301.2
K29

ISN 71846
PNABI105

TECHNICAL COOPERATION AND THE CULTURE OF THE HOST COUNTRY

Isabel Kelly
Anthropologist
Community Development Division
International Cooperation Administration
June, 1959

Technical cooperation and the culture of the host...

301.2 International Cooperation Administration. Commun-
K29 ity Development Division.
Technical cooperation and the culture of the host country. Isabel Kelly. June 1959.
25 p.

1. Cultural relations. 2. A.I.D. - Projects. 3. Social conditions. I. Kelly, Isabel. II. Title.

A.I.D.
Reference Center
Room 1656 NS

TECHNICAL COOPERATION AND THE CULTURE OF THE HOST COUNTRY

Introduction 1

Orientation to the over-all culture..... 3

Orientation of personnel..... 4

Participation in over-all planning..... 4

Planning and evaluation of specific projects..... 6

Public health..... 7

Housing projects..... 11

Resettlement..... 12

Agricultural extension..... 13

Nutrition..... 14

Native arts and crafts..... 17

Audio-visual materials..... 19

Community development..... 21

The social scientist..... 22

TECHNICAL COOPERATION AND THE CULTURE OF THE HOST COUNTRY

Introduction

We assume that the manifold ills of many countries are the direct outcome of their undeveloped economy, as a consequence of which our technical cooperation program works diligently to strengthen the latter. It focuses on specific problems with obvious relationship to what we generally call the economy. Actually, however, the latter is no more than one of the many complex facets of the community and the nation. It cannot be divorced from its context, for it results from the combination and interaction of a vast number of interrelated culture traits. These include such diverse non-material elements as family and social organization, education, leadership patterns, religious and political institutions, division of labor, attitudes, values and goals.[1/] It is more than likely that our present approach gives

---

1/ As a matter of fact, some psychologists feel that the only fruitful approach to the economic development we hope to stimulate is through a concerted effort to change the fundamental outlook of the people of the collaborating nations, by instilling in them "achievement motivation."

See David C. McClelland, Community development and the nature of human motivation: some implications of recent research. Background paper, Conference on community development, sponsored by the Center for international studies. 1957. Preliminary draft, for conference use only. Dittoed.

---

no assurance of permanent results, and it may be well to think in terms of a broader perspective, which recognizes the fact that the economy of a nation forms an inextricable part of a cultural whole.

Every technical cooperation program undertakes to change certain aspects of the culture of the host country. Although objectives usually are expressed in other terms, fundamentally they are directed toward modification of certain existing culture traits or toward their substitution by other traits which, from the viewpoint of the program, seem either more beneficial (such as improved health conditions) or more desirable (such as a favorable balance of trade). Inasmuch as our efforts are aimed at cultural change, it behooves us to find out as much as we can with respect to the existing culture. Otherwise, we work diligently--and at great expenditure of time, energy and money--to change the culture, but without attempting to define and understand that which we are committed to change. Such procedure is standard, but patently illogical.

The social scientist is a specialist in human culture. By reason of his training, his understanding of cultural processes, and his first-hand observations in the host country, he is in a position to provide orientation to the culture of the country in which the program is being applied.

In the pages to follow, attention will be called to certain areas in which the collaboration of an anthropologist, or other social scientist,[2/]

[2/] As an anthropologist, I tend to see matters from the viewpoint of my own field. Most statements would apply equally well to sociology and a good many, to social psychology. The human geographer and the economist likewise are in a position to contribute, although their fields are considerably more specialized.

---

is useful. The first heading will concern orientation to the over-all culture of the host country; the second, to participation in specific projects of a

program. Treatment of these, project by project, could be expanded enormously, but the themes here selected for mention should serve adequately as examples.

Orientation to the over-all culture

Indubitably, the social scientist can offer useful insight with respect to many fundamental aspects of society. Is the latter basically democratic? Is it stratified, based on socio-economic classes? On castes? What are the cultural differences associated with the component groups? What is the relative status of the sexes? What cultural differences distinguish rural and urban groups? What are the regional differences and what significance do they have for the program?

What attitudes do the people have with respect to change? Are they interested in innovation or do they cling tenaciously to their old culture patterns? What are the traditional techniques of learning? Through imitation? Through individual experiment? Is traditional teaching audio, or visual, or both?

What are the identifiable values of the people? Is health a major concern for them? Or are philosophical and religious values of greater importance? Is education one of their real interests? What are the notions associated with prestige? Does it rest on social position? On education? Wealth? What material manifestations does such prestige take? Land? Livestock? Political power? Participation in underwriting the costs of ostensibly religious ceremonies? What are the leadership patterns? Too often, we lose sight of the fact that prestige is a potent motivating force in cultural change and that the latter generally is effected through local leadership.

In concrete terms the social scientist who is thoroughly grounded in the over-all culture of the country is in a position to be helpful on several scores, as will be seen below.

Orientation of personnel. In the first place, he is able to provide North American personnel with orientation to and understanding of the cultural background of the host country and thus minimize the cultural shock frequently suffered by colleagues who have to adjust to a social environment radically different from that of New Hampshire, Iowa or Montana. With such reduction of cultural shock, the technician is able to focus attention on his specific job, with a minimum of time dedicated to adjustment.

In the second place, the social scientist often is called upon to orient host-country technicians to the culture of their own country. At first blush, this sounds ridiculous. But it so happens that local technicians generally come from urban rather than rural surroundings; moreover, technical education tends to be limited to social sectors of relative prestige and prosperity, while programs often are directed toward rural groups and, particularly, toward population segments of less privileged social status. The upshot is that the local technician may require about as much orientation to the cultural diversification of his own country as does the North American technician.

Participation in over-all planning. Thirdly, the experienced social scientist--who has had a chance to become saturated with the local culture and who, concurrently, is thoroughly familiar with the technical cooperation program--is in a position to be helpful in over-all planning. Obviously, he must be fully aware of the objectives of the program, as well as

cognizant of the economic and political problems with which it is confronted. In addition, he must be sufficiently experienced to view possible solutions in the light of program mechanism and resources, such as technicians and budget. In short, collaboration in over-all planning is not a job for the novice, but one for the experienced investigator who is well versed both in the local culture and in program operations.

Undoubtedly, planning would benefit from competent counsel on the score of culture. The culture of the host country provides the social environment in which any technical cooperation develops and, subsequently, either blossoms or withers. There is scant hope of success unless the proposed changes can be adapted to the local culture and incorporated in it. Patently, there is little point in planning agricultural extension services, unless we realize that the host country farmers do not share our corn-belt culture, nor of producing audio-visual data as though they were to be directed to an audience in suburban Indianapolis.

Program plans should be reviewed in the light of the values of the host country and its ideas associated with prestige. Not infrequently, barriers to the proposed cultural change may be foreseen and sometimes ways and means of by-passing such barriers are found within the local culture itself. The effect of the proposed culture change on the various sectors of the population and on the distinct regions of the country should be considered. Sometimes we sponsor projects which conflict with the established cultural norms or which favor the interests of one local group while doing violence to those of another. Sometimes, unthinkingly, we launch projects which cause our own collaborators to lose face.

Too often, we seem oblivious of the cultural factors, and a program muddles along, with no evident awareness on our part. A well-informed social scientist, on the scene, should be in a position to instill such awareness. He is by no means infallible, but he is trained to think in terms of human culture; provided he is given opportunity, he can provide perspective of genuine utility to those who plan the program.

Planning and evaluation of specific projects

It is easier to demonstrate in concrete terms the usefulness of the social scientist when it comes to consideration of specific projects in given fields. Below are cited examples from public health, housing, resettlement, agricultural extension, nutrition, native arts and crafts, audio-visual materials and community development.[3]

---

[3] These fields are mentioned chiefly because, in the course of a good many years of work in Latin America, I have had some contact with them. Education and public administration are not listed, simply because my acquaintance with them is extremely limited. However, projects in those spheres likewise attempt to change certain aspects of human culture and assuredly could make good use of the approach of the social scientist.

Participation on the level of individual projects involves critical inspection of the latter in terms of the local culture. Attention may be directed, on the one hand, to proposed undertakings and, on the other, to the evaluation and reorientation of existing projects. As will be seen below, the range of possibilities is enormous, and the specialist in human culture will find a challenging opportunity to exploit his knowledge of

culture and employ his talents, for the benefit of the mission and of the country to which he is assigned.

Public health. To date, in international programs, the approach of the social scientist probably has found acceptance primarily in public health programs. In most of the countries where ICA operates, there is a thick, deeply-rooted substratum of folk medicine, on which modern public health services rest, more or less as an extraneous overlay. Without knowledge of the underlying folk medicine, it is difficult to effect any sort of fusion. Sympathetic understanding of the popular beliefs and practices related to disease helps enormously in establishing rapport between the professional personnel and the public and, by extension, in gaining an effective toe hold for modern health concepts and services.

The anthropologist who has a chance to study local folk medicine is in a position to provide significant data on the score of popular disease concepts and associated therapy. In addition, such a study invariably results in an enlightening store of knowledge with respect to (1) attitudes and beliefs, (2) the role of native practitioners and (3) the essentially logical character of popular medicine.

Frequently, this logical quality explains the apathy exhibited toward the health services we sponsor. For example, if disease is attributed to the intrusion of an evil spirit in the body of the patient, the indicated solution is extraction of the offending spirit; if illness is thought to result from soul loss, manifestly the problem is one of restoring the wandering soul. In neither case is recourse to the health center a logical move. An awareness of the reasons behind such rejection

of health-center services assists the professional personnel materially (1) in overcoming the resistance and (2) in substituting the concepts and practices of modern medicine for those of the traditional culture. As an aside, it generally is far easier to gain acceptance of modern practices--such as the use of injections--than it is to instill understanding of the concepts behind them; yet, until the latter is accomplished, the graft of introduced medical culture is not genuinely established.

An intensive study of local folk medicine often shows how certain already-existing beliefs and practices can be put to good use in facilitating the introduction of modern health practices. For example, if the people believe that measles are contagious, this basic notion can be expanded to apply to tuberculosis, provided the latter is not already recognized as likely to spread from one person to another. Is it customary to take native medicines in the morning, before breakfast? If so, it may be helpful if the doctor prescribes his remedies according to the same pattern. The same holds for the use of ceremonial numbers. Is the medicine administered in terms of 3? That is, 3 cups of herb tea, or 3 teaspoons of medicine, or 3 drops of some preparation? Does treatment continue for 3 days, or in multiples of 3? Again, these same patterns may be exploited to gain acceptance of modern medical treatment.

Sometimes, too, the study of folk medicine reveals ways and means of enlisting the collaboration of native curers so that, instead of having them as opponents, they become, in a certain sense, collaborators.

When it comes to planning of maternal-child health services, the social scientist can define current beliefs and practices relative to pregnancy, birth and infant care. As a rule, it turns out that certain of these are admirable and should be strengthened, while others are actually harmful and should be combatted actively. Quite often, the local culture itself provides the solution. Although it may be believed, for example, that the pregnant woman should drink little water, perhaps a certain herb tea is considered admirable for her; accordingly, to assure her an adequate liquid intake, the indicated move is to recommend use of such tea. But without a firm grounding in the folk culture, a recommendation may run entirely counter to the convictions of the people.

Health-center operation benefits notably from the orientation supplied by the social scientist. Not infrequently, it turns out that visiting hours are planned for the convenience of the staff, instead of the public. Some health centers--in keeping with our own emphasis on preventive rather than curative medicine--refuse to attend the ailing child and thus gain bitter enmity of the parents. Folk notions with respect to personal modesty may be brusquely ignored in the gynecological examination administered to the pregnant woman; in that case, she withdraws from the center. It has been found quite commonly that the public disdains services which are gratis, and that it may be preferable to make a nominal charge. Expressions of public opinion, recorded by the social scientist, point out weak points in public relations; perhaps the office attendant tends to be snippy; or the nurse, too insistent about prompt attendance; or the doctor, too rushed to explain his

instructions intelligibly. In other words, a scrutiny of a health-center operation, from the viewpoint of the public, can be of notable utility in improving services and in making them more attractive to the clientele.

Different aspects of environmental sanitation also gain from the collaboration of a social scientist. Is the design of the water hydrant in accord with the fashion in which people load the water, in order to carry it to the house? Does the water--in transit, or once it reaches home base--receive such casual treatment that it no longer can be considered potable? An inspection of the handling and storage of drinking water provides a firm basis for planning an educational campaign, so that the water may preserve its potable quality. What are the cultural changes which accompany the introduction of a modern water-supply system in any given region? Reduced mortality? Improved health? More home gardens? More frequent baths?

When it comes to attempts to introduce the use of latrines, it is helpful to know current habits with respect to the disposal of human wastes. Are the people "squatters" or "sitters"? It is extremely difficult to change motor patterns, and any latrine designed should accord with them. However, prestige is a potent conditioning factor, and if people of higher social status are known to be "sitters" instead of "squatters," that fact may influence the type of latrine which is acceptable. Naturally, if it is possible to have the latrine accepted as a symbol of prestige, the chances of its being widely adopted are pretty good. However, no matter how intensive a latrine project, the resulting structure probably will wind up as a show place or as a granary, unless an effective educational

campaign makes clear to the people the relationship between the outhouse and health.

In any undertaking which requires comparatively large capital outlay--be it installation of latrines, sewage, windows, raised hearths, or permanent floor--it is necessary to have specific data with respect to certain social factors. Does the family own its own home? Renters are not going to squander money improving property to which they do not have title. Is the woman a breadwinner? If so, propaganda should be directed to her, as well as to the man of the house, for the chances are that she will contribute toward the cost.

Perhaps the host country is about to embark on a spraying program in the interests of malaria control. If so, what is the distribution within the country of the various native languages, in which the technicians and sprayers must be able to communicate? What people or institutions are going to be particularly useful in preparing the rural populace? Teachers? Missionaries? Other agents? What is the local house type? What are the settlement patterns? Are the houses widely dispersed or closely clustered? Are domestic bees or fowl sufficiently common so that the populace should be warned in advance to remove them from the vicinity of the spraying? What are the current folk ideas concerning the cause and treatment of malaria? What are the work habits? Are there migrant workers who may reintroduce the disease from elsewhere?

Housing projects. Not infrequently, low-cost housing is a concern of the ICA mission. Planning will be facilitated if, at the start, a careful preliminary survey of present accommodations is made. As a

consequence, needs should be evident, both from our point of view and that of the public itself. Before plans are made, size and composition of each family should be known, as well as the functions of individual rooms, under present conditions; moreover, any preliminary study should record the tastes and the desires of the people to be served.

In the course of the survey, prestige factors would become evident and could be reviewed in the light of economic resources. Sometimes our notions of adequate accommodations are remote from those of peoples of other cultures. Perhaps, as a matter of prestige, it is essential that the kitchen be built as a separate structure; perhaps windows are deliberately avoided, in the belief that witches may enter through them.

Unless a model home is built to accord with the local culture and the tastes of the people, it will not find acceptance. A background study makes possible identification of certain details of the present dwelling which might be carried over in the model house, so that the occupants may feel at home in it.

Resettlement. Even under optimum conditions, resettlement of a population is a difficult matter and one which rarely is successful. When such an undertaking is contemplated, the interest and the attitudes of the proposed colonists should be determined by means of a basic field study. Concurrently, certain aspects such as linguistic divergence, differences in formal religious affiliation and conflicting cultural traditions are bound to be revealed. The attitudes of the prospective settlers toward individuals of other areas and of distinct cultural heritage affect the likelihood of forming a cohesive new community in the area to be colonized.

An appraisal of present living conditions and of certain attitudes gives a pretty clear idea of the services which must be provided in the new area. What housing facilities are indispensable? What sanitary installations? If the people are determined that their offspring receive professional training, an offer of grade-school education in the new colony is not going to be regarded as much of an inducement.

Agricultural extension. A program in agricultural extension cannot be operated the world over in precisely the same way it is planned and applied in Missouri or Tennessee; it cannot be successful and of lasting benefits unless a great many cultural factors of the host country are considered in the course of planning and implementation.

The linguistic situation requires special consideration; obviously, the teaching process will be greatly retarded if the agent does not speak the language current in the rural zone to which he is assigned. Social organization likewise is of immediate concern. Often, certain crops are associated with specific social sectors. Moreover, the attitudes of the public are affected by class consciousness, and the individual social status of the agent affects his acceptance by the rural population. If he comes from an extremely modest social sector, his advice will be spurned by property holders who feel themselves of superior standing. On the contrary, if the agent comes from a comparatively high stratum, the small farmer, of humble antecedents, may feel uncomfortable in his presence.

Needless to say, educational materials should be selected to accord with the natural and cultural conditions of the area in which they are to be used. In a deeply dissected zone, which has no chronically acute shortage

of labor, it seems preferable not to show films extolling the merits of mechanized agriculture. Nor is it advisable to encourage the raising of blooded animals when adequate protection from disease is not feasible, or where certain natural deficiencies--such as calcium--make success unlikely. Although, on paper, these points seem obvious, in practice, too often they are overlooked.

Moreover, a conscious effort should be made not to impose our own culture patterns in extension work. Once more, mechanized agriculture may be mentioned, and we ought not to make a fetich of it in areas where such development is not feasible or advisable. We think in terms of our own culture when, in publications prepared for consumption in rural Latin America, we refer to blenders, pressure cookers and temperature-regulated ovens; or when we give measurements in terms of pounds, ounces and gallons; or when we distribute recipes which call for mayonaise, chopped pickles and olives.

Ideally, agricultural extension materials--including the planning of projects for rural clubs--should be developed on the spot and should accord directly with the resources, needs and interests of the local people. Translations of materials elaborated elsewhere are not likely to be useful, unless they are carefully and skillfully adapted to the local scene.

Nutrition. Quite often, the ICA program attempts to combat the major dietary deficiencies which afflict the host country. Such endeavors may be sponsored by the Health, Agriculture or Education programs or, in fact, by all three of them.

Food habits are among the most difficult cultural traits to change. Before any concrete attack on the problem is formulated, it would seem essential that the existing dietary situation be studied carefully, region by region. Such investigation would include critical inspection of local resources and their present utilization, with some attention, moreover, to seasonal differences in diet. Techniques used in the preparation and preservation of foods should be studied, as well as the foods themselves and related eating habits; beliefs, prejudices, local classifications and prestige aspects should be recorded.

The chances are that a critical inspection of the scene will reveal local resources which at present are not recognized, much less exploited. Too, it is more than likely that organized study will show that certain dishes--already known and liked--would help materially in overcoming some of the deficiencies, provided they were eaten in greater quantity or with greater frequency. It would seem far easier to encourage people to increase consumption of such dishes than to try to persuade them to eat some exotic substance--such as ground eggshell. Furthermore, if the introduction of a new food seems essential, perhaps its acceptance could be facilitated through using it as a substitute or an added ingredient in certain existing dishes; in this case, the latter would serve as a bridge to the desired cultural change. In any event, the first basic step in improving nutrition would seem to be a close examination of the current diet.

Local beliefs with respect to foods provide useful clues for those who prepare educational materials. Why is fish disdained? Perhaps merely because, traditionally, it is not regarded as a "true" food. The same may

hold for pork and lard, as a consequence of which they are slightly exploited, even though they are available. Clearly, these are points to which an educational campaign might give attention.

Other beliefs likewise are pertinent. Are foods classified popularly as "hot" or "cold," irrespective of actual temperature? If so, how does this outlook affect the selection of fare? Does the local classification provide terms which can be exploited by those who prepare teaching materials? A little field research may show that a popular caption, such as "dry foods," may have about the same connotation as our term, carbohydrates, and it has the enormous value of being meaningful to the local population. Data presented in the vocabulary commonly in use are more likely to strike receptive chords.

Prejudice plays an important part in limiting diet. Why does the Indian mother refuse to give her small child cooked animal blood, when the latter is plentiful, inexpensive and obviously nutritious? It may be because she believes that the child who consumes blood will not learn to talk. Or perhaps the blood is considered more fit for sacrifice to the supernatural. Why is there a widespread prejudice against raising pigeons for food? Possibly it is because of the conviction that they bring bad luck to the household. Why, in some areas, are beans seldom eaten? It may be because they are thought responsible for liver ailments. Knowledge of such beliefs contributes to understanding of the local situation and provides a sound basis for planning educational materials directed toward improvement of diet.

The matter of prestige and its relationship to food habits should receive careful attention. Because of it, in some zones, indigenous population

spontaneously shift from their traditional, relatively nutritious staples, to white rice, white bread and macaroni-like products; instead of wholesome gruels, they now drink coffee. Why? Because these foods have prestige value; they characterize the diet of those who enjoy higher social status. Unfortunately, prestige considerations seem generally to affect diet adversely; we should seek situations in which prestige might have the opposite result.

In all instances, it goes without saying that any recommended changes should be thoroughly realistic, in keeping with the local culture, and within reach of the populace, both physically and financially. If dried banana is a staple, that product should be utilized; through a little culinary experimentation, it might be combined with other available ingredients in order to provide the proteins, vitamins, minerals, or whatever other elements seem deficient. The same approach would hold for manioc and other starches.

In particular, conscious effort should be made not to seek solutions in terms of our own culture--both with respect to the foods themselves and the techniques of preparing them. We are not helping Andean diet when we encourage the people to fry potatoes instead of cooking them entire, without removing the skins. The answer to dietary problems should be sought within the range of local, regional resources and local culture. The introduction of our own staples--even on a temporary, emergency basis--would seem unsound procedure, and utilization of products, such as those distributed by CARE, cannot possibly provide a permanent solution.

Native arts and crafts. Upon occasion, ICA missions undertake to improve family economy through encouragement of cottage industries. In such instances, a careful study of the arts and crafts of the host country should

permit identification of products with commercial potentialities and, at the same time, bring to light regional specialization. Is one area distinguished particularly for its basketry? Another for its wood carving? Which are the zones where the most proficient textile weavers live? Where is metal working at its best?

Manifestly, to warrant the title of "native" arts and crafts, commercial development must be guided to accord with the local cultural tradition. That means that, for example, in South America we should avoid stimulating manufacture of "British tweeds," or "Hongkong baskets," or "Kentucky-mountain coverlets." Inevitably there is danger that the "native" ingredient may be reduced to raw materials and labor, while the designs are inspired by the administrators of the project. Sound knowledge of the craft heritage of the zone is necessary, if the output is to be kept within recognizable range of the traditional local patterns.

Other factors, perhaps less obvious, also are involved in the successful operation of a program of native arts. What are the pertinent attitudes of the people? Does the craftsman enjoy prestige among his fellows? Or are other occupations more attractive from that point of view? Are the people sufficiently interested in financial gain to discipline themselves to produce in quantity? Or will craft work remain a casual, part-time endeavor? Will the artisans become so bored by large-scale manufacture that the quality of the sample product will plummet or that delivery deadlines cannot be met? In short, is commercialization feasible, in terms of the local culture and in terms of our merchandising demands?

Audio-visual materials. The development of audio-visual materials is one endeavor where sensitivity to the culture of the host country is essential. It is not sufficient that a technician assigned to Latin America, for example, be fluent in Spanish; after all, language is merely one facet of the local culture. Nor is it sufficient that he have a nodding acquaintance with Hispanic cultural traditions if, let us say, the audience toward which the data are directed happens to be the Quechua or Aymara population of the Andean highlands, or some minority group whose cultural tradition lies outside the Hispanic framework.

Our audio-visual technicians are admirably trained in the communications media which have been developed in and utilized by our own culture, and their presentation of data for local consumption seems to be essentially in terms of the latter. Apparently they do not become attuned to host-country culture and thereupon adapt their materials to it; rather, in some instances, they appear to impose our own cultural patterns on their host-country collaborators, so that local writers and staff artists produce audio-visual materials in keeping with North American taste and understanding, but foreign to those of their own compatriots. A few examples may be cited:

> (1) There is no assurance that Disney-type illustrations strike a responsive chord in peoples who have had little contact with Western culture; and (2) the same holds for the exaggerated caricatures to which some of our audio-visual centers are addicted.
>
> (3) Moreover, I suspect that the anthropomorphized plants and animals--which we apparently regard as the sugar coating, to make factual data in agriculture or animal husbandry more palatable--are neither understood nor regarded as particularly appealing.

In fact, some of the themes selected for such illustrations probably remain entirely unintelligible to the audience. Here, I refer specifically to one paper (folleto 4-F, no. 3, issued in Quito, for the Agricultural servicio), simply because it is the only publication at hand, at the moment. It contains (p. 9) a sketch of the sow, diligently knitting little garments for her imminently-expected offspring. In rural areas of Latin America, preparation of a layette is not common, and the basic idea presumably will not be appreciated.

The same pamphlet carries the sketch of a young pig sporting a hair ribbon (p. 11) and a group of hogs at the dinner table, each equipped with bib and spoon (p. 14). These illustrations show clearly that we present the data in terms of our own culture and our own range of understanding.

Sometimes our half-hearted efforts to conform to the local situation are not successful. (4) We draw human faces with Nordic features and by dint of adding a knitted cap, with ear flaps, we assume we have converted the subject into an Aymara Indian type. (5) Material items--such as clothing, houses and furnishings--may be drawn in keeping with the cultural background, but the human figures sketched against that backdrop are depicted with posture, gestures, deportment and dialogue notably discordant.

(6) In preparing dialogue--for example, for puppet skits--again we tend to draw on our own culture. Some of the jokes--corny even by our own standards--are intelligible to us, but it is unlikely that a Quechua would laugh at the same sallies. In fact, his sense of humor is almost certain to follow other patterns.

Indubitably, a social scientist could be of material assistance in calling attention to these dissonant notes, although the chances are that he will not be sufficiently versed in indigenous culture to guide the presentation specifically. Nevertheless, he would have sufficient awareness to be able to convince the staff that materials might better be prepared in collaboration with local informants who actually participate in the culture--not only the language--toward which the message is directed.

If the presentation is not thoroughly intelligible to the audience, there is no effective communication; and the latter, in the last analysis, is the most fundamental aspect of any audio-visual endeavor.

Community development. Community development is an approach, or a technique, which involves making people aware of their own problems and guiding them so that they themselves participate actively in resolving them. No discipline has a monopoly on such procedure, and community development projects may be identified formally as such, or certain aspects may be under the aegis of Health, Agriculture, Education, Resettlement or other fields.

In order to guide a community tactfully toward recognition of its problems, without imposing external judgments, a pretty substantial grounding in the local culture is essential. There must be real appreciation of needs, both from the viewpoint of the community itself and from that of the technicians. Also, there should be thorough knowledge of the technical personnel and of the technical facilities which may be available to the community upon request. In particular, community resources and potentials must be well understood. Selection of a too-ambitious project, beyond local means, will result in failure and in a consequent feeling of deception and loss of interest.

The successful outcome of any community development project rests largely on leadership within the local group. Not invariably is such leadership obvious, and protracted field study may be necessary before the true leaders of a community are identified. In cases where leadership defies detection, individuals sometimes are selected as subjects for leadership training; but such selection must be made with great care, by someone who is acquainted with the social fabric of the community and with the personalities involved. Otherwise, if true leaders exist, albeit in the background, enmity and conflict may result.

The social scientist

There are social scientists and social scientists. There are extreme differences in personalities, interests, attitudes, training, experience and competence. Manifestly, under such circumstances, it is impossible to lay down hard and fast rules with respect to the selection of the social scientist who is in a position to collaborate most successfully in a technical cooperation program.

For favorable results, certainly he should be an individual who has had considerable field experience, preferably in the general cultural zone to which he is to be assigned. A young, inexperienced person, with background training in the social sciences, may require several years of in-service training before he can be expected to contribute independently to the program.

It is equally difficult to indicate too rigidly the academic requirements which should be sought, for a great deal depends upon the individual and his personal background. Obvious advantages surround the person who has a professional degree; he has been subjected to considerable academic discipline and presumably has broader perspective than the individual who barely has sampled graduate work. Moreover, once in the field, he will not be tempted to devote the major part of his efforts toward the accumulation of data for his doctoral dissertation.

Nevertheless, in the academic world, professional standing normally is measured in terms of publication record. The individual who has a professional degree is likely to feel frustrated chronically by lack of opportunity to hold his own with his age mates who have taken teaching and research

positions and who have opportunity of winning professional recognition through the normal channels of publication. It is possible that some publication outlet for the data from field investigations might, in part, help overcome the loss of status to which the social scientist is subjected when he abandons academic life for the applied field.[4] Were such

---

[4] Sol Tax, president of the American Anthropological Association, suggests a gradual reorientation of the value system characteristic of the social sciences, through the expedient of borrowing, on a leave-of-absence basis, certain individuals of established prestige in the academic world, for short-term assignments to the technical cooperation program. He feels that through this device the applied field might come to be more highly regarded.

Presumably, upon their return to academic circles, these individuals, recently exposed to applied endeavors, would tend to direct their teaching more toward such activities. It might be profitable for such short-term investigators to go to the field accompanied by one or two advanced students, so that budding members of the profession might receive early conditioning to applied pursuits.

Dr. Tax presented his suggestion in mid-June at an informal meeting of a few interested ICA administrators and number of anthropologists who happened at that time to be available in Washington. In the course of the discussion, it was suggested that I prepare a statement with respect to the use of the social scientist in technical cooperation programs. The present paper is the outcome; a first draft was read by Dr. Margaret Lantis and Dr. Thomas Gladwin, to both of whom I am indebted for a number of suggestions which have been incorporated in the current version.

---

data published more fully, it is quite likely that additional regularities in cultural change might be recognizable so that, in time, prediction could be made more accurately. Lamentably, at present, the social scientist tends to be more proficient at hindsight than at foresight.

In order to work effectively, the social scientist must have a favorable climate within the mission, and there is no point in foisting him on a mission whose director is little interested, if not actually opposed to his type of approach. Furthermore, it must be understood by the administration that no social scientist, however well-trained, however earnest, is in a position to be very helpful until he first has been given opportunity to orient himself to the local culture. In short, he must learn before he can teach; unfortunately, the learning process sometimes is pretty lengthy, especially if the individual is new to the over-all culture of the area.

In addition, the social scientist should be allowed adequate time to prepare his data in the form of written reports, whether or not these ever come to be published. If his material remains in the form of field notes, there will be no readily available, organized record of his investigations, and the chances are that 4 or 5 years hence, after a change or two of mission directors, the same old project may be hit upon and launched anew. Unless we record our failures and our successes, in written reports, we are not in a position to profit from them in the future.

No social scientist is omnipotent, and the program should shun anyone who claims clairvoyance. It is most unlikely that useful contributions can be proffered by someone who does not have a pretty substantial background in the general culture zone in question, combined with firsthand field experience; remote-control collaboration will be out of focus. Selection of the social scientist should be made with great care; a couple of casual and

injudicious appointments will result in the damning of the cultural approach for the next decade. As a consequence, the individual or the agency who selects a candidate assumes serious responsibility, toward both the program and the professions represented by the social sciences.