white subjects with pleasant and equal-status contact with a black co-worker. Whites viewed the interaction as part of their work (for which they were paid). After 20 days of such interaction (two hours a day), a large number of the white subjects had changed their attitudes.

The point has applicability to (1) cross-cultural programs which have foreign nationals as members of the training staff, and (2) programs which encourage contact with host nationals. Contact either within or outside training must take place under the proper circumstances.

3. Group Discussion

Lewin (1947) reviewed several studies showing changes in behavior that took place after group discussion. During World War II meat was scarce and officials thought that the shortage problem might be lessened if housewives would use more beef hearts, sweetbreads, and kidneys. Lewin and his associates set up an experiment in which some housewives participated in group discussion and some received a lecture about this desired change. A nutrition expert gave the lecture and was available for comment in the discussion group. Follow-up interviews at two- and four-week intervals showed that the housewives who had participated in the group discussions were serving more of the recommended foods than the housewives who had heard the lecture. Based on her own research, Bennet (1955) pointed out that the influential factors in the group discussion were probably (1) the housewives came to a decision, and (2) they perceived that others came to the same decision.

Coch and French (1948) studied worker productivity after a change had been made in the style of pajamas that their company produced. The women sewing machine operators were divided into three groups. One group was simply told of the change and told what to do. Another group elected representatives to help decide what would be done to effect the change. A third group participated totally, through discussion, in deciding the best way to go about making the necessary changes. Over 30 days, the total participation groups produced more units than the others. The participation-through-representation group produced more than the no-participation group. This latter group actually declined in production compared to their performance before the experiment started.

These results indicate that group discussion is a valuable technique and that it can be used in a wide variety of situations.

4. Role Playing

In this paper we have noted several times that the purpose of cross-cultural training is to induce long-range effects on Americans' behavior toward foreign nationals. The follow-up studies, however, have rarely studied behavior more than two to four weeks after an attitude change program. To determine the long-range effects of such techniques as role playing, the noncross-cultural literature must be studied.

Role-playing studies have been reviewed by Elms (1967). A noteworthy series of studies are those of Janis and Mann (1965), and Mann and Janis (1968). In the first study, heavy smokers role-played a cancer patient in a very emotional scenario. Another group of subjects listened to a role-play confrontation between a patient and doctor which had been taped. The 1968 study provided data on the subjects' smoking behavior 18 months after the experiment. The role-play subjects reported the least amount of smoking. The listen-to-tape group also had cut down, but not as much as role-players. A control group which had received no treatment did not change at all.

The role-playing technique was said to be effective because of its emotion-arousing nature. A role-play subject reported (also commenting on the Surgeon General's report linking smoking and health):

> "The (Surgeon General's) report did not have much effect on me. But I was in this other study. A professor was doing this psychological thing and I was one of the volunteers. And that was what really affected me.... He was the one that scared me, not the report.... I got to thinking, what if it were really true and I had to go home and tell everyone that I had cancer. And right then I decided I would not go through this again, and if there were any way of preventing it I would. And I stopped smoking. It was really the professor's study that made me quit." (1968, p. 342)

These studies have several direct applications to cross-cultural training for military personnel. Firstly, the Personal Response Program has, as one of its methods, a role-play situation in which one trainee acts in a scenario with an instructor, and a large audience watches. The role-playing often arouses emotion. According to the

Janis-Mann studies, both the role players and the audience should learn from this method.

Secondly, an unexpected finding of the Janis-Mann studies was that both role players and listeners were more receptive (in their behavior) to the recommendations of the Surgeon General's report, even if they did not admit it, than untreated control subjects. That is, the report had an effect on the role players and listeners, but not on people who had not had these experiences. Perhaps role playing in cross-cultural instruction can prepare trainees to be receptive to written materials, which they can then read under supervision. The role-play technique is currently being subjected to additional research, e.g., Greenwald, 70.

V. EVALUATION OF TRAINING PROGRAMS

A. THE DEPENDENCE ON VERBAL MEASURES

In the previous summaries of both operational and experimental programs, criticisms were made of methods for evaluating programs effectiveness. In some programs, no evaluation has been made and in others the evaluation is overly dependent upon verbal or written reports of trainees. Sometimes the opinions of high-level observers are obtained. Little data have been gathered on trainees' actual behavior toward others, even though the purpose of training is to encourage favorable behavior which persists long after training.

In other words, nearly all cross-cultural training evaluation to date has depended on how much people say they like or understand others rather than how much favorable behavior they actually engage in. This dependence on verbal methods is especially distressing since many studies (recently reviewed by Wicker, 1969), point out that there is little or no relation between verbal attitudes and behavior,* especially with regard to racial or ethnic issues. The classic study is that of La Piere (1935) who travelled across the country with a Chinese couple. They were politely served in every hotel and restaurant they patronized. After the trip, La Piere wrote a letter to each hotel and restaurant manager asking them if they would serve Chinese people. The vast

*The lack of a direct relation between attitudes and behavior has concerned social psychologists for years. In discussing the issue, a distinction is made between "peripheral" and "central" attitudes. Examples of peripheral attitudes are feelings about a brand of soap or what aspects make a young girl attractive. Here there is a relation between expressed attitude and buying or dating behavior. With more central attitudes, such as feelings about people of other races or religious beliefs, the expressed attitude-behavior relation is much lower. One reason is that situational pressures, such as the behavior of peers and family, often override individual attitudes.

majority answered "no." What happened, then, was that people said they would not serve Chinese, but actually did when the opportunity arose.

The La Piere study, and others examining the verbal attitude-behavior relation, have been analyzed in sophisticated articles (e.g., Campbell, 1963; Wicker, 1969), and these are well worth reading. The purpose of mentioning the La Piere study in this report is to emphasize that training programs that show positive attitude change do not at the same time indicate that more favorable behaviors toward host nationals are occurring. It should also be remembered that personnel can easily put themselves in a socially desirable light and say that they like host nationals when they really do not.

Not a great deal has been written on behavioral evaluation. To begin the discussion, the reasons for the dependence on verbal measures should be discussed. Four explanations are put forth:

1. It is much, much easier and less expensive to measure verbal attitudes than to gather behavioral measures.

2. Program evaluators, when confronted with the challenge that their verbal measures are inadequate, fall into a defense pattern. They say, "You're not aware of the difficult field conditions under which data must be gathered."

3. So much verbal attitude data has been gathered in the past that researchers hardly ever think that it may be inadequate. Researcher's apparently think that if everyone does it, it must be O.K. Kiesler, Collins, and Miller (1969) make a similar point, also criticizing the dependence on verbal methods to the exclusion of behavioral measures.

4. Researchers depend on verbal measures because they always have in the past. If they adopted behavioral measures, they might admit that their previous work was inadequate.

B. SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVED EVALUATION

Since the purpose of cross-cultural training is to encourage favorable behavior of Americans toward host nationals, data on observed conduct, e.g., friendly acts such as visiting native homes, learning the language, unfriendly acts such as fights with natives, is required for effective evaluation of training programs. Recording this behavioral data may not be easy, since it must be done on a foreign site, at varying times after training, and in a systematic manner. Specifically, training evaluation can be improved if methods like the following are used:

1. Instead of asking trained and untrained Americans if they like host nationals, ask the host nationals if they like Americans. Such results should reflect the host nationals' contact with trained versus untrained troops. This is the approach made by Spector (1969).

2. Gather data using "estimates" of behavior, for instance, supervisor ratings (as cited by Fiedler et al., 1970). These ratings should <u>not</u> be supervisors' estimates of overall job effectiveness, but rather ratings of more specific behavior, such as, "How well does person get along with host nationals (as part of his job)?" As Stewart et al., 1969, point out, the overall rating may reflect many other job aspects than ability to interact effectively with others.

3. Where possible, gather behavioral data. This is the approach recommended here, and it will be dealt with in some detail.

It is not possible to recommend a behavioral measure for every situation. Rather, it is hoped that a spirit of inquiry can be communicated through suggestions and anecdotes.

1. Perhaps money could be collected for some worthy cause (e.g., War Widows in Korea or Vietnam) for the benefit of host nationals. The amount of money donated, or the number of men contributing at all, should reflect favorable or unfavorable

attitudes. After hearing this idea, one program administrator thought it workable, but urged that the collection not be for children. Americans have always liked children, and the true attitudes toward adult host nationals might not be reflected.

2. Analyze the number of requests to extend one's tour in the foreign country. Some requests would be due to other factors besides favorable attitudes, but it would be a valuable piece of data nevertheless.

3. Analyze the number of fights and other unfavorable incidents. Units that have received training should have fewer.

4. Analyze the number of off-duty (social) contacts between Americans and host nationals, or number of visits of host-national dignitaries to American bases.

5. Examine seating patterns in public places (e.g., restaurants). Determine if Americans and host nationals are sitting together. Brislin (1970) reviewed such indices and developed a new one.

6. Determine how many Americans, on their own initiative, learn some host-national language, volunteer for extra duty which helps the locals, or engage in other constructive incidents.

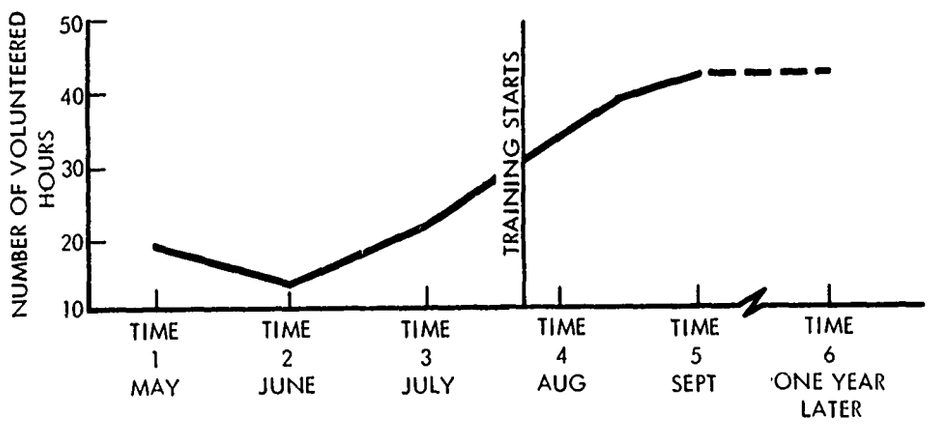
In all cases, more than one measure should be gathered. This allows for replication of results using different methods, always a desirable research goal. Where possible, evaluation should be done by people unassociated with the training program (which has rarely been the case).

The following examples will hopefully further convey the spirit of gathering behavioral measures

1. Peace Corpsmen were assigned as teachers of English, one to each of several villages in the Philippines. The administrator estimated program effectiveness by sampling the English learned by the village children.

2. To test the effectiveness of a training film recommending frequent bathing for personal cleanliness, researchers attempted to measure the amount of water used by trainees. The water meters of the barracks of trained and untrained groups were noted before and after the movies. This would have been an excellent test, but unfortunately, one faucet became stuck and emitted an unknown amount of water.

Oftentimes control groups are impossible when behavioral data are gathered. In such cases a time-series design, well described by D. Campbell (1969), can be employed. Behavioral events are gathered before and after training from the same people, at several points during each time period. Assume that the behavioral measure is the number of free hours volunteered for programs aimed at helping host nationals. A time series, with training starting on July 20, might look like this:



Of course, behavior would also be monitored long after training. Other explanations would also have to be considered, for example: Is there anything about the months of August and September that would encourage helpful behavior regardless of any training received?

To conclude this section, consider the following: A businessman wants to sell a cross-cultural training program to a company. The company president asks, "How do you know your training is any good?" The businessman replies: "A group of trained people said that they liked

host nationals while a group of untrained people said that they did not like host nationals. In addition, trained people were enthusiastic and some sent me letters telling me so." Will the company president invest money after hearing this evaluative data?

VI. TRAINING PROGRAMS AND THEIR DESIRABLE ASPECTS: SUMMARY

The purpose of this section is to review the desirable aspects of the various programs. Each desirable aspect will be reviewed briefly, and the programs that have good examples of an aspect will be discussed. Examples will be from operational programs more often than experimental programs.

1. Researchable goals. The Troop-Community Relations Program, the cultural assimilator, and area orientation/overseasmanship all have in common the specific goal of teaching Americans ways to interact, get along, and work effectively with foreign nationals. This is a researchable goal since empirical data can confirm or disconfirm that a program is providing such skills.

2. Assumptions based on data. The Personal Response, cultural assimilator, and Troop-Community Relations Programs assume that certain problem areas should be included in training. Their assumption is based on data since program directors discovered these problem areas (also called critical incidents) by interviewing Americans living in the host culture and/or the host nationals themselves.

3. Provide social support for favorable behavior to host nationals. The Troop-Community Relations and Personal Response Programs have sponsorship from high levels, thus providing social support and encouraging implementation of training objectives. Another good example is the program outlined by General Barnes (1969) in which all Americans were ordered to help the South Vietnamese protect themselves, rather than kill as many enemy as possible. When everyone is engaging in

a certain behavior, there is tremendous social support for it. Models for favorable behavior are also readily available.

4. Provide transfer from training to the real world. The desire to engage in favorable behavior toward host nationals should not be accepted during training and forgotten immediately afterward. Techniques should exist to show how to use knowledge gained during training. The area orientation/overseasmanship program often teaches trainees cultural skills or brings a group together who have similar interests. The program director then tells the trainees exactly where and how to exploit these skills and interest in the host culture. The Troop-Community Relations Program provides opportunities for constructive behavior with foreign nationals.

5. Determine how much learning is retained. The self-confrontation and contrast-Americans techniques measure how much material from training is remembered. In the self-confrontation technique, learning was measured two weeks after training, and in the contrast-American technique learning was measured 23 months after training. The longer time span is, of course, the more desirable.

6. Replicate major findings. The cultural assimilator, Troop-Community Relations Program, and the self-confrontation technique have been subjected to a series of evaluative studies. Such replication allows researchers to determine if the program holds up to frequent evaluation rather than to a "one-shot" study.

7. Evaluate training by asking host nationals about Americans. Part of the Troop-Community Relations Program's evaluation is to ask Koreans what they think of Americans. Korean opinion of us is an important measure. In many cases Koreans probably do not know which Americans have received training and thus their answers are not contaminated by this knowledge.

8. Evaluate behavior of Americans toward host nationals. Unfortunately, no studies have been done on behavior evaluation.

9. Programs should be evaluated by people unassociated (having no vested interest) with the program. In one study of the cultural assimilator, the criterion was the supervisor's rating of a trainee's effectiveness. These supervisors had no vested interest in whether the cultural assimilator was good or bad, and probably did not know which of the people had received training.

10. Provide follow-on training. In ideal cases, Marines receive Personal Response training both before deployment overseas and after their assignment in the host country. Problems that arise during assignment can then be discussed. A very good example of this approach is Arnold's (1967) summary of a Peace Corps program in which volunteers in a certain area came together frequently to share problems, as well as to socialize.

Table 1 summarizes these aspects and programs that have good examples of each. Table 2 provides a summary chart of characteristics for each of the operational and experimental programs.

TABLE 1. DESIRABLE ASPECTS OF TRAINING AND PROGRAMS THAT HAVE GOOD EXAMPLES OF EACH

	Aspect	Program
1.	Researchable Goals	Troop-Community, Assimilator, Area Orientation
2.	Assumptions Based on Data	Personal Response, Troop-Community, Assimilator
3.	Social Support	Troop-Community, Barnes' (1969) Example
4.	Transfer from Training to Assignment	Area Orientation, Troop-Community
5.	Retention of Learning	Self-Confrontation, Contrast-American
6.	Replication of Findings	Assimilator, Troop-Community, Self-Confrontation
7.	Evaluate Training Through Host Nationals	Troop-Community
8.	Evaluate Behavior Rather Than Opinions	No Examples
9.	Evaluation by Persons Unassociated With Program	Assimilator
10.	Provide Follow-On Training	Personal Response, Arnold's (1967) Example

TABLE 2. SUMMARY OF OPERATIONAL AND EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAMS

Program	Brief Description	Method(s) of Training	Operational or Experimental	Length of Course
Personal Response	Navy's program for Marines and Sailors	Self-awareness, role reversal group discussion, results of surveys, multimedia presentation	Operational	Two hours to two weeks, depending upon trainee population and training site
Troop-Community Relations	AIR program in Korea and Thailand for Army personnel	Briefings to officers, group discussions, action programs	Operational	16 one-hour sessions
Area Orientation/ Overseasmanship	On-ship lectures and demonstrations for Navy personnel	Lecture, group discussions, action recommendations	Operational	Approximately four hours of formal lecture followed by one-half day informal discussion
Culture Assimilator	Acquire skills for a specific culture	Programmed reading of critical incidents	Experimental	Approximately two hours
Contrast-American	HumRRO's program using video taping	Role playing with a trained actor	Experimental	Approximately two hours
Self-Confrontation	Wright-Patterson Air Force Base's technique using video taping	Role playing with subsequent criticism	Experimental	Approximately two hours
University-Alternative	Technique from Peace Corps	Trainee plans own training in contrast to university learning	Experimental	Two weeks

Program	Number of People Trained	Evaluative Studies?	Type of Evaluation	Additional Research[a] Now Being Done?
Personal Response	Well over 100,000	Yes	Questionnaire studies of attitudes	Yes
Troop-Community Relations	Approximately 100,000	Yes	Questionnaire studies of both American and host national attitudes	Yes
Area Orientation/ Overseasmanship	750,000	No	--	No, but administrator would like to work closely with researchers
Culture Assimilator	Approximately 1,000	Yes	Ratings of field performance as well as questionnaire studies	Yes
Contrast-American	Approximately 200	Yes	Tests taken before and after training	Yes
Self-Confrontation	Approximately 200	Yes	Role-playing tests taken before and after training	No
University-Alternative	Approximately 100	No	--	No

[a] A "yes" in this column indicates that the forthcoming write-ups of research now being conducted will soon be available for study.

VII. CULTURE-GENERAL VERSUS CULTURE-SPECIFIC ISSUE

A lively debate has centered around the issue of whether training should be culture-specific or culture-general. General training refers to topics such as self-awareness and sensitivity training that allow one to learn about himself as preparation for interaction in <u>any</u> culture. Specific training refers to information about a particular culture and guidelines for interaction with members of that culture. For instance, eating habits, religious customs, and decision-making styles unique to a specific country might be taught. Unfortunately, the debate has been confined to opinion and educated comment since there are so few known facts. Most agree, however, that some culture-general training is often necessary since most people, especially military personnel, are not assigned to a specific country until the last minute.

Proponents of culture-general training include Stewart, Danielian, and Foster (1969) who developed the Contrast-American technique for the Army's sponsored HumRRO research unit. They wrote:

> "... it is <u>insight</u> into one's own values and assumptions that permits the growth of a perspective which recognizes that differing sets of values and assumptions exist (i.e., cultural relativism), and development of the potential for greater understanding of another culture." (p. 7)

They then described their technique in which an American trainee role-plays with a person (the Contrast-American) who manifests the opposite values of the USA middle-class.

> "The cognitive confrontation brings one's own values and assumptions into question, making the trainee more aware of the cultural determinant in himself. Self-awareness, in turn, results in greater understanding and empathy with the values and assumptions of a member of another culture; continuing and reciprocal relationship, this increased understanding once again yields a deeper cultural self-awareness which increases other awareness infinitum." (p. 8)

Stewart et al. emphasized that this technique should only be a part of a training program.

The other point of view is that of Roth (1969) who questioned the utility of cultural-general training. He assumed:

> "It is not essential that members of multi-lateral forces be extremely affectionate toward each other--however, it is both important and necessary that rational cooperation occurs between them. Rational cooperation can take place between individuals who do not greatly admire or respect each other, just as close interpersonal relationships can give rise to very irrational and uncooperative behavior. It seems to us, then, that training programs must emphasize these rational bases for coordinating action." (p. 4)

He further commented on the notion that a six-week program (e.g., sensitivity training) can change attitudes. It should be noted that the actual cross-cultural programs to be reviewed often entail less training time than six weeks--sometimes only a few hours.

> "It may be unreasonable to expect to change a man's beliefs about another nationality in the period of six-weeks of pretraining, when his attitudes and beliefs have taken most of a lifetime to form. Therefore, although a research or training program interested in the deep-seated feelings of participants is praiseworthy, it appears to us that given the constraints within which training programs operate and the nature of the interaction settings which are characteristic of many cross-cultural contacts--such emphasis and concern seem unrealistic. To us, then, the basic aim of training for cross-cultural interaction should focus on the conscious and rational level with emphasis on skills and knowledge which can be taught within a relatively short period of time utilizing known and proven pedagogical techniques." (pp. 4-5)

In other words, specific methods (e.g., how to make decisions with members of country "X") for dealing with specific cultures may be much more valuable than cultural-general training.

Triandis (1969), who has participated in extensive research into cross-cultural training, wrote of his own experience, cautioning against generalizing from that one case:

"In spite of (my) extensive cross-cultural training, I experienced a mild culture shock in Calcutta, India. The fact that I am fluent in several languages has only helped my adjustment in those cultures where these languages are used. Outside these cultures there is a sharp drop in comfort. The amount of discomfort is similar to what happens when I visit behind the Iron Curtain--the social system is different and there is too much about it that I do not understand, or like, so I feel uncomfortable....A person with much less cross-cultural experience might very well feel much more anxious." (p. 58)

Triandis then recommended specific cross-cultural training.

The writer's position is that of Roth and Triandis, but no reader should fully accept either the specific or general approach to training without more data on the question. The easy answer is to recommend some general and some specific training. Future research, however, may well show that one type is not valuable and that every minute of the all-too-short training time should be devoted to the other type.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS

A. THE THREE OPERATIONAL PROGRAMS

The Army's Troop-Community Relations Program and the Navy's Personal Response and Area Orientation/Overseasmanship programs are the three cross-cultural training programs now in operation. All three have received enthusiastic endorsement from high-level sources within the Department of Defense.

Strengths of these three programs include: Content based on data concerning critical problem areas between Americans and host nationals; use of the group-discussion technique which, according to a large amount of research, is an effective training device. All three have reasonable and researchable goals; this is, empirical studies can determine whether specific goals should be modified or discarded. Strengths of each program are presented in Table 1. The greatest weakness is the small amount of research on the effectiveness of these programs.

The Troop-Community Relations Program has the largest amount of evaluative data--current work includes gathering more data in Thailand. Officials involved in Personal Response and Area Orientation/Overseasmanship would welcome evaluation specialists.

B. THE EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAMS

The Cultural Assimilator, Self-Confrontation technique, Contrast-American technique, and University-Alternative models are experimental programs begun since 1960. The Assimilator and Contrast-American techniques are still under investigation, and several aspects of the University-Alternative model are being used in Peace Corps training.

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The Assimilator has the largest amount of evaluative data and seems to be an effective technique for preparing members of one specific country to interact and communicate effectively with members of another specific country. The Self-Confrontation technique has been subjected to a series of studies, but the investigators have not been careful about considering all possibilities of explaining their results. The Contrast-American technique has been subjected to only one study and the results showed that only one of four tests supported the claim that the technique was effective. The University-Alternative model has not been empirically studied.

C. WHAT IS KNOWN ABOUT CROSS-CULTURAL TRAINING

Group discussion, role playing, and arranging for pleasant and equal-status contact between ethnic groups all seem to be effective training techniques. Lectures are effective when trainees do not know a topic area well enough to discuss it.

Contact and actions programs between Americans and host nationals, as is done in the Troop-Community program, seems to be effective.

The enthusiasm exhibited by the one person responsible for the Navy's Area Orientation/Overseasmanship program accounts, in this writer's opinion, for the program's acceptance and success in involving audiences.

From Peace Corps research, these findings seem applicable to all cross-cultural training:

a. The predicted effectiveness of trainees immediately after training has little or no relation to effectiveness in the host country. Because of this point, evaluation of training must take place after deployment to the foreign culture.

b. People who are able to use their skills in the host country are more satisfied than people assigned to jobs in which their skills are not needed.

c. People skillful in the language of the host culture and/or who interact frequently with host nationals seem to be more effective than people not having these characteristics.

D. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The writer considers the following two points to be very important. Implementing them (as recommended in the next chapter) will likely result in better cross-cultural training.

1. Transfer should be provided from the training setting to the real world. This simply says that people should not be favorable toward foreign nationals only during a four hour training session, but also during work hours and free time. Techniques must be devised to transfer the favorable behaviors learned during training to the real world. This point brings up what has been called the "Lena Horne-Harry Belefonte" problem. People sometimes interact with out-group members as handsome as these two entertainers, and grow to like them. But there is no transfer from these extraordinarily handsome people to more typical out-group members.

2. Social support should be provided for favorable behavior to host nationals. This emphasizes that there is a difference between the individual in training and the same individual in his social setting outside of training. The effects of good training program can be undone by the pressure of an individual's peers. For instance, an individual might want to make friends with a Vietnamese (remembering his training), but his peers may ridicule this desire. The spirit of the training must be widespread and not limited to a four-hour session. There must be widespread social support for the behavior recommended in training. The commander of a unit may be able to reward favorable interaction as well as to punish unfavorable behavior. BGen. John Barnes (1969) explained how an executive order was meant to change the orientation of his officers:

> ...I initiated a campaign to reorient my commanders and troops. I emphasized to them all that no longer would we be chasing and fighting the VC/NVA in the unpopulated jungle and mountainous areas. Even more important, body count and kill ratios would no longer be the criteria for success. Instead, we henceforth would be securing the people and their homes and farms. Our aim would be to deny the VC their support from their

> hamlets, without which they could not survive. To the troops I emphasized the great contribution they were making to the people of Vietnam, that they were allowing the people for the first time in many years to live in security in their own homes, to farm their fields without fear, to restore their way of life, to send their children to school once again, and to live in peace and dignity under local government of their choice.

Note that when all people in a unit are practicing the behaviors recommended in training, there are many models for any one individual to imitate. Guthrie (1969) feels that such modeling and imitation of favorable behaviors is essential to program effectiveness.

Related to the above points, rewards and recognition should be available to those administrators and line officers who perform well in the area of cross-cultural interaction. Recent research (Vroom, 1964; Graen, 1969) has shown that workers perform effectively when they see their behavior as instrumental in gaining rewards. That is, workers are effective when they see a link between their behavior and desired rewards. Some line officers associated with cross-cultural training might not work effectively at their jobs because they see no rewards for good work. If cross-cultural training is to be effective, rewards (promotions, commendations, etc.) must be available for those officers who perform well. Otherwise good men will seek transfers to more rewarding assignments.

IX. RECOMMENDATIONS

A. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EVALUATING PROGRAM EFFECTIVENESS

Research should be conducted to determine whether the present operational and experimental programs are having the desired effect. Evaluators should keep the following in mind:

a. If a person says he likes host nationals, this does not mean that he engages in constructive behavior. It is easy for respondents to put themselves in a socially desirable light while answering attitude questionnaires.

b. Evaluation should be undertaken by people unassociated with (who have no vested interest in) the training program under study.

c. If verbal measures must be used, instead of asking Americans if they like host nationals, ask the host nationals if they like Americans. The attitudes of host nationals should reflect the presence of trained versus untrained troops.

d. It should be possible to gather data on actual behaviors of Americans toward host nationals. Several were suggested, including: recording number of fights, number of hours volunteered to help host nationals, seating arrangements, number of friendships formed, etc.

e. Administrators acknowledge that the lack of evaluation data is the weakest point in their programs. They want such data so that they can improve their programs.

B. GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

Culture-general training includes such topics as self-awareness, the dignity of man, and the cognitive-affective components that underlie behavior. Culture-specific training includes information on the habits and customs of a given country, decision-making styles, and skills needed for effective communication. Research should be conducted that will determine the best mix of these two approaches for training.

Programs should have the following aspects: Data regarding the assumptions underlying the content of training; goals that can be modified or discarded based on research; techniques to provide transfer from training to the real world; social support for the attitudes and behaviors learned during training; data on the effectiveness of the program, especially the effects on actual behavior long after training; replication of major findings; measures on how much of the training content is retained; follow-on training after deployment to the host culture.

1. Social Support for Desired Behavior

The effects of a good training program can be overwhelmed if trainees do not receive social support for desired behaviors. Individuals are encouraged during training to interact with foreign nationals, but outside of training this goal may be ridiculed by the individual's friends. To be effective, training must transcend the classroom. This goal can be accomplished by observing the following points:

a. The values expressed in training must be genuinely accepted by all people at all levels.

b. An individual assigned to a unit in which everyone engages in constructive behaviors toward host nationals will quickly learn from these "models."

c. Rewards should be made available for individuals who engage in constructive behavior.

2. Problems to be Considered in Operational Programs

Techniques are needed to instruct large numbers of trainees since groups of over 300 men sometimes have to be trained at the same time.

Large-scale programs should exist to teach host nationals the nature of cross-cultural interaction.

3. Other Literature Reviews That are Necessary

Program administrators have indicated that they would like to be able to select the prople who would be trainers. A literature review

of such topics as (a) the traits of people who interact effectively in other cultures (Askenasy, 1969; Kimmell and Perlman, 1970; Mischel, 1965; Smith, 1966), and (b) selection within the Peace Corps (Gordon, 1966, 1967; Krug, 1963; Stein, 1963) would be helpful.

4. Current Work That Should be Studied When Available

The Personal Response, Troop-Community Relations, and Cultural Assimilator programs are presently expanding their work and/or gathering empirical data. The write-ups of these advances should be studied.

APPENDIX A

THE TASK STATEMENT DIRECTING THE REVIEW

(Content of Cross-Cultural Training Programs Task Statement)

TECHNICAL SCOPE

American military personnel stationed overseas do much of their work in contact with foreign nationals. All three services have had either research activities and/or active training programs with the goal of improving communications and working relations between Americans and host nationals. For instance, the Army has contracted Work Unit COPE with HumRRO, a research program aimed at developing instructional materials to allow Americans to perceive the ways in which they are influenced by their own culture. The Navy has sponsored (1) lectures and demonstrations with the specific purpose of orienting sailors into pleasant and trouble-free visits to liberty ports, and (2) the Personal Response program, which has the endorsement of the Chief of Naval Operations. The Air Force has sponsored research into video tape confrontation in which a person's interaction with another is taped, and then played back so that successes and errors can be noted.

The study will review the content of such training and research activities, as well as point out evaluation methodology applicable to these programs. An emphasis will be placed on methods for evaluating long-range behavioral effects of training. Such a review will document which aspects of these activities have been effective in improving attitudes and working relations. It will also suggest specific techniques that should be emphasized in future training. At present, the results of present and past programs are widely scattered and thus unincorporated into a single reference. There has been no cross-service comparison or assessment.

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In addition to the above tri-service examples, the review will cover the Army's community relations program in Korea, the research on the cultural assimilator sponsored by ARPA and ONR, and other work done in universities. Interviews with instructors and managers of training programs will also be conducted.

SCHEDULE

A report will be prepared for ODDR&E, SA/BSS, in three months.

TECHNICAL COGNIZANCE

Director ODDR&E or his designated representative. (Lt. Col. Austin W. Kibler is appointed as designee.)

SCALE OF EFFORT

An average of one man-month per month, for three months, with additional consultant help as required.

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13. ABSTRACT
This paper reviews and evaluates the content of operational and experimental cross-cultural training programs within the three military services. In addition, cross-cultural training data from other sources are examined. The paper describes the operational and experimental programs and the methods used for evaluating the long-range effects of such training. Finally, techniques that appear to be effective for cross-cultural training in the military are recommended.

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