It isn't everyone who has the unfortunate experience of being responsible and/or overseeing an inadequate Peace Corps training program, and then having to go overseas to live with the results. Standing before you is one such individual! Let me explain.

It all happened in the olden days of Peace Corps—twenty-five years ago. As most of us know, the Peace Corps was established with astonishing rapidity. Peace Corps realized the importance of getting warm bodies into the field as soon as possible, for political and other reasons. New Peace Corps staff members, many of them with no previous overseas experience, were sent to selected countries, where they talked briefly with host country government officials. They asked these officials whether they wanted Peace Corps Volunteers and if so, what kind of skills were needed. They then flew on to the next country. The report that was sent back to Washington said that such and such a country was requesting, for example, 7 nurses, 5 engineers, three librarians, etc.

Early on Colorado State University had signed a contract to train FCV's for West Pakistan. Since Peace Corps staff and offices were still in the process of being established in-country, CSU also contracted to handle all the logistics for Pak I, the first group of Volunteers to go to Pakistan and one of the first to go overseas. CSU had already carried out a number of contracts for AID in Pakistan, and so we had a number of people who knew the country well. Thus we could plan the training program with some assurance. Or so we thought!

What we didn't know was that while we were, for example, training 7 nurses for a hospital in Lyallpur, that hospital had no idea that they were about to receive such nurses. They didn't know that they were to prepare living quarters for seven young American women, and that the staff, doctors and nurses at the hospital should have been prepared for their coming. This was true of about 90% of the assignments for Pak I. The information simply had not trickled down from the top when our CSU representative arrived and visited the sites for which we were already training Volunteers back in the states. Confusion reigned, all around. Talk about culture shock!
I'm aware that this is not an unusual story for initial Peace Corps assignments. So why am I telling you this? Because these early unfortunate experiences had a deep and lasting effect on the future training of PCDV's, both for us and for many other institutions, I'm sure.

To help straighten out the resulting mess, I was sent to Pakistan and stayed there for the remainder of Pak I's tour of duty. Believe me, I spent almost two years planning the (quote and unquote) "perfect" training program that we were going to do as soon as I returned home. You may be sure that I had plenty of help from 28 Peace Corps Volunteers, plus, of course, Pakistani nationals, Peace Corps staff and others.

To say that we were flying by the seat of our pants in the first Peace Corps training is obviously an understatement. I haven't the time nor is it relevant to go into detail about the errors of omission and commission in those days. Suffice it to say that training was too academic, that we lacked information about job assignments, and that Volunteers were not sufficiently prepared, cross-culturally, to live and work in another culture.

Out of the first disasters in Pakistan came "Operation Peacecrak", a painstaking and thorough survey of jobs to which the next Volunteers were supposed to be assigned, and for which they were being trained. PCV's in Pakistan took time off from their jobs, or used vacation time, to visit each institution that had requested Volunteers. During 3 to 5 day visits, PCV's lived on the job, studied available housing, work space, equipment and talked with heads of institutions, supervisors and co-workers. They tried to judge all factors bearing on the potential success of the assignment, and gave a rating on each proposed job. Assessments were sent to the training institutions, and trainees were matched, insofar as possible, with jobs. Also, the PCV surveyors wrote detailed letters to the trainees. Training institutions were then able to gear their training to the needs of the trainees and to the host country. Non-existent jobs could be eliminated. Trainees came with some assurance of the need and how to handle those needs. Dr. Maurice Sill (No Sill to those of you who know him) was primarily responsible for designing the survey. Everyone carried it out with great enthusiasm, as you can imagine. It is my understanding, from talking to recent Volunteers, that some similar forms of surveys are still being used. I hope this is true, because they proved of inestimable value to us in planning future training programs.
Early on, in Peace Corps training, trainers and training institutions developed outstanding and efficient methods of language and technical training. Cross-cultural—or intercultural if you prefer that terminology—training was a different matter. Training volunteers to cope in another culture is difficult indeed. Out of the training of hundreds of Volunteers, the Center for Research and Education, of which I was Director before retirement, developed an experiential, role-model oriented cross-cultural training technique which we used with considerable success. This training approach was developed by CRE staff members, including Al Wight, Mike Tucker, John King and others. The method was described in a paper by Al Wight, "Experiential Cross-Cultural Training", as well as in other publications. There are many similar techniques for cross-cultural training being used in both private and governmental training programs today, and modifications and improvements are being made all the time. I would simply like to emphasize some of the key points needed for preparing PCV's and others to live and work in another culture.

In the past, trainees being prepared to live and work in another culture all too often were given some language preparation, briefed on the organization, on health needs, general information on the history, politics and culture of the country and a few do's and don't's. This is almost pure information transmission. We have assumed that if we tell people what it will be like, then they can adjust. Quoting Wight in the paper previously mentioned, "Such an approach ignores the person supposedly being trained, however; his own cultural biases, values, beliefs, attitudes, behavior, and expectations (which he too often assumes are logical and universal), and the problems these might create for him in another culture." Experience-based, experiential training should involve the trainee, even making him responsible for his own training and teaching him to learn how to learn, both during the training program and on the job. It includes problem-solving, critical incidents, problem definition and inductive thinking, to mention only a few aspects of the training model.

This type of training puts the trainer in an entirely different role....in what may be a very difficult role for trainers accustomed to information transmission. Many, if not most, trainers need careful training and re-orientation. Such re-training should include host country nationals, including language instructors, area studies and
technical trainers, for all aspects of the training _must be integrated_ to make experiential training successful. It is not easy to ask such individuals to put aside traditional learning models and techniques. Perhaps the training of trainers is of equal importance to that of training trainees, if experience-based cross-cultural training is to be successful.

Whatever the training method used, the end result must be to prepare the trainee to accept and live with values, attitudes, behaviors, and a life style very different from that to which he has been accustomed. If he is going to have a successful and satisfying experience living and working in another culture, we must give him the tools to cope, to learn, and to solve problems day in and day out for two years. We have the knowledge to do it, if we build on the mistakes and successes of the past 25 years. And that "we" includes the Peace Corps of the future. Let's stop re-inventing the wheel.

And what happened to the gal who went to Pakistan 25 years ago to live with a training institution and Peace Corps's early mistakes? Well, she came home, somewhat bruised and battered, having gone through two years of experiential living, including problem-solving, role model analysis, coping, attitudinal changes, definition of the problem, re-definition of the problem, appropriate behavioral responses, testing, feedback, evaluation...and after being up to her ears in critical incidents 24 hours a day! And believe it or not, it was perhaps the greatest learning experience of her life.

[Signature]

Panel No. 3, Volunteer Preparation
for Interacultural Experiences
Thursday, July 10, 1986
Insert A

And so I came to this seminar, confident that I would learn that Peace Corps and training institutions have profited by early mistakes and that PCV's go to their assignments well-prepared to cope. But what did I learn at the development forum? Not so, Not so. The following are a few of the recommendations from that forum with regard to training:

Provide in-service training and continuing education throughout the assignment.

Training should emphasize cross-cultural and language skills over technical training.

Improve training of staff.

Provide enthusiastic trainers—get rid of burned-out trainers.

Develop "new" approaches to training, e.g. role-modeling. New???

Make preassignment visits—new PCV's with old PCV's (Sounds like 25 years ago)

Train PCVs to incorporate and blend Western and traditional systems in their respective fields.

Better screening of applicants to avoid hardships resulting from mismatches of people and assignments.

Train all volunteers, even technical, in principles and techniques of Community Development.

Use more PCVs in training.

Training should cover host country political, educational and bureaucratic systems.

Ah well......maybe after the next 25!!!
When a villager approaches our tent looking burdened and distressed, we are pretty sure that either someone is suffering at home — his bullock, his child, or his wife — or some agent of authority is on his trail. If the cause of his trouble is illness, we can express our sympathy in immediate action. If it is an agent, we can sympathize. But we have learned the difficulty of seeking justice in such cases. We might as well try to help the farmer rescue his field from a storm of hail or a swarm of locusts. When a clever agent makes use of a villager to further his own ends, he takes care to leave no trace of his activity other than the straitened circumstances and the bitterness of his victim. It is the story of the unscrupulous strong taking advantage of the ignorant weak, which might be heard anywhere. One would judge from the titles and duties of these agents that they were here simply to serve as links between the village, and officials or land-owners. But the villager has learned to his sorrow that the chief interest of most of them is their own profit and that of certain men directly above them. Their offices of trust are used to gain a formidable hold over the villagers whom they nominally serve.

The office of village head-man is honorary. He is a resident of the village, appointed by Government to represent the village in all matters pertaining to authority. He knows the village and the history of every individual in it better than any official could hope to, and is in a position to give useful information regarding offenders against the law. The man usually selected as head-man is an outstanding leader. And his established
leadership added to the weight of his testimony as official spokesman for the village makes it possible for him to demand bribes from innocent men who will pay to save themselves the consequences of false charges and from offenders who will pay to protect themselves against true charges. Also, he has opportunities of winning privileges for himself and his friends through men of low official standing, if he is ready to share with them the spoils of his powers. Fortunately for Karimpur, our head-man has not, to the best of our knowledge, yielded to the tempting proposals made to him. He is interested in his farming, the lending of grain and money, and his religious observances. And he regards the office of head-man as just one more set of duties to be performed. He gives space on his baithak -- the broad, unroofed verandah of packed earth before his storehouse, where men may work or lounge -- to the Government accountant and his assistant. The village watchmen report any possible cases to him. The police constable stops to see him while on his beat, to share the latest bits of police news, and if possible to add something from Karimpur. If a supervising officer visits the village, he directs the head-man to call offenders to his baithak for interviews. When some petty officer wants clarified butter, fuel or labour for wedding festivities, the request is brought to the head-man, who is expected to supply whatever is demanded, from amongst his neighbours. Or some other official's servant may tell him to procure a load of fodder for his master's animals from time to time. For fear of displeasing the official who is supposed to have ordered the fodder, the head-man takes the required amount from one or two farmers and gives it to the servant. The servant
charges his master for the load, and keeps the money. While our head-man tries to improve the condition of his people, by digging wells and making loans at fair rates, he is called upon to drain the village for the comfort of outsiders. And this he has resented to the point of threatening to resign on several occasions.

His unwillingness to take advantage of opportunities for extortion has often irritated those who would profit by his connivance. A year ago a farmer boy fell into the well from which he was drawing the big leather bag of water. He was pulled out at once, while someone came to call us. The Sahib took him into the Mainpuri hospital, in the hope that he might be saved. But his skull had been fractured when he struck the stone side of the well. He died that night. His relatives brought him home and came to us early the next morning to ask if it would be all right for them to follow the usual custom of immediate cremation. In their dread of offending the law, they wanted us to take the responsibility, which the Sahib unwittingly did. He saw no reason for delaying the cremation as the case had been handled by the Assistant Medical Officer in the District hospital, where all accident cases are immediately reported to the police. In the afternoon a police officer appeared, irate that the body had been burned before he was able to make the required investigation. And he involved the head-man in the case by pointing to a section of the Government rules for head-men which stated that the body of anyone meeting an unnatural death must be shown to the police before burning. The rules were in Urdu, in Persian character, which neither the head-man nor any other villager could read.
The infuriated police officer warned the head-man that he would fare better if he would consult the village police watchman in such cases. Later it evolved that the watchman had worked out a scheme whereby it could be proved, at least sufficiently to terrify the relatives of the boy, that he had been thrown into the well. He took for granted that the relatives would not dare burn the body until they had been granted police permission to do so. And he knew that custom forbade them to bathe or eat until after the cremation. He counted on their fasting and waiting beside the unembalmed body all night and through the heat of the day, to reduce them to a state of mental paralysis. By the time the police officer arrived late in the afternoon, with word that they had been charged with murder they would have been ready to add or pay whatever he demanded. Anything to save themselves from such a charge, and anything to pacify him so that they might proceed with the cremation. As it was, they were bathed and fed, and ready to face the obviously invented charge in a normal frame of mind. The head-man with our amateur support had frustrated the plan. The villagers conjectured that our blunder had saved the Kachhi family between seventy-five and a hundred rupees. The murder theory was not suggested to the head-man again. He like ourselves knew the harmlessness of this particular family in which the accident occurred, a family of simple farmer folk who would not take the life of a rat and certainly not the life of a member of their own family. Moreover, as a farmer, he knew the economic value of a boy of fourteen, entering his most useful years. To associate such a death with deliberate murder was the work of mischievous minds with which he could not fraternize.
The two village watchmen, representatives of the police in the village, receive an honorarium of three rupees a month. This is to reimburse them for their fortnightly trips to headquarters with their reports of births and deaths, and any occurrences of interest to the police department. It is taken for granted that they carry on their usual activities as farmers or tradesmen. One of the watchmen, an Untouchable, has little ambition either financial or social, and is content to live on his honorarium supplemented by trifling donations and the earnings of his wife. The other, an outcaste of slightly higher standing, first gave us the impression that his police duties occupied his full time, and that he was poorly paid for his arduous labours. But as we observed his activities, we found them to be of his own making and for his own benefit. He was associated with a small group of men of means and influence in the village, in an alliance which was able to bring any villager to their terms, or to ruin. A complaint of his abuse of office was forwarded to one of the landlords who recommended that his land agent take steps toward the watchman's dismissal. The steps were not taken. After an interim of quiet, the watchman renewed his activities, specializing on the men who had pressed for his removal. Each case was so petty that in itself it seemed childish. And yet an accumulation of such cases was exhausting the savings and patience of farmers. The plight of Lakhan, a farmer by caste, is fairly illustrative. He was cutting grain, and his wife gleaning. The watchman came to him and announced, "Someone has broken your lock. Report the theft." Lakhan ran home, found his lock broken, but nothing touched in his house. He was unwilling to report a theft for fear of being
trapped. Whereupon the watchman threatened to make a charge against him at police headquarters for withholding information from the police. The only thing that could dissuade him from making the report was fifty rupees. Lakhan raised the fifty rupees -- enough to buy a bullock, or a milch animal. Then the watchman threatened Lakhan's neighbours, saying that they would be accused of theft if they did not give him something. Six frightened farmers, never far from starvation each gave him money, ranging from three to eight rupees; and six others gave him head loads of grain, to induce him not to take them to police headquarters.

Our watchman is a skilled opportunist. One day a Mohammedan landlord and a friend rode near one of the hamlets within the area of our village. They were hunting, and had no interest whatever in the people. But the watchman hurried importantly to the house of a farmer, reporting that the relative then visiting him had committed some wrong and that two high police officers had come to arrest him. The farmer, peering from his door, saw two imposing individuals sitting in an ekka - a high, two-wheeled cart -- not far from his house. The watchman assured him that for one hundred rupees he could persuade the officers to leave the relative alone. The farmer was able to satisfy his demands with seventy rupees, and breathed a sigh of relief when he dared look out again and found the strangers gone.

On another occasion, a Brahman boy struck the washerman's daughter while the two were gathering grain from a field shared by their two families. The girl came home crying, and told her tale to everyone she met, including the head-man. When the boy
passed on his way home the head-man stopped and rebuked him for striking the girl, and the affair was dropped -- but not by the watchman. Shortly afterwards he appeared at the boy's home with a police constable displaying a supposed warrant. He stated that the boy was reported as having assaulted the girl with evil intent. The father, who with his son, was always at work in his fields, was bewildered by this sudden attack. His neighbour, one of the village elders, advised him to quiet the affair by paying the fifty rupees demanded. He paid. But, sure of the falseness of the charge, he said that he would accompany the constable to the head office in Mainpuri and see that the proper officer received the money. When they neared the office, the constable told the old man to wait for him a moment while he stepped into his house to see his wife. He disappeared, and did not return. The old farmer, realizing that he had been fooled, went on to the police office. No one there knew what he was talking about, and he was put out as a troublesome old man. The villagers have accounted for the fifty rupees thus -- twenty stayed with the constable, fifteen went to the watchman who utilized the opportunity, and fifteen to the village elder who advised the farmer to pay the amount. Incidentally, the head-man was rebuked for settling the case quietly as he did. The police implied that he was trying to hush something which should have been put into their hands. The agents who concoct such schemes are careful to avoid tangible evidence. And they know that the word of an agent is accepted in the District court in preference to that if a villager, in case an exposure is attempted. They have no intention of writing such a petty but profitable cases up, in the report book at police
headquarters. Hence higher officials who must depend on records, have no means of investigating them. The watchman continued to apply himself to these and similar questionable activities until a group of farmers asked our help. A statement was prepared for the Superintendent of Police of the District, signed by thirty men who dared face the consequences of the watchman's wrath showing how threats of charges of rascality, adultery, gambling, disturbance of the peace, dacoity, or sheltering bad characters, had been brought to bear upon them to make them pay varying sums of money. They presented the statement in person, accompanied by the landlord's agent. At this juncture the Superintendent of Police was being transferred and could only arrange for a temporary dismissal of the watchman. Shortly afterwards the Sahib was taken to the Hills, ill with enteric. And the watchman, with tears of self-pity, assurances that the claims against him were false, and the help of the men directly over him, managed to be reinstated by the new Superintendent at the end of his recess. He returned with threats of revenge to be visited upon the men who had exposed him, one of them a member of his alliance. But warnings from higher official headquarters have turned his activities to farming, at least temporarily.

The village Patwari, or accountant, and his one assistant, are the only full time agents of Government in the village. With the accountant is a record of every plot of land within the revenue area of Karimpur, what is grown on it, the names of the holders of it, and their individual rights in it. He enters in his volumes, any charges brought about by death, with a statement of the rights of each heir. He notes transfers of holdings, and any alterations
in legal rights. Also, he keeps a record of all rents paid to each landlord, and arrears. He must appear in court to give evidence in all cases dealing with land rights in his area. If more of our farmers could read, and if each of them would keep his own authorized copy of the record of his holdings made out by the Settlement Officer every thirty years, along with legal records of current transactions, our accountant would serve as an inoffensive clerk. But as long as they do not do this and depend entirely on his annual recording of their rights they vest him with powers which he, a low-grade clerk could hardly be expected to disregard. Just as they leave their fields unprotected, and are perturbed when men and animals trespass, so they expose their treasured land rights to his avarice, and are upset when he takes advantage. The degree to which any village accountant exceeds his duties, depends upon his aspirations. And ours is evidently among the more ambitious.

His opportunities for extortion lie in the juggling of names when each year he rewrites in détail the voluminous land records. A grove is shared by three or four men. The accountant threatens to drop the name of one of them from the list. Rather than risk sacrificing his rights, the unfortunate one agrees to pay whatever the accountant demands. Such an omission of his name may be tragic for a farmer, if repeated over a period of years, because the omission thereby is legalized. And the possibilities of its detection amidst the masses of records are slim. Once when such a discrepancy was noted by an examining officer the accountant blamed the carelessness of his assistant.

An old man is anxious that his nephew's name be entered in
the records, as heir to his fields. The accountant neglects to make the desired entry until the uncle is desperate enough to pay the fifty rupees demanded, or, when the accountant's evidence is required in a case, he finds some excuse for not giving it, until the men who need it come to his terms. One group of men fighting for rights to land which a family division had scattered, have reported paying him two hundred rupees for his evidence. And he is worrying them for one hundred more. If there is a misunderstanding over field boundaries, and the farmers consult the accountant's records, he demands at least one rupee from each questioner, for his trouble. This, in spite of the fact that his records are supposed to be accessible to those whose land is recorded. Recently, a question arose concerning certain fields which are sometimes fully and sometimes partially submerged in rainy seasons, and therefore only occasionally sown. As the village youth who acts as our clerk was involved, the Sahib was asked to accompany the accountant and the farmers, to the field in question. With the aid of land maps and the accountant's records, they settled the difficulty easily. But before they were finished, a crowd of farmers had collected, to ask the accountant for information regarding a number of other boundaries. Disputes had gone on for a long time over some of these boundaries, simply because the only accurate records were in the hands of the accountant and they were unwilling to pay him the irregular fee which he would demand for explaining the records to them. And the farmers now took advantage of the Sahib's presence, to secure the facts which were supposed to be at their disposal. And the accountant though obviously annoyed, was obliged to give the desired information needed to end the
disputes.

A widow, in order to pay a debt, made a five year transfer of her property to a wealthy grain lender. Having no other income in the village she went away to visit relatives. Before the five years were up, the grain lender paid the accountant fifty rupees, and the land was transferred to his name. When the woman returned at the end of five years and claimed her land, she was informed that it was no longer hers. The accountant justified the transfer on the grounds of a rumour that she had remarried, and thus forfeited her rights. With the help of friends she took the case to court. Her land was given back to her, and the accountant, as the latter could not safely report the fifty rupees which the grain lender had paid him.

When the accountant finds himself thus exposed, he defends his activities by passing the blame on to others. He reminds his neighbours that he is obliged to collect enough money to pay the officer immediately over him eighteen rupees a year -- the equivalent of one month of his salary. (The scale of pay for a Patwari is rupees fourteen per month rising to rupees eighteen per month.) Also, he must support his family in a manner worthy of his post. Both he and his brother are accountants. Frequent appearances before well dressed officials require a higher standard of dress than that of the average villager. And frequent calls to distant headquarters necessitate the provision of a horse which needs to be fed. Constant association with higher grade officials creates a desire to give sons better educational opportunities. Daughters must be married into homes with more advanced standards. All of these make financial drains. It is small wonder
that they take advantage of their opportunities. The two brothers who served consecutively as Patwari of our village, maintain a joint household which is more like the stronghold of a prosperous money and grain lender than the home of low paid clerks. The stores of grain, the animals, the jewelry of the women, everything betokens wealth far beyond that of the people whom they serve. When there was a wedding in their family, we were entertained lavishly. Among other things we were struck by the long line of bullock carts which brought the bridegroom's party from the railway station, six miles to the accountant's village home. This was in our early days, and we were impressed by this show of neighbourliness. Later we learned that our friends, the farmers, were not there with their carts voluntarily. Fear of the displeasure of the accountant had led them to carry out his proposal that they make the procession an imposing one. One agent of authority in defending the practices of his fellow officers, said, "Some of our superior officers are very critical of our dress and appearance, and complain that we are not worthy of our office. They offer us no increase of pay. Yet we have to smarten up. We adjust ourselves to the standards of such an officer, when along comes another who objects to our dress which he knows cannot be maintained on our low pay. What are we to do?"

During our stay in Karimpur we have had opportunity to get acquainted with the Patwari family. The younger brother who was accountant when we arrived, was transferred because he was unwilling to obey the standing order for accountants and make his residence in Karimpur. He insisted upon living in his ancestral home two miles away. However, the brothers were able to keep Karimpur,
which is reputed to be a lucrative area, in the family. The elder brother succeeded the younger. He was equally successful in using the villagers to increase the prosperity of his family. But he finally became involved as a receiver of stolen goods, and was dismissed. Karimpur has offered very little sympathy. The elder brother always looked down on simple village folk, and wasted little time in winning their loyalty. He saw greater strength and security in cultivating the favour of men higher up. And he succeeded in making himself quite useful. With a superior behind him, in a position to sit in judgment on most complaints registered against him, he could go farther in his irregular use of office than he would otherwise have done. But he had not reckoned on the transfer of officers. A friendly superior was transferred before he was able to do all of the necessary straightening out. And he found himself without a job.

Only two landlords, both absentee, control the property of Karimpur. Each sends his agents -- clerks and accountants -- several times each season to collect rents and settle disputes within their jurisdiction. Because of responsibilities for wider areas, their interest in Karimpur is not as localized as that of the Government accountant. Their visits are too infrequent to enable them to settle many of the disputes that exist among the tenants; but not too infrequent to enable them to take advantage of the gullibility of these same tenants, when opportunity offers. On the receipt forms of one landlord is a printed statement that nothing above the actual rent is to be paid to the rent collector. The collector takes one anna for each receipt he gives out. And some farmers must pay this on seven or eight receipts for dif-
holdings. In addition he exacts one rupee from each tenant. If a farmer refuses to pay this, his receipt is made out short of the full payment. A small friend of ours, looking after the interests of his widowed mother, brought his incomplete receipt to us distressed because he was too small to oppose the agent. He could read, and knew what had been done. Farmers who cannot read, treasure such receipts and are agitated too late -- when faced with the penalty of accumulated arrears. Several worried tenants persuaded the Sahib to send a letter to the landlord on their behalf. In this he quoted the statement on the receipt. The landlord sent a supervising officer to investigate. He settled the case to his own satisfaction by reminding the tenants of their benefits received, such as wood for implements, and grazing facilities. And he suggested that they give the rent collector a present of something extra as an expression of their gratitude. Since then, further complaints of the demands of this particular collector have come. But knowing the attitude of the men whom he represents there seems no chance of redress.

The other landlord has recently doubled the pay of all of his employees, in the hope of removing the custom of mazarana (a fee or present given by tenants when visited by a landlord or some other superior person.) Through this practice the landlord's agent realized from four hundred to five hundred rupees yearly from the tenants, taking one rupee from each tenant. About two years ago the Zamindar raised his pay from twenty-five rupees plus ten rupees, horse allowance, to forty-five rupees plus fifteen rupees, horse allowance, and issued instructions to all tenants that the practice of giving mazarana should cease.
And it has. The Zamindar has proved his willingness to put a stop to demands made by his agents on tenants. Unfortunately his residence is two days' cart journey from Karimpur and there is little likelihood of complaints reaching his ears.

Even the chaprasis, farmers of the village called upon occasionally to carry out instruction of the rent collectors, utilize their position. A few weeks ago, one of them demanded a large blanket of home spun wool from a shepherd, as recompense for the grazing privileges granted by his landlord. The blanket was not wanted for the landlord in accordance with the Wajib-ularz (the customs of the village), but to be kept for himself. Another recently brought pressure to bear upon the new washerman who had been called to the village. The new man took for granted that as village washerman he could occupy the washerman's house. But the landlord's chaprasi stepped in and announced that he, the chaprasi, must be paid something, quietly, before he would allow the washerman to occupy the house, which was in his keeping. The washerman refused, and was temporarily located in a house belonging to the other landlord. Pressure was brought to bear on the chaprasi by the elders of the village and he reluctantly gave the washerman possession of the desired house.

If one were to accept the complaints of villagers as final, he could conclude that the acting agents were responsible for all abuses of office. If this were so, their removal would be the cure for all irregularities. But it is not as simple as this -- while ignorance and superstition remain to encourage misuse of power. A young Indian official who happened to be visiting us when the village watchman was at his worst, expressed his view
thus: "If you were to take one of the most harmless men in your village and put him in the watchman's place, he would be a rascal within six months." This may be extreme. But it would be difficult to find men willing to serve in these petty offices who would be above the temptations which now prevail. The sense of power and sudden popularity among leaders which a man experiences on finding himself no longer an ordinary member of society, but an agent of some outside authority, is in itself a danger. If he tests the new power, and finds that he does not inspire fear, he may be content to perform his duties without further ventures. But if he finds his neighbours easily intimidated, and if his personal ambition or the subtle suggestions from village leaders or from men higher up urge him on, he repeats his assertions of power until he becomes a hardened tyrant. Extortion and other abuses follow, until the original duties of his office are incidental to the more alluring and profitable, though precarious activities.

Illiterate, ignorant of their rights, dominated by the fear of the known and of the unknown, our more simple minded villagers are an invitation to oppression. And they are the ones who suffer most from the tyranny of unscrupulous agents. They who find it most difficult to meet the demands of their families and creditors, are pressed down by the added burden of extortion.

On the other hand, there are the men accustomed to lead, fairly well informed as to their rights, and well acquainted with the tactics necessary to increase their own wealth and power. They may still fear the unknown but they are too sophisticated to be awed by the under officers of authority whom they meet in the village. Instead, they use these agents to serve their own ends.
A friend preaching the rights of the individual as he saw them and the need for social justice.

Attitude that each man has been created by God and has a certain position in the social, economic, religious, and political order. Justice should exist on at least that basis. And while such an attitude holds, fellow citizens can expect the fulfillment of loyalty from those who follow.

Outcomes:
- Labor
- Communism
- Socialism
- Modernism

The village
With the simple minded farmer, the accountant is the one who takes the initiative, in threatening to change the records. But the leaders, they are the ones who make the overtures, to the accountant. They offer to pay him liberally if he will change the records to their benefit. If the change goes undetected, their gain is beyond the payment they have given him. If it is detected, they quietly watch him suffer the blame, knowing that he cannot safely acknowledge the acceptance of bribes. The representatives of the police in the village, are still more accessible as tools of the powerful. Being of outcaste origin, they take for granted that they are to follow the bidding of leaders. The latter need no arguments to establish their right to dictate. The result has been that on several occasions our original condemnation of agents has had to be transferred to more clever men behind them. And where clever leaders and clever agents are combined, they are a menace to simple, self-respecting, all-fearing villagers.

With these two groups of villagers tempting him from opposite directions, the agent is encouraged in his abuse of office. His knowledge of their common weaknesses leads him to flout the risk of exposure. He known that wise or gullible, each man thinks of the interests of his own family, without consciousness of responsibility for the community. He also knows that like himself, the favour of any one of them can be won by the promise of some return favour. He plays on their distrust of each other. If several villagers agree that they will assert their rights and expose the wrong doings of an agent on the next provocation, the agent has very little to fear. When the provocation comes each man fears that the others may be afraid to act and will leave him
Other castes. Who are high but who are not the leaders.

- Farmer Patron
- High Caste followers
- (seen in baseball groups)
- Racial Bangas. They help.
- Patrons

Support the weights of the

Janm patrois

- Caste families that goes with
- Chambers which are almost always
- Low. The know they can only
- "Get ahead" so only struggle
- Absorbed in "spit down
- Bhagats - Patris.

Those who laid down the rules for
- Human society, settled beyond a doubt the
- Religious, social and economic standing
- of every individual. It is not for
- Any mean to chase what she will be
- Her birth. For this nation.
standing alone against the agent. Knowing that he dare not face the consequences of standing alone, he does what he thinks the others are doing -- and suffers in silence. It was only when a group of men were so pressed that they must either expose the village watchman or leave their homes, that they publicly announced their oppression. After reaching this point it required further time and courage for them to commit themselves by affixing their thumb impressions as signatures to a written statement. As long as an agent can manipulate his activities so as not quite to drive farmers over the desperation line, he knows that he is safe from exposure.

Removal of acting agents will not relieve our village friends from oppression, while existing conditions are maintained. On the side of the villagers there is needed education, not only cultural and industrial, but education in legal rights and still more in community responsibilities. They have not yet learned that as long as each of them works for favours for his own family, regardless of its cost to a fellow villager, they will play into the hands of the unscrupulous. On the side of the agents, there is needed a definite understanding as to sources of income. If the authority represented, be it Government or landlord, regards the salaries of agents as only partial payment to be supplemented by funds collected from those served, misunderstandings are unavoidable. This is obviously the intention of one of our landlords, and obviously not the intention of the other. Our chaukidars are expected to supplement their pay with their caste tax. This they do to a certain extent. If supplementary support is expected from the villagers, an equally shared tax or a
The story of how we began in our village

A. The story of staying long enough to return the goods.
   recall that they have been ruled from outside for 1000 years.

B. Acceptance.
   Use your constant and service to help show the Lord.
   I also provided a home.

The farmers.
Whose wallage is this -
Came on the ground because they
had acquired land.

Leaders.
1. advances for his animals and
   implements.
2. waters his farm from this well
3. water ways to his fields from

The town
5. was eleven's
6. contact with leaders, extended
7. Stories can function by leadership
fixed rate for services, to be used toward increased salaries, would be fairer than the present system whereby the clever, powerful escape, and the simple pay. But while the villager's income is such a gamble, he will be shy of any form of fixed payment, whether it be the wages of his employees or the payment of taxes. In his present state he wants the freedom of informal and irregular methods which leave him the chance of escape. When he is in better control of the vagaries of Nature, and thus stabilizes his income, it will be easier for him to accept a regular share of the payment of public servants. In return for more reliable conditions of payment, the agents of authority must be more willing to place the interests of the community before those of their own families.

The officers superior to our village agents must likewise give their cooperation if the standards of service of our local agents are to be raised. To our young Indian friends eager to serve their country, we repeatedly pass on the need as we have observed it -- "Take offices of responsibility, and fill them worthily, thinking of others rather than of yourselves. Make no selfish demands of officers below you, demands which will be passed on down the line until they reach the burden bearers -- the villagers. Talking will not help. Villagers have listened long enough. They need men who will give them justice, and who will demand honesty from them in return. Only in this way can you inspire in them faith that their own countrymen can carry responsibility honourably -- a faith which has been sorely tried by irresponsible agents." A recent, happy experience has shown us what an officer of high standard can do. A young Deputy of our area of the District expected no personal gifts from men below him. Instead, he
Chowdhari - head man of the village

Janardai -

Rammer - tokin tokin cobbler carpenter

Shah - tucker wall, women's labor, main house circle

Jeeva.

Prea.

Sango.
THE OTHER HALF OF THE JOB

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A year and one-half ago the Peace Corps started its life amid predictions of disaster. Thanks to thousands of Volunteers usefully operating in under-developed countries from Latin America to the Philippines those predictions have been proved false. The overall ability of the Peace Corps Volunteer is accepted in most quarters even though there may be some indecision on the part of host country officials about the best way to utilize that ability. Much of the burden of making their stays useful has fallen on the Volunteers themselves, but after a year in East Pakistan the first groups of Volunteers are moderately well-employed and succeeding groups profiting from their experience and reputation can look forward to even greater utilization.

But with many achievements behind them perhaps it's time for the first groups to stand back and objectively view their roles as worker-Volunteers. The swelling number of requests from most of the principal branches of the East Pakistan government are ample testimony to the satisfaction of the Pakistanis about the job the Volunteers are doing. The Peace Corps Volunteer has become an accepted and welcome addition to the Pakistani developmental resource. This enthusiasm and praise of Pakistani planners is the result of the Peace Corps work product. It falls naturally in with our own work-orientated upbringing. And it contributes too to the partial veiling of our other less specific goals.
It may be appropriate here to quote the last lines of the Declaration of Purpose from the Congressional Act establishing the Peace Corps: "to help the peoples of such countries and areas in meeting their need for trained manpower, and to help promote a better understanding of the American peoples on the part of the peoples served and a better understanding of other peoples on the part of the American people." There is not much arguing about the first part of that quotation. It simply means work of a kind any American can understand. It is the achievement of mutual better understanding, the other half of our job in the Peace Corps, that is the most subject to debate, controversy, and neglect.

Now we should stop to consider whether in the rush for achievement on the job and the preoccupation with its suitability and effectiveness we have not obscured what may be, and philosophically is, the larger part of the job of the Peace Corps: man to man contact in friendship and familiarity and through that contact the gaining of some clue to an understanding of each other's goals in life, ambitions, problems, and avenues of thought.

The Pakistan government requesting Volunteers because of its high-priority concern with the crucial development of the country cannot give as much thought to this aspect of the Peace Corps program as the Peace Corps Volunteers and staff themselves must. This contributes to a dangerous tendency to evaluate success in the Peace Corps as concrete technical achievement and the lack of notoriety, because the intangibles of friendship and success in daily living are almost impossible to measure and make poor newspaper copy. Yet for the mystique of the Peace Corps and the ideals of the Volunteer this intangible is our identifying cause.

There are many other government and private programs of aid and
assistance, all of them probably good in their own spheres. The uniqueness of the Peace Corps lies in the premium it places on middle-level friendship and understanding among middle-level skilled persons, not just the transfer of middle-level skills. The Volunteer is not meant to be a technical expert; rather he is expected to be an imaginative and competent worker.

If the Peace Corps were just another aid program it would attract the usual array of professionals. But the whole concept of the Peace Corps is different. Its approach instead of being from the top down is from the bottom up. And it attracts a different type of person, someone who is willing to take off two years from the pursuit of a career to help the underdog. Perhaps that observation is trite, but then perhaps too some of us have been permitting our ideals to slip under the pressure of the frustrations of daily life and the growing realization of the staggering magnitude of the task confronting an under-developed country. Some of us have reversed directions. Instead of working the hard way up we are taking the easier approach from above. Perhaps it is more effective technically but does it not cross the objectives of Peace Corps?

This is not to minimize the importance of competence and progress in the skill field of the Volunteer. It is only meant to suggest that the transfer of a skill is but one-half of the work of the Peace Corps. The other half of the job, the creation of mutual affection and understanding as equals (something rarely attempted here in the past and pierced with dangers also) deserves serious thought and reconsideration.

In the peculiar social, religious, cultural and linguistic environment of East Pakistan this impression of friendship may not be easy to establish.
The role of teacher in which so many Volunteers have gradually found themselves presupposes inequalities which multiply national differences. For the teacher-pupil relationship, particularly in the East, is not usually that of equals working at common problems of life. Even with a co-worker where contact from the job situation should be maximal, many Volunteers will be forced to admit they hardly know more than the names and technical qualifications of their counterparts. And more often, differing standards and qualifications have converted the co-worker relationship into one of teacher-pupil.

Strange customs intertwine strange barriers. The common cues of social life we find in America are missing or transmuted. People smile in response to different circumstances. A nod of the head means something unfamiliar. Affections are differently expressed. Language, even in precise English, seems in some way evasive. Time is plastic.

It becomes easy to magnify these differences in our own minds and instead of using human criteria when dealing with people to begin using statistics. "Dukh-shukh" - "sorrow and happiness" are not shared and we fall into the habit of using credentials of education and technical know-how in judging people, credentials in which most of us can feel safely superior. Feeling for the plight of the common people is expressed as sympathy rather than empathy.

Certainly many of the Volunteers of the first and second groups have found this so, and those arriving in succeeding groups will be faced with the same problems. There is no easy solution. Attitudes of tolerance, interest, and concern for the welfare of the other fellow assuredly remove
many of the obstacles. Complacency and indifference assuredly do not.

Because the Pakistanis will regard you as guests in their country and
the rules of hospitality forbid open criticism of the behavior of guests,
unless severely taxed, Volunteers may have trouble realizing their actions or
manner of living is throwing up social barriers. A little careful
observation will uncover much of this. For example, how many Pakistani
men in a middle-class situation (or any other situation for that matter) do
you find wearing shorts? If you look around you will find practically none.
Why not? Because shorts in Pakistan are considered vulgar by most people.
They expose too much of the leg for decency - below the knee is the upper
male limit here. Of course in a work situation the Bengali tucks up his
lungi and plunges in - so there is little harm if the Volunteer does the
equivalent in his shorts. But socially it is as out of place here as it
would be in St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York. Not a tremendous matter
no doubt, but it throws in a significant social wedge where there needn't
be one.

Some one may well protest, "After giving up two years of my life and
donating a skill why should I care as long as I am behaving in accordance
with accepted American standards?"

The answer is if you do not care then you have missed one of the
fundamental ideals of the Peace Corps. The whole point of the Peace Corps
is that in addition to transfer of skill it does care what the host country
common man thinks. It makes concessions to his prejudices and feelings.
Accepted Americans standards in behavior are not necessarily accepted
Pakistan standards and no invidious comparisons should be made. Comparisons
are not the business of the Peace Corps; understanding is.

One of the fundamental keys to this understanding is of course language. It cannot be over-emphasized that the Peace Corps is making a determined effort to provide a linguistic foundation and opportunity for continuing progress. It cannot accomplish miracles alone. In East Pakistan each Volunteer must ultimately be responsible for his own progress in Bengali. A certain time each day should be devoted to language training even at the expense of other work the Volunteer is required to do. If you can exchange friendship and ideas through the local language the marginal benefits are immeasurable. Your effectiveness in your job will be enhanced. Illogical events circulating about you will take on a logic of their own. Problems will become clearer and their solutions more realistic. And you will return home with an understanding of a foreign people no longer wholly foreign, an understanding English alone can never hope to give.

There is little use in saying that contact with Pakistanis through English is enough to fulfill the human goals of the Peace Corps. Historically there has never been much of a problem in reaching the English-speaking minority in this country by any of our other organizations, at least superficially. It is the particular mission of the Peace Corps that it must dive below the surface and reach the non-English speaking majority most of whom will be meeting Americans face to face and word to word for the first time. For that a degree of fluency in Bengali is absolutely essential, and no amount of rationalization will wash away the plain failure to establish contact. The burden of that
contact, at least linguistically, must remain with the Volunteer. When Pakistanis discover you can hear their thoughts and problems in their own tongue you should have no lack of hearers for whatever you have to say.

It might be added here parenthetically that Americans, including many Peace Corps Volunteers, horribly mangle Pakistani proper names. Even if your Bengali has not reached conversational fluency you should make a special effort to get names of persons and places correctly. The Pakistanis will appreciate the extra interest shown.

A great deal has been said jokingly about the golden "Ghetto" in which Americans overseas are presumed to reside like potentates. But the Peace Corps can and to some extent has established its own little ghettos. That is not to say that Volunteers set out deliberately to make their own world, but sometimes in answer to weakness of the flesh and spirit, they unconsciously slip into a secluded existence where their contacts with Pakistanis are limited to work contacts and their private lives remain unintruded upon. Retreat into oneself or among one's own kind is a facile solution to the problems of social adjustment and resultant compromise that deep involvement with the Pakistanis poses.

In such a situation sight of the other half of the job has been allowed to slip away not of a sudden but gradually in stages. Work goals become substituted for human goals and while the Volunteer functions efficiently (or almost so) on one plane, the other more difficult plane is obscured from view. A careless indifference to the sensitivity of others may creep in and ignorance of language assures that the Volunteer will get little indication of it. Small luxuries appear, the gap widens between the
Pakistanis and the Americans. Soon the Peace Corps Volunteers by their behavior patterns are formally identified in the Pakistani minds with the other American and European 'sahibs' who float over their lives without really entering them, (except the Volunteers for some inexplicable reason are not getting paid as much as the usual technician sahibs).

This is not meant to be a criticism of others; their purposes are different. But if a Volunteer finds himself falling into this pattern then perhaps he should stand back and re-examine his own Peace Corps goals, particularly with reference to the creation of understanding of American life by the Pakistanis and of Pakistani life by himself.

Each Volunteer must study his own position with regard to the other half of the job. Those who have been here sometime know their successes and short-comings. Those who are just starting out can learn from the experiences of others. Volunteers have not all been equally successful in their human contacts. That is to be expected because we are all composed differently. For some people human contact, even inspite of a language barrier, is the most easy thing in the world: for others it is the most difficult. No one can give what he does not have but everyone can realize that this contact is crucially important for the success of the Volunteer's mission and his own self-satisfaction. The greatest mistake is to think that it is not important.

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