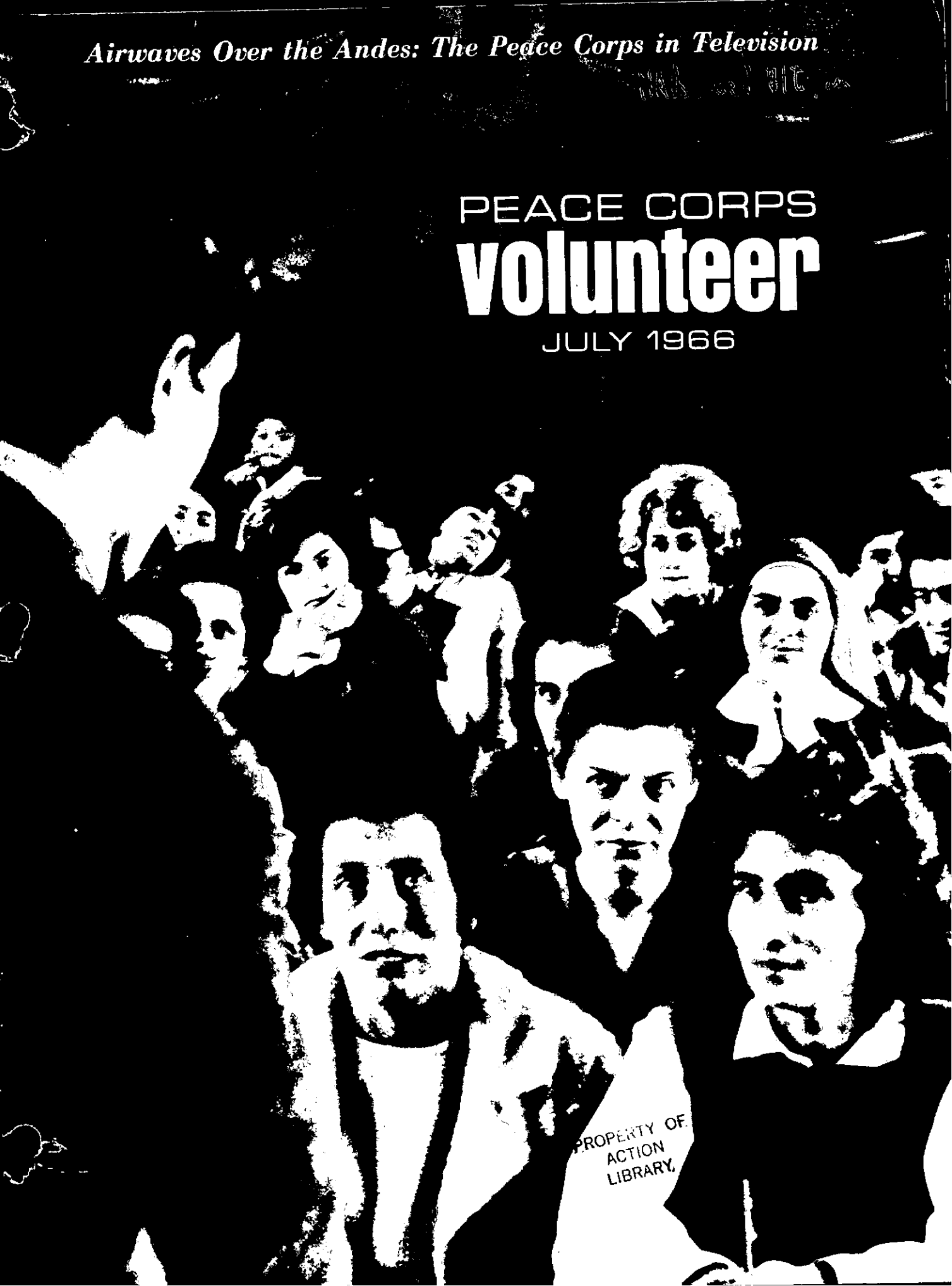
Airwaves Over the Andes: The Peace Corps in Television

PEACE CORPS

volunteer

JULY 1966



First correspondents named

From Tanzania, a clarification: Volunteers in Africa have to go to game reserves if they want to see wild game. From Honduras, an admonition: "The Peace Corps should begin asking the big questions *aloud*, not in a conference room or a cocktail party in Washington." From the Philippines, a retort: "Personally, I don't care what Lennie Sparks or any other Volunteer eats for breakfast, simply because I'm a Volunteer also."

So speak three charter members of THE VOLUNTEER'S newly established overseas reporting staff. They are among the 57 Volunteer correspondents enlisted so far from 34 countries to help us cover the Peace Corps.

We are happy to introduce our first correspondents in this issue, and we anticipate that our list of contributors will grow in coming months.

Among them are hobby photographers, editors of country newsletters, experienced journalists, and some who just want to give writing a whirl. They represent a wide variety of Peace Corps projects and environments.

At present, many are doing research in urban sites for a forthcoming section titled "The Peace Corps in the City." And featured this month is a 10-page section on educational television, partly written and completely coordinated by a Colombia correspondent, Dean M. Gottehrer.

As the Peace Corps grows, the job of defining it, narrating it and reporting it also expands. The first VOLUNTEER correspondents, listed below by country, are tackling these complex tasks.

Correspondent slots are still open in a handful of countries not listed below. We are still receiving applications and samples from Volunteers who are interested in devoting a few hours a month to writing or photography. Slots are also open in some larger nations where we will have more than one correspondent.

AFRICA

Cameroon—Maureen McGlame
Ghana—John Mooney
Guinea—Kerry L. Johnson
Kenya—Terry Carpenter
Liberia—Ogden Kniffin Jr.
Malawi—William J. Luke Jr., John A. Osborn Jr.
Nigeria—Ronald Sender
Senegal—Gary Engelberg
Sierra Leone—Geoffrey P. Morris
Somalia—Kay Dooner
Tanzania—Bill M. Pumphrey, Richard T. Spence, Phil Yaffe
Togo—Ralph Novak
Uganda—David Closson

LATIN AMERICA

Barbados—Susan K. DeBoer
Bolivia—Kevin Haverty, Dale E. Harris
Brazil—Chris Beemer
Chile—Dennis Dalrymple, Bruce Weber
Colombia—Dean M. Gottehrer, John McGrath
Costa Rica—David Anderson
Ecuador—Dennis Shaw, John Bruning
Guatemala—Stuart Laimbeer
Honduras—Peter Pike
Jamaica—Paul A. Becht
Uruguay—John Eggers, George C. Weyer
Venezuela—Judy Thelen, Donald Anderson

NEAR EAST AND ASIA

Afghanistan—Foster Morgan
India—Larry Dendy, Mrs. Dale Bandy, Valerie Eves, Steve Power, John Dunne, John Maddaus
Iran—Larry Barns
Malaysia—Terence Clarke, David Warner
Nepal—Marian Nelson
Pakistan—Roger E. Smith
Philippines—Terry Marshall, John Mansager, Susan Gardiner, Laurence Winn, Dorothy W. Cleaveland, Peter Danielson
Thailand—Jay Gordon
Tunisia—John Alden Rice
Turkey—Susan and Robert Calhoun, Richard Schwartz

Campus recruiting directed by former Volunteers

The campus recruiting program, which forms the bulk of the Peace Corps recruitment effort, will be directed entirely by former Volunteers for the first time beginning in July.

At the same time, the number of returned Volunteers who serve as full-time recruiters will be substantially increased during the next academic year —from September through May. The Division of Recruiting will utilize 115 men and women during this peak period of the recruiting schedule. This year there were 50.

Charles Butler, who served as a Volunteer in Venezuela, will direct campus recruiting, where the Peace Corps concentrates most of its face-to-face information and recruiting programs with the American public.

Regional directors under Butler will be Peter Morrissey (West), who served in Indonesia; Steve Wrucke (Midwest), who served in Venezuela; Joe Higdon (South), who served in the Philippines; Joe Chapon (Northeast), who served in Thailand; and Betty Parsons (also Northeast), who served in Nigeria.

The 50 returned Volunteers used last year were the first full-time recruiters used by the Peace Corps. Their performance, coupled with new recruiting approaches, encouraged recruiting officials to rely even more heavily on former Volunteers for 1966-67.

Director Jack Vaughn and Director of Recruiting Andy Hays have lauded the work of these recruiters, and Hays and others have said that the recently returned Volunteer is the best equipped person to relate the Peace Corps to the campus.

"The returned Volunteer has the greatest credibility with students and faculty in relating the need for applicants and also the opportunities for qualified Americans," says Hays.

Next year's recruiters will be employed on a temporary basis from September, 1966, through May, 1967. Salaries range from $100 to $115 a week, with travel expenses extra. Those who are interested should submit a Form 57 (obtainable from Peace Corps country directors) to Talent Search, Peace Corps, Washington,

D.C. 20525. Volunteers overseas should submit applications through their country director.

Recruiting officials report that while the total number of applications to the Peace Corps will be about the same this year as it was last year, a larger number of qualified persons have applied. Butler credits returned Volunteers with attracting more qualified and highly motivated people who follow through on their applications.

Peace Corps recruiters employed what Charles Butler calls a "professional approach" at the University of Oregon this year. The result: 11.6 per cent of the graduating class applied to the Peace Corps, and 154 students said they would be ready to enter training this summer.

Butler, a former Volunteer who will direct campus recruiting efforts next year, suggests that if the Oregon results were extended to include all U.S. colleges, using the normal applicant and trainee attrition rates, the Peace Corps could easily field the 20,000 Volunteers called for by President Johnson by 1970, with opportunities for an even greater total.

Butler listed several reasons for the Oregon success: Five of the six recruiting team members were former Volunteers. They related their experiences well and caused students to identify with them. There was no attempt to cast a "mud hut image;" every effort was made to tell all the facts about life in the Peace Corps. They did not confine their appeal to "just a narrow altruistic approach" but talked about the benefits of service, too. They talked to every senior on campus. They were assisted by Advanced Training Program trainees and returned Volunteers in residence who kept the Peace Corps "alive" on campus all year long.

These same methods, says Butler, will be the principal thrust of next year's effort.

One result of the higher number of qualified applicants, he says, is that the Peace Corps will put an estimated 500 more persons into training this summer than had been anticipated.

New focus on urban CD

Director Jack Vaughn has given new impetus to a complete re-evaluation of Peace Corps efforts in urban community development programs.

The director, who has expressed his determination to give priority to problems faced by the Peace Corps in the field, recently spent two and a half days with Volunteers in Peru to sound out their judgments on urban community development.

The UCD programs have been among the most controversial in the Peace Corps. Some evaluators and other staffers have suggested that urban community development programs have the highest failure rate of any major program, and have seriously questioned Peace Corps effectiveness in this sphere. Others, especially in the Latin America region, where most UCD work is now being done, have countered that the long-range impact of UCD programs will outweigh the short-run problems that accompany them.

Convinced that the Peace Corps needs to accumulate more evidence about its experience in urban development to help clarify the issues, Vaughn went to Peru to see for himself what Volunteers thought about it. He sought out 27 field-hardened Volunteers at a completion of service conference at Lima in late May.

The urban Volunteers, most of whom had served in the *barriadas* in and around Lima for two years, were considered to be representative of the many Volunteers who have come out of urban situations. They sat through four three-hour sessions with Vaughn, unloading their criticisms, suggestions, experiences and attitudes toward the Peace Corps and their work. An observer said that the director encouraged a "give-and-take" atmosphere and that the resulting dialogue found both Vaughn and the Volunteers keenly interested in each others' opinions.

The purpose of completion of service conferences is to give Volunteers an opportunity to reflect on their experiences and to help the Peace Corps learn more about Volunteer sentiments. The Lima group was the first one ever to have the agency's director in attendance.

On his return to Washington, Vaughn urged planners of a forthcoming Peace Corps conference on urban community development to broaden its scope and "to probe the real depths of UCD." He said that the conference, scheduled for this summer, has implications that go beyond the Latin America region, for the agency is considering UCD projects around the world. The conference will draw on urban development experts in and out of the Peace Corps, including overseas staff with extensive experience in this area.

After the Lima conference, Vaughn also said he felt there is a greater need for better staff support for Volunteers serving in unstructured jobs, such as community development, and he suggested that the Peace Corps would have to do even more to make Volunteers comfortable in the language of their hosts.

CIS chief named

An Episcopal clergyman will be the next director of the Career Information Service.

Director Jack Vaughn announced the appointment of the Rev. William M. Baxter, 42, of St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C. He will succeed Dr. Robert Calvert Jr., who has directed CIS since 1963.

The Rev. Mr. Baxter will take a two-year leave of absence from his diocese under the "citizen's sabbatical" program. His appointment is effective August 1.

Dr. Calvert has remained with the Peace Corps to assist with the proposed Partnership Exchange Program.

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Stuart Awbrey, editor; Pat Brown and John English, associate editors; Robin Schrage, editorial assistant.

ON THE COVER: Photographer Mahlon Picht captures Volunteer Ken Waissman and teachers who are learning to apply television to the classrooms of Colombia. See pages 9-18.

Hostels to be phased out

The Peace Corps has decided that its hostels are inconsistent with its philosophy and will eliminate them by the end of the year.

The hostels, which developed partly as a result of Volunteers staying with staff members in large numbers, have come under growing criticism from returned Volunteers, Peace Corps staff and foreign nationals. Most of the criticism has centered on Volunteers congregating instead of involving themselves with people in the host country. The hostels have also been criticized as "Americans-only" enclaves and as an administrative burden.

Hostels have been operating in about 70 capital cities and urban centers in Africa and Asia.

In ordering the phasing out of the hostels, Director Jack Vaughn noted that they frequently attract Volunteers to cities when they have no reason to be there and could better be back in their own job environments. While allowing that adequate, inexpensive lodging is difficult for Volunteers to find in isolated instances, the director said that hostels were not an appropriate answer to this problem, and that they are "on balance a negative factor." He gave country directors until the end of 1966 to phase them out and devise alternative solutions.

Micronesia draws record number of applicants

An intensive two-week recruiting drive netted the Peace Corps more than 2,700 applications for the newly announced project in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, known as Micronesia. Among the applicants are approximately 150 former Volunteers who are seeking re-enrollments.

The results of the recruiting drive, held at 68 selected colleges and universities, were termed "overwhelming . . . beyond our expectations," according to Ross Pritchard, Peace Corps Regional Director for the Far East.

In assessing the response of the applicants to the new program, Charles Butler, director of campus recruiting, cited three major factors for its success: the questionnaire was reduced from 12 to 8 pages, the placement test was not required, and qualified applicants were notified of their acceptance within 15 days of their application.

Micronesia's initial Peace Corps program—to be conducted in two phases—will require 400 Volunteers to serve as elementary school teachers, lawyers, and workers in small business, public works and health projects.

The training of the first phase of Volunteers will begin in August. Public works and health trainees will train on the Hawaiian island of Molokai. Trainees will live in scattered tent villages corresponding to the language and administrative groupings of the islands. The other groups will train elsewhere.

Training will be "open ended." Volunteers will begin service when they have acquired the necessary language and technical skills. Most other projects are structured for 12 to 14 weeks of training.

The Peace Corps expects to meet transportation and communication needs in the island chain by using a schooner and small catamaran speed boats, cargo and sea planes and radio receiver-transmitters. Water safety and basic navigation and radio communication will be included in the training.

In the second phase of the program, beginning next fall, the Peace Corps expects to send 400 secondary school teachers, agricultural specialists and public administration experts to meet the requests.

The Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands—the Caroline, Mariana and Marshall island groups—are spread over an area as large as the United States mainland but comprising a total land mass of only half the size of Rhode Island or 700 square miles. Volunteers will find some unusual circumstances: the Trust Territory already has an American postal zip code (Yap is 96940); baseball is a popular sport, especially among Palauans; crocodile stew and shish kebab are local delicacies; "rai" or the famed Yapese stone money, huge discs carved with holes in the center so they could be carried on poles, have been replaced with American dollars (banks do not yet exist); and activated bombs and other World War II refuse still litter much of the countryside.

More language for PCVs and staff

This year's Peace Corps trainees are finding more language in their curriculum than did any previous generation of Volunteers. And an increased emphasis on language training will affect new overseas staff members, too.

Director Jack Vaughn has ordered a new minimum level of 300 hours of language training in programs for countries where English is not the first language.

Vaughn told a recent conference of Peace Corps language coordinators that "language is the payoff" for Volunteer effectiveness. "I've been an amateur diplomat for ten years and I find that 93 per cent of the difference is in the language," he said.

"Every inch is gold in learning a language," Vaughn said. "I believe this is why Volunteers are asked, 'Why are you different?' The difference is in the language. If we can just add a plus to an FSI-1 rating, no better investment could be made in the future of that Volunteer."

Vaughn said that during the first years of the Peace Corps, trainees for Latin America protested when they were given 100 hours of Spanish. He recalls that the total was "grudgingly" boosted to 125 hours. More recently the total has ranged from 180 to 320 hours. A 300-hour minimum became the floor in this summer's programs.

At the same time, Allan Kulakow, Peace Corps language coordinator, announced a new staff language requirement of FSI-3. "In countries where the staff doesn't speak the language," says Kulakow, "Volunteers show relatively little interest in learning the language themselves."

Kulakow told the assembled instructors that by the end of August, 1966, the Peace Corps will have trained 36,000 people in 57 different languages, and that about 20 more languages will be added to the curriculum. The Peace Corps has been one of the largest instigators of material on language development, he said.

Other speakers at the two-day conference in Washington stressed the importance of language for Volunteers. Dr. Marvel Allard, who recently completed research on Volunteer attitudes toward language (see follow-

ing story), said that "language is not an overwhelming factor in success, but it may well be the limiting factor." Dr. Allard said that increasing the number of hours of language training is merely one factor determining proficiency; other factors are the language being studied and the aptitude of the trainee.

'How important is language?'

How important is language to a Volunteer, and how effective does he think he is in another language?

Answers to these questions were sought from opinions recorded at completion of service conferences by 3,561 Volunteers.

The results show that Volunteers considered language very important overseas. Though few of them credited themselves with great language fluency, most said they had not encountered serious difficulty in communicating with their hosts.

Three out of every five Volunteers rated language as "very important" to the Volunteer on and off the job. Only 2.6 per cent said that the local language was of no importance to a Volunteer.

The research analysis showed that few Volunteers gave themselves high marks in fluency. Most rated themselves as "good," "fair," or "marginal." Only 8.7 per cent of the Volunteers said they were "excellent" in fluency. On the other end of the spectrum, 13.1 per cent called their fluency "very poor."

Only ten per cent of the Volunteers in the sample indicated that they had serious difficulty in communicating in the local dialect. The remainder listed communication in the dialect as either a minor problem or no problem at all.

The research was reported by Dr. Marvel Allard of Michigan State University and Timmy Napolitano of the Peace Corps Division of Research. The Volunteers in the sample came from 102 projects in 42 nations. All of the 3,561 Volunteers entered training between January, 1962 and October, 1963.

Among the research findings were the following items:

- Volunteers in Latin America attached the most importance to using the local language overseas. Ninety per cent of them said language was of "very great importance." In contrast, only 36.6 per cent of the Volunteers in Africa gave language the same rating, and one fourth of the African-based Volunteers said language was of "very little importance."
- At the same time, Volunteers in Latin America credited themselves with more fluency than did their counterparts in Africa or Asia. In general, they considered themselves to have slightly less than "good" fluency. Volunteers in the NANESA region accorded themselves "fair" fluency ratings on the average, and Volunteers in the Far East saw themselves as having slightly less than "fair" ratings. Volunteers in Africa ranked themselves lowest, between "fair" and "marginal."
- Younger Volunteers credited themselves with greater fluency and as having fewer communication problems than did older Volunteers.
- Fluency in the local language emerged as a central factor in a satisfying Peace Corps experience. Volunteers who credited themselves with more fluency and less difficulty in communicating in the local dialect generally felt they had sufficient contact with host nationals, adequate opportunity for intellectual stimulation, donated many hours to activities beyond the regular job, done well as Volunteers, experienced greater satisfaction with overseas service, and given all they could to the job.
- Volunteers with the best relationships with the Peace Corps staff were those who said they were most fluent. According to the researchers, "this suggests that language proficiency as an attribute or accomplishment is rewarded by the Peace Corps."
- Volunteers who worked in more than one kind of location considered use of the local language more important than did other Volunteers. Those who were based in capital cities found language less important than Volunteers in all other types of work locations.
- Volunteers with more education considered themselves to be less fluent and considered the language less important than did Volunteers with less education. Interpretations advanced: better educated Volunteers may have been judging fluency against higher standards. Also, the highly educated are often teachers, and a majority of teachers serve in Africa, where the need to speak the local language is considered less essential.
- The local language was considered least important by Volunteers who had taught, and most important by Volunteers who had been engaged in community development. By the same token, teachers gave themselves the lowest fluency ratings of all Volunteers, while community developers gave themselves the highest ratings.
- The more important the Volunteer feels the use of the local language, the greater his fluency.

REFRESHER COURSE: Volunteer Vance Barron (at left) and Mrs. John McPhee, wife of the associate Peace Corps director, review Swahili grammar. During vacations, Tanzanian teachers hold Swahili classes for Volunteers and interested staff. The refresher courses are patterned after the Government Lower Swahili Test.

Photo by correspondent Richard Spence

Peace Corps not seeking 'conscripts'

Director Jack Vaughn has stated that the Peace Corps will not take conscripts even if some form of universal service is introduced in the United States.

Vaughn said that Peace Corps work "is too important to hand over to just anybody who doesn't want to make the kind of contribution and sacrifice we insist on and that recipient countries have come to expect." He said that taking conscripts "would destroy the Peace Corps."

The director's comments came after Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara's proposal (see box) for universal service prompted debate on Capitol Hill and elsewhere about the present military draft system.

In a speech at Montreal, McNamara said, "our present Selective Service System draws on only a minority of eligible young men," and he added: "It seems to me we could move toward remedying that inequity by asking every young person in the United States to give two years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad."

Vaughn termed the McNamara proposal "exciting" and said the secretary's speech was "a very good lesson in public affairs." But, during an appearance before the Woman's National Democratic Club, he made it clear that the universal service concept was not applicable to the Peace Corps.

The Peace Corps requires "people who are bright and tough and mature and who feel that they can do something and should do something," the director said. "It takes special people to do a special job. We just can't take conscripts. If we change this equation we will change the Peace Corps downward."

McNamara's proposal resulted in a renewed debate on military conscription practices, and it gave new attention to similar proposals that have been made about national service.

One proponent of a change in the present system is Harris Wofford, Associate Director of the Peace Corps, who has endorsed a national service program that would embrace "all of the American young people living in poverty, without excluding those who

Draft alternative posed

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara proposed universal service for young Americans in an address to the American Society of Newspaper Editors at Montreal, Canada. The conclusion of his address is printed below.

By **ROBERT S. McNAMARA**

President Johnson has put the matter squarely. By building bridges to those who make themselves our adversaries "we can help gradually to create a community of interest, a community of trust, and a community of effort."

With respect to a "community of effort" let me suggest a concrete proposal for our own present young generation in the United States.

It is a committed and dedicated generation: it has proven that in its enormously impressive performance in the Peace Corps overseas; and in its willingness to volunteer for a final assault on such poverty and lack of opportunity that still remain in our own country.

As matters stand, our present Selective Service System draws only a minority of eligible young men.

That is an inequity.

It seems to me that we could move toward remedying that inequity by asking every young person in the United States to give two years of service to his country—whether in one of the military services, in the Peace Corps, or in some other volunteer developmental work at home or abroad.

We could encourage other countries to do the same; and we could work out exchange programs—much as the Peace Corps is already planning to do.

While this is not an altogether new suggestion, it has been criticized as inappropriate while we are engaged in a shooting war.

But I believe precisely the opposite is the case. It is more appropriate now than ever. For it would underscore what our whole purpose is in Vietnam—and indeed anywhere in the world where coercion, or injustice, or lack of decent opportunity still holds sway.

It would make meaningful the central concept of security: a world of decency and development—where every man can feel that his personal horizon is rimmed with hope.

Mutual interest—mutual trust—mutual effort; those are the goals. Can we achieve those goals with the Soviet Union, and with Communist China? Can they achieve them with one another?

The answer to these questions lies in the answer to an even more fundamental question.

Who is man?

Is he a rational animal?

If he is, then the goals can ultimately be achieved.

If he is not, then there is little point in making the effort.

All the evidence of history suggests that man is indeed a rational animal—but with a near infinite capacity for folly. His history seems largely a halting, but persistent, effort to raise his reason above his animality.

He draws blueprints for Utopia. But never quite gets it built. In the end, he plugs away obstinately with the only building material really ever at hand: his own part-comic, part-tragic, part-cussed, but part-glorious nature.

I, for one, would not count a global free society out.

Coercion, after all, merely captures man.

Freedom captivates him.

are sickest, or of lowest morale, or of lowest intelligence, who are now being excluded from national service under the draft."

Other alternatives to the present draft system, Wofford notes, are to credit volunteer service at home or abroad as full or partial satisfaction of the military obligation, or to introduce a system of universal volunteering, with the draft held in reserve for use only in emergencies, when military needs require.

Wofford notes that "if any of these steps are taken, the potential pool of Peace Corps Volunteers will grow substantially. In the context of greater national recognition to the idea of volunteering, the proportion of graduating college students who apply to the Peace Corps could reach 10 per cent, and many mid-career professionals and non-college young people with specially needed skills would apply."

Thus, Wofford contends, "a Peace Corps of 30 to 50 thousand would become possible, with a higher proportion of skilled or experienced Volunteers and a general increase in quality."

Only 115 in service

To date, Peace Corps Volunteers have never been exempted from the draft, and deferments have not been automatically granted to them. However, the director of Selective Service in 1961 notified all local boards that Peace Corps service would be a "national interest" and most boards have followed this guideline in granting deferments to Volunteers.

The Peace Corps does not seek deferments for any former Volunteers except those who have returned overseas as Peace Corps staff members. But relatively few returned Volunteers are now serving in the Armed Forces as draftees. The Career Information Service reports that as of April 20, 1966, only 115 Volunteers who had completed Peace Corps service were in uniform. An estimated 80 per cent of these were draftees; the remainder had enlisted.

Another statistic indicates that the recent boost in draft calls has had little effect in the area of recruiting. The Division of Selection reported that 57 per cent of all recent applicants had been men. The percentage of male applicants has traditionally been in the 56 to 59 per cent range. Recruiting and Selection officials said this indicated that the draft was not making a strong impact on recruiting efforts.

"Well, It Takes All Kinds...."

An 'elitist' dislikes the idea

By **TIM KRAFT**

I am strongly opposed to Secretary McNamara's recent proposals inasmuch as they would make the Peace Corps an alternative to military service. This would result in the long run, I think, in a much larger, less effective, mediocre service organization instead of a larger, better Peace Corps that many seem to envision.

My objection goes to the very root of what it means to be a Peace Corps Volunteer, volunteer being the crucial word, and motivation being the central point. The fact that people now join of own their accord, many at the risk of additional military service, indicates an interest in Peace Corps objectives above the personal necessity of just serving a hitch. This interest (inspired by neither obligation nor wages) is the vital difference between a Volunteer making an extra effort and a "national service corpsman" getting along or riding it out.

Few Volunteers will say that their decision to join the Peace Corps was inspired entirely by altruism. Most will admit to considerations of travel, adventure, or just "something different." Yet even these considerations are consistent with Peace Corps objectives in that they express a self-motivated interest in another area, another people, a challenge, a chance to do something.

This attitude or motivation, as op-

posed to one of getting an obligation out of the way, can make all the difference in the world between putting out or just getting along in the field. I doubt if any other government agency has as much leniency or lack of close supervision in the field. It is invaluable for Volunteer morale and effectiveness. It also is a policy that is very easy to abuse or manipulate. It boils down to the crucial point of why you are there.

Do I stay over for the party in the capital or do I get back to the site for the council meeting? Do I show films or play soccer on the weekends or do I call that my "own" time? Do I tell the country director that this site is impossible, or do I try to get to know the mayor and schoolteacher a little better? A Volunteer will make these decisions in accordance with his interest in the job he has volunteered to do.

There are hundreds of these decisions over a two-year period, and even more ways to justify or rationalize one's personal preference. And it is by these decisions and actions that the Volunteer becomes a member of the community, or is considered a tolerable (or intolerable) guest.

Several people with whom I have talked seem blandly assured that the Division of Selection is capable of determining who is genuinely interested in the Peace Corps and who has picked it as an easy option to military service. I find these assurances entirely unconvincing.

Many will attest to the fact that it is all Selection can do now to keep abreast of the normal wave of applications. It is safe to guess that if the Peace Corps were made an option to military service, applications would triple, possibly quadruple. Even if Selection's staff were doubled and everyone worked hard and efficiently, it could not devote the care and scrutiny to each application that it deserves.

Moreover, motivation is the factor least susceptible to analysis in a questionnaire. It is watched for closely in training, but even here it is difficult to assess accurately.

I have no doubt that the Peace Corps would receive many good Volunteers were it to be made an option to military service. I am also convinced that many operators, motivated by what appears to be an easy deal for themselves, would apply and be accepted. It is not difficult for an alert and glib person to fill out a good questionnaire, and say the right things during training. It would not be too difficult for such a person to get by in his tour overseas. And I am utterly convinced that we will have hundreds upon hundreds of "national service corpsmen" getting by overseas if the Peace Corps is made a draft option.

In closing, I would like to mention that those opposed to Secretary McNamara's proposal have been characterized by some as "elitists," old-line Volunteers who do not want to see their sort of Peace Corps tampered with.

If maintaining the quality of selection and keeping the decision to join autonomous from fulfilling a compulsory obligation is elitism, then I must admit that I am all for it. I would just extend a respectful warning to some in the Peace Corps not to mistake quantity for quality and integrity for reaction.

Tim Kraft has been a recruiting officer for the Peace Corps for the past year. He was previously a Volunteer in Guatemala.

Selection says that motivations can be discerned

Tim Kraft takes a dim view of the Peace Corps' ability to weed out applicants and trainees who would seek in it "an easy option to military service." THE VOLUNTEER asked Richard E. Nolan, Deputy Director of the Division of Selection, to comment on this. Nolan challenges Kraft's assumptions about the size of the Peace Corps and the motivation of its Volunteers.

By **RICHARD E. NOLAN**

Many persons object to a larger Peace Corps on the grounds that a larger organization will be less effective—bigness is bad. Our Federal Government encounters this complaint constantly and so does General Motors.

It is a cliché. The Peace Corps must increase in size if it is to have an impact; if it is really going to make a difference in the underdeveloped world. The need for Peace Corps Volunteers is virtually unlimited and the U.S. must respond to that need. Although the need is unlimited, the supply of trained persons as Volunteers is limited, so this fact places an upper limit on the ultimate size of the Peace Corps.

Motivation is a very complicated concept. The Division of Selection is fully aware of the multiplicity of motives for becoming a Peace Corps Volunteer. An early research study indicated that altruistic motives were no more predictive of success as a Volunteer than were egoistic motives. This finding is consistent with extensive research literature in this area of motivation, e.g., physicians who chose medicine as a profession because of status and financial rewards were just as competent as those who chose the profession for service motives.

Avoidance motivation (doing something to avoid something else) has been explored extensively. There is every reason to think that motives to avoid are every bit as powerful as those to achieve. Success in the Peace Corps, as everywhere else, depends on the strength of a compound of motives. The Division of Selection can assess that motivational strength.

The care and devotion to the selection of Peace Corps Volunteers depends upon the development of the selection process as well as the staff required to do the job. "Selection has all it can do now to keep abreast of the normal wave of applications." Selection has never asked to do less than it can do. Through the first five years, the selection of Volunteers has improved, not eroded, and if more staff is required due to an increase in applications, then the Peace Corps will get the staff to do the job.

In the 19th Century it was assumed that most men worked best when they were goaded, prodded, punished and threatened; most men were naturally lazy and would avoid work whenever possible. There are still many persons today who still think this about the poor and the uneducated. Welfare clients are suspect and unemployment insurance is seen as an anti-work menace.

On the other hand, there are many in the 20th Century who believe that most persons work if they have a job to do; that work is an enjoyable experience for most persons; and that work is preferred over non-work rather than avoided. Selection has every confidence in being able to select that kind of Volunteer.

Since the first educational television program went on the air in Colombia two and a half years ago, about 150 ETV Volunteers, comprising five different Peace Corps training groups, have whistled the same tune—Vivaldi's "Winter" from *The Four Seasons*. It's the ETV theme song and it's played at the beginning and the end of every program.

Production Volunteers hear it in the studio when they preview the shows they put together. Utilization Volunteers hear it when they visit their assigned schools to help teachers use the programs in their classrooms. And Volunteer technicians hear it when they test newly installed television sets.

But if the tune's the same, the melody of its effects has changed. ETV 1966 is a far cry from ETV 1964; the pioneers would be surprised.

In the beginning, programs were broadcast in one department (state), Cundinamarca. Now seven departments receive the programs, and an eighth is soon to be added. The school audience exceeds 250,000 children in grades one through five, with about 6,500 teachers. Fifteen-minute programs are broadcast from eight in the morning until four in the afternoon, five days a week. And the original four subject areas have been expanded to five, with each subject covered in almost all grades. The areas are: social science, natural science, mathematics (using the new math system), language arts and music.

The tangle of bureaucratic problems which plagued the early days has unraveled somewhat. The impact of continuous streams of Volunteers on officialdom has been effective, and so has the dynamic ETV project director, Stanley Handleman.

The result is more Colombian counterparts and Colombian replacements in production, utilization, and technical jobs. Administrative support on all levels is increasing. The national government had been involved in the beginning, and the early Volunteers worked locally; the more recent involvement of the departmental governments helps to fill in the hierarchical gap.

Colombia was a likely spot for an ETV project. There was a national curriculum which every teacher in the country had to follow. Colombians all spoke Spanish. There was a long-established system of free public education. These factors, coupled with a need for reform within the educational system, indicated that the peculiar advantages of ETV might be beneficial there: a poorly prepared teacher would have access to one of the best teachers in the nation and would be upgrading his classroom instruction; a good or excellent teacher would have access to one of the best visual aids, theretofore non-existent.

ETV plans for the future are ambitious. The literacy experiment in the Antioquia (see page 12) is one of many expansion efforts. Programs are currently being planned in public health and physical education. Eventual expansion into secondary education is also anticipated.

Perhaps the most exciting prospect for the future is one of Stan Handleman's ideas. He envisions the ETV operation in Colombia as a training ground for all of Latin America.

Colombia is currently the only country in the world in which the Peace Corps is involved full-scale in an ETV project (eight Volunteers work in an ETV studio in Peru, and Jamaica will receive its first ETV Volunteers—utilization workers—this September). It is hoped that the Colombia Volunteers will leave behind them a solid cadre of Colombians well trained in all phases of the ETV operation. Handleman's plan, should it become a reality, would complete the training cycle: Colombians would be teaching to other Latin Americans the skills and procedures necessary to a well established and functioning ETV system.

But the future, at least for the current crop of ETV Volunteers in Colombia, holds some more immediate questions. These studio, school and roof workers have seen goal-adjusting as one of their daily experiences. The process has caused them to make some hard queries about the impact of their work. Their thoughts, organized by the jobs they are doing, appear on the following pages.

The Peace Corps and ETV

in the studio . . .

By **JIM CULBERTSON**

Calle 24, No. 5-64, Bogotá, Colombia—this is the address of the studio facilities that comprise the broadcasting heart of the educational television project in Colombia. It is also where an ever-diminishing handful of Peace Corps Volunteers has worked since 1963 to create the programs on the air now and to instill skills and professional pride for the future.

ETV will soon be leaving this address and its antiquated equipment for a new, fully-developed studio. But the record of what was done in the old building makes this step a minor one by comparison.

When the project first began, there was nothing that even resembled what now exists. No studio, no equipment, no personnel, no counterparts, not even a roll of videotape ETV could have called its own.

The beginning

An unused studio in the same building that also housed commercial television was obtained from the government. Lights were begged, borrowed and installed. Commercial television loaned two cameras, both vintage 1956, and the process of putting the whole thing together began.

In the control room above the studio, a director's desk was hastily put together. Two turntables were supplied—again by commercial TV. AID gave a zoom lens, TV monitors, a videotape machine and videotape. At that point the project came out of the talk stage and went on the air in March, 1964.

Today, ETV is still working with the same basic equipment, but the changes in the programs, the scope, and the future plans for ETV have been tremendous. Both the weekday broadcast time and the subject areas covered have been expanded. Teacher orientations, designed to provide in-service training in the subject areas, are on the air every Saturday, allowing the television teachers the opportunity to speak directly to the classroom teacher.

Counterpart support is solid and growing. The head of the ETV division, the six TV teachers, and the entire technical staff are Colombians. Four Colombian producer-directors, with more to be selected soon, are now actively engaged in program direction.

Volunteers continue working in the same way in the studio. The programs are written in agreement with the national curriculum by the television teacher and his assistant. These scripts, the order of their appearance on the air, and any questions concerning educational methods or theory are then checked with the Colombian director of pedagogy, who makes changes where necessary and then approves the final order and scripts.

Throughout this process, the producer-director attempts to serve not only as a TV expert, but as an educational one as well. He may feel that the order needs changing to better coincide with either the order of the official curriculum, or with the new *Guias Didacticas* (didactical guides), which are slowly coming into effect all over the country and will, if properly used, place the emphasis in the educational system at the primary level on a problem or unit study approach, rather than on the systematic subject methods that have been used for some time.

Once the director has his order set up and his scripts approved, he begins planning what he will need in the way of visual aids and props to record each show on videotape to then be played back at the proper time. He must be careful to hew very close to the line set up in the guides the television teacher wrote to go with the scripts, because these indicate what the classroom teacher must do to prepare his students in advance and also give the content of the particular program.

At the same time the producer-director is doing all of this, he may also be concentrating on training his counterpart for the eventual point of success, the phasing out of the Volunteer.

If success is measured in terms of the Peace Corps "inch," then this project is a big one. However, the little inches along the way have been painful in their realization. The most consistent setback has been equipment failure. ETV's "old faithfuls," cameras 1 and 2, have broken down often. Programs go on the air late, or early, or occasionally not at all, and are sometimes—though rarely—accidentally erased in videotape mix-ups.

Busy schedule

The TV teachers, faced with upcoming air dates and no programs taped in advance, may be forced to curtail the school visits they make to gauge classroom teachers' needs and opinions. Commercial television (ETV still shares their facilities) often preempts working time and sometimes it is necessary to verbally fight them to get it back. These and others are the day-to-day problems that have to be faced.

Problems, yes, but solvable, and, as indicated earlier, ETV is succeeding.

The Stanford University research team evaluating the ETV project in Colombia suffered their own brand of culture shock. The scientists called their plight "special difficulties involved in researching a Peace Corps program constantly evolving in response to unanticipated conditions." Example: During one test, when every effort was being made by the supervising Volunteers to maintain uniform test conditions, the teacher suddenly appointed several pupils to sell donuts to the rest of the class. In another incident, a Volunteer was the culprit. He left an important stack of completed pupil tests with the caretaker at the Peace Corps office in Bogotá, because the office was locked. The caretaker decided that the dog-eared pile belonged in the *basura* (garbage), and promptly deposited it there.

Slowly, the *gringos* in the studio are being phased out, either through termination of service, or assumption of other duties.

Two other Volunteers, not directly connected with the studio, have been working on the design and building of a new film laboratory that will further augment the visual element of the programs. Both have had assignments shooting film for various programs. Their work has progressed slowly, but there is hope for a new lab that will serve not only ETV but other interests as well.

Colombia ETV is real, recognized, and generally well received. Although the new studio realizes many of the hopes and solves many of the problems, there is much to be done. The present Volunteers leave in February, 1967, and no new ones will follow this last group into the studio.

The future of programming will be left in the hands of Colombians with whom the Peace Corps has worked since the beginning of the project. It can only be hoped as termination nears, that what was a Peace Corps "inch" will become, through our counterparts, a Colombian mile.

Volunteer Jim Culbertson coordinates the work of the producer-directors in the studio.

in the classroom . . .

By **DEAN M. GOTTEHRER**

Statistics reveal very little about the quality and fabric of the work of the ETV utilization Volunteer.

In the country, there are 42 Volunteers working in the field or as utilization coordinators. This number includes a group of 16 new Volunteers which has recently arrived and is receiving a month of in-country training in Bogotá. All these Volunteers are responsible for more than 1,200 television sets; eventually they will work with the entire 1,500 sets donated by AID in the original contract.

Some Volunteers work with as few as four sets, others have forty. They ostensibly carry on a program of school visitations designed to bring the utilization of each set to certain minimum standards, determined to have the best educational effect.

An outsider viewing the situation would see Adryan Naktin, a utilization Volunteer with 35 schools spread among the different *barrios* of Medellín, Antioquia, go into one of her schools, speak briefly with the director (similar to an American principal) to find out if there are any problems that require attention, and then begin her round of visitations to the classes of different teachers.

Certain standards have evolved for use throughout the country. Adryan will make sure that the teacher motivates his class for 15 minutes before the television program to develop interest and curiosity necessary for a good learning situation.

The classroom teacher has a guide written by the television teacher which provides a lesson plan for that class. The teacher knows in advance that he must do certain things, all suggested in the guide, to develop interest in the pupils.

Timing counts

Then, the classroom teacher must be sure to arrive in the TV classroom on time for the beginning of the televised program. During the program, Adryan watches that the teacher is helping the television teacher get the interest of the children and develop the program. The teacher helps by choosing one child to answer a question from the TV teacher, makes sure the students are not taking notes (a distraction from the visual element of the program), and walks around the room to keep the children interested in the program.

After the program, Adryan returns with the teacher to his room to observe the follow-up of the program. The teacher ascertains whether or not the children have learned what was taught. If not, he will go over the material again to fix the concepts in the children's minds. If they have learned the theme, the teacher will go on to amplify it and relate it to what has been taught and what will come.

Follow-up techniques

After this, Adryan will talk with the teacher, offering suggestions and criticisms to help improve that teacher's utilization of TV.

Adryan has been doing this now for more than one semester. Most of her schools fulfill the basic requirements, both mechanical and linguistical, for good usage of ETV. She, as most other Volunteers in areas where the sets have been in the schools for at least a semester and perhaps as much as two years, begins to face the most difficult of problems in terms of ETV goals.

Volunteers have found that the necessary "selling" of ETV to the teachers and director of the individual school can be relatively easy. A program designed to get the teacher to motivate the students, attend the television class, and follow up can meet with an easier success than some of the ultimate goals of utilization.

The ultimate goal is changing from rote memorization to a child-centered teaching methodology.

"I suppose that I could go into a school and spend two weeks, day after day, there and get them to motivate, be on time for the class, and follow up according to our standards," says Bunny Spanuello, a utilization Volunteer in Cundinamarca. "But some of my schools have had ETV for a long time—it seems to me that we have gotten them about as far as we can.

"I am not afraid to widen their horizons," she adds. "But to open them up and show them what they don't know, I am just afraid they would be frustrated and probably quit."

ETV research has shown, although some Volunteers contest some of the results, that contact with the Volunteer tends to reduce ETV problems in the schools. Getting teachers in a developing society to utilize a highly technical device has not proven to be a problem. Reforming the habits of teachers, making the environment conform to the demands of good ETV usage has

been difficult in some places, easy in others.

But getting into the schools and reforming teaching methods that have been in use for far longer than most Volunteers have been living has proven to be difficult.

In many instances, it has not been hard to induce the usage of visual aids, but the substance of a method change in the use of that aid takes a good deal of time. The current ratio of schools per Volunteer has handicapped the Volunteer from spending as much time in each school as would be necessary to make profound changes in the educational system.

ETV classes have widened horizons that were previously limited. The teacher orientation programs have been successful where properly implemented with Volunteer assistance. But as it is educationally unsound to put a group of 50-70 students in front of a set without any motivation, it is similarly unsound to attempt a deep change in educational methodology with teachers without motivating them to want to do something.

So the Volunteer has to motivate his teachers. This takes many forms, from teacher meetings and discussions of methods to social relationships, drinking *tinto* (demitasse) or *aguardiente* (national liquor) to stimulate the personal relationship on which confidence is built and doors are opened to allow the entrance of new ideas.

Systems that have been in effect for years do not change overnight. And so far the urgency of installing as many sets as quickly as possible has not permitted the Volunteers the necessary amount of time, nor the proper ratio of schools per Volunteer, to work in a small number of schools to make the effort, the huge effort, necessary for meaningful changes.

Two-sided problem

The problem of over-expansion or undermanning, depending on one's point of view, may make it necessary to extend Peace Corps commitment to the project beyond the 1968 date when the group of utilization Volunteers which is in training now will terminate.

ETV has worked with an ever-diminishing number of Volunteers and an ever-expanding number of sets and schools. This has given rise to the work in the normal schools which turn out the great majority of teachers. The normal school program includes training of the teacher interns in good ETV methodology.

ETV is working with the present and the future, trying to change the methods of today's teachers and to provide tomorrow's with good methods from the beginning.

The impact on teachers has been varied. In the newer areas, where the benefit of past experience has been employed, the Volunteer is in the position of being better able to work with the teachers because he knows them better, knows their problems better, and knows how to work with changing their methods.

A somewhat cynical defense of how ETV affects teachers has at times been made. It says that ETV makes a good teacher better, a bad teacher work, and the middle ground learns by example from the TV teachers. Some Volunteers would agree.

"I used to feel rewarded," says Jacky Pierce, utilization Volunteer in the department of Caldas, "when I saw a teacher do a bang-up job of utilization. But that reward has been snatched away, because I realized that this is a good teacher that was good before I came and would be good with or without me and ETV.

Literacy classes: an ETV experiment

Late one April afternoon Peace Corps Volunteer Mary Ahearn and ten Colombian high school students stood in the halls of a school in Medellín, Antioquia. They were waiting for the illiterates who were to be their first students in a new classroom experiment of learning how to read and write.

Mary had used what she thought to be the normal channels of informing illiterates about the experiment—the parish priest, *barrio* leaders, schoolteachers. Twenty illiterates were expected. Several minutes before the class was to start, two illiterates arrived to begin inauspiciously the ambitious project of becoming literate through a new method of learning.

Mary Ahearn is one of ten Peace Corps Volunteers in the Colombian department of Antioquia taking part in an experiment to teach elementary literacy by television. She and the other nine "literacy girls," as they are called by other Volunteers, are doing the field work necessary to evaluate the effectiveness of the television teaching of literacy.

Literacy instruction was an initial goal of ETV in Colombia. But until this spring, ETV's only audience has been in primary schools. Precluding the possible dangers of veering into an untried field of instruction, the literacy experiment in Medellín was designed to discover several things about teaching literacy by television:

Would it be possible, through a system of combined television classes and classroom instruction to effectively bring a group of illiterates to a primary level of literacy? Secondly, would the beneficial one-to-one, student-to-teacher relationship be conveyed effectively enough through the medium of television to aid in reducing the number of teachers necessary for basic instruction, thereby permitting more rapid expansion of literacy teaching? The experiment also sought to single out the unknown problems in initiating and following through with such a system of literacy instruction.

The program broadcast last April was the first of 20 programs produced in Bogotá by two ETV Volunteers in collaboration with the Laubach Literacy Foundation. Programs are shown three nights a week, leaving the remaining two nights for completion of work. The department of Antioquia was chosen for the testing

"Certainly, a couple of visits with a teacher cannot transform her into a dynamic, observant, interesting educator," Jacky adds. "If I had only about 50 teachers who were a little enthusiastic and willing to work more, it would be different."

An aid for all?

In a sense, then, ETV does give a good teacher an invaluable aid for his work. But, as Jacky says, a good teacher was good before ETV came. But what about the bad teachers and the middle ground?

There are few eager uninformed teachers—the middle ground that wants to change and learn and doesn't know how to do it. The bad teachers are forced to work if the Volunteer has been able to impress them with the need to work, or has won over the director. Here again, as research shows, the more the Volunteer is in contact with the bad teacher, the more disposed towards ETV that teacher will be. If there were enough Volunteers to work the schools adequately, one would expect the bad teachers to be improved.

Some Volunteers feel the need to concentrate on quality rather than quantity.

"I suggest that we need to make whatever we do here so small and select, so polished and perfect, that those who don't have ETV will be willing to fight to get it," says Rita Shields, a utilization Volunteer working in Bogotá. "Trends are set by leading groups. Those on the lower social and economic levels can only look on and covet and eventually emulate.

"We are trying to *give* to the groups on the lower levels without first making them covet it and fight for it," Rita adds. "Some of them make efficient use of what we offer, but too many don't. Few of them are sold on it enough to force their government to support it with anything more than words."

Phasing out

Perhaps then, the desire to get in, build a Colombian organization to take over ETV, and then get out, was not fitted to the original two-year term and more time was necessary. More time has been taken and will be taken. But the question of phasing out remains. Volunteer Jeanne Mills, a Bogotá utilization worker, put it this way:

"The main trouble with utilization work is that the longer the ETV project continues at a site, the more ill-defined, the more challenged by Colombians, becomes the Volunteer's role. Some of the schools in my care, for example," says Jeanne, "have had ETV for three years now. How do I reply to the director who asks me what I'm still doing there—and how and when do I and this director come to an agreement that my visits are no longer necessary?"

Perhaps the problem of leaving can only be solved by a phasing out in steps. When one of the areas is developed to the point where the Volunteers feel they have accomplished quite a bit and have done all they can, perhaps then the Volunteers should be pulled out of the department, but not be used to open up other areas. That way a trial area can be established which will give the project the opportunity to see what will happen on a grass roots level when phasing out appears to be the next step.

In the meantime, ETV has proven a number of things. A highly technical device can be used to gain entry into a society and an educational system for the purposes of initiating reform. That reform, however, cannot

nd because the introduction of primary school ETV ations had gone most smoothly there.

Finding illiterates has been no problem, but convincing them to come to the classes is a different story. "There are problems getting illiterates to admit their illiteracy and, of course, in an area of the country where education is highly valued and where there is a higher literacy rate, these problems are increased," says Bill Lewis, a former literacy Volunteer who stayed to work in Antioquia with the Laubach Foundation and has served as coordinator for the group.

But the Volunteers continued to recruit participants and have enrolled 140 persons in Antioquia's nine centers. None of the centers has less than ten adults and Mary Ahearn's center in the Medellín *barrio* of Arranjuez now includes some children who were unable to get into school because they were too old or because they had failed their first semester or first year of primary school.

The follow-up classroom work is a key part of the new televised literacy teaching. In this area, the "literacy girls" are being aided by high school students who, in Antioquia, are required by the departmental government to do 72 hours of literacy or *acción comunal* (community action) work to get their graduation certificates.

The problem has been, according to Lewis and several of the Volunteers, that some of these *auxiliares* (helpers) have not always been on time to the classes, have sat in the back of the TV room instead of with the illiterates, and have at times created more problems than they have solved.

But until a better source of *auxiliares* can be discovered, the project will have to continue using the high school students to do the classroom teaching and try to give them a better training for the program.

So far, regularity is acclaimed as the current advantage of using television in literacy instruction. "I have found," says Mary Ahearn, "that with TV we have set up a greater regularity in our schedule and that we have set up regular literacy centers."

However, Volunteer Jill Freese does not think that television helps secure the continued attendance of the adults. "Of course, when we first started, there was a great deal of novelty in watching television," she says. "But that wore off soon and the other benefit of a regular schedule was what kept the adults coming. They knew that every night at 5:25 they had to be at the school for the hour-long class."

Mary Ahearn looks ahead: "We plan to follow up the first television series of literacy work with a type of night school," she said. "It is necessary to strengthen the confidence of the new literate by teaching him some of the things he wishes to learn such as math, history, geography, and to provide him with a reading center where he can continue to strengthen the reading skills he has begun in the television program."

—Dean M. Gottehrer

be effected simply with the introduction of TV into a school; it must be followed up and new teaching habits must be established. Teacher training, properly implemented, can also be used to provide in-service education. These efforts, linked together, well coordinated and slowly expanded become a program in school development and educational reform. Where the circumstances are right and the initial support is present, the road is open for deep and profound change in educational methods.

Volunteer Dean M. Gottehrer, a correspondent for THE VOLUNTEER, *coordinated the ETV section. Dean and his wife, Sheila, are utilization workers in the department of Antioquia.*

on the roof . . .

By **ROBERT SMILES**

For want of a nail, the battle was lost. And for want of a vidicon tube, a filter condenser—or a good technician who knows where to put them —the entire ETV project would go down the drain.

The *técnicos* into whose hands falls this responsibility now number seven, representing three different training groups. Great disparity exists in their backgrounds, ranging from strong electronics study to almost no training.

In Colombia, their work—like that of the utilization and studio Volunteers—has been twofold: servicing and maintenance of receivers and studio equipment as well as training counterpart personnel.

The latter has proven the bigger headache. Tech coordinator Lou Jarussi sees the counterpart problem as a combination of several factors:

"Technical and financial problems have hindered our training of counterparts. It has been difficult to find capable people to work as techs. And if we succeed in finding and training one, it is possible that he will leave his low-paying government job for a more lucrative one in private business," he explains.

Facts from the first three years of the project back up Jarussi's point. Of the five original Colombians selected to be trained in 1963, only two had any television repair experience. And of those five, only one was still around at the beginning of this year. He has since left for another position.

Subsequent attempts at counterpart training haven't fared much better, either in initial selection or later training. At least two departments (Tolima and Antioquia) took techs from the teaching ranks. And solid technical background has been the exception rather than the rule in the other departments. Turnover, also, has been undesirably high in many places as trainees seek out other jobs or are dismissed as incompetent.

Has the language barrier been a problem in the successful training of the Colombians? No, according to the Volunteers whose Spanish level, at least in the latest group, is considerably below average.

"There are many similar words in the technical vocabulary of the two languages," comments tech Joe Ogle. "In fact, there are some words for which there is no translation in Spanish."

ETV Volunteer technician Mike Erickson was going about his business at one of his regular sites—on top of a school roof in Pereira, Caldas—when he suddenly took a tumble through the tiles and landed on some desks inside a classroom. Anxious Colombians called for a *padre*, who came and began to administer Extreme Unction. In the middle of his first last rites Erickson opened his eyes, smiled softly, lifted a hand in restraint and said in his very best Spanish: "Not yet, Father."

Volunteer Jim Brucker echoes Ogle's sentiments: "I trained a Colombian counterpart in Tolima when we first arrived in the country and I had very limited Spanish. If the other fellow has a good aptitude for electronics, it is no problem."

Though counterpart training problems have predominated, techs have also encountered difficulties in doing their own work, mostly because of a lack of technical facilities. "Getting parts to repair sets has been a problem ever since the original AID-supplied replacements ran out," explains Andy Hardy. Though most parts are obtainable, more complicated ones and recently produced ones are not. Neither are some tools and instruments such as the oscilloscope.

Replacement parts for the new studio, now under construction with about $200,000 worth of AID equipment, are "non-existent," according to Ogle, who is supervising the installation.

Reception problems have been encountered in many areas, especially on the coast and in areas in the shadow of a high mountain. However, the techs agree as to the potential of good reception in most of the country, thanks to the mountains and equipment available.

A hard joke

But perhaps the most difficult of the poor conditions is one which has become a project joke—that of falling through roofs while installing antennas on schools.

"We were told during training of the possibility of this happening, but we thought it was a big joke. Now it has happened to most of us," says Brucker.

At least one from the new group was seriously injured in such a fall (Mike Erickson suffered a cracked pelvis), but considering the number of accidents, the techs consider themselves fortunate.

Schools, however, have started to take precautions, though they don't strengthen the fragile, tile roofs.

"It has gotten to the point that the teachers call the children out of the classroom when one of us goes up on the roof. At least if we fall now, we won't land on anybody," says Jarussi, a kindly 220-pounder.

Robert Smiles, a utilization Volunteer in Bogotá, will soon go to Bucaramanga to start ETV operations in the department of Santander.

Photo by Charles Marden Fitch

ETV begins in the studio where programs are written, videotaped and broadcast. Above, Volunteer Ken Waissman and television teacher Enrique Amador assemble visual material for a math class. Below, television teacher Amalia Samper is "on camera." She uses chart to illustrate a song she is teaching to a music class.

Television sets are repaired and installed. Volunteer technician Dan Acuff, center, helps unload supplies.

Each morning students cart the set from its storage place to the classro

Photos were taken by Mahlon Picht, a Bogotá Volunteer who is helping to organize a new film laboratory for ETV use, and Jim Walls, a Peace Corps photographer.

The pr
ing ses
a schoo

Many Colombian schools are like the one pictured below. The woman is a caretaker who lives in the school with her family. The television set (lower right) is temporarily stored in the patio since school is not in session.

e ETV programs are viewed.

lled "utilization" begins. Above right, Volunteer Carolyn Culbertson visits a class and helps the teacher conduct a finger-paint-preparation for a TV class in language arts. Below, language arts television teacher Matilde Abril chats with students during Television teachers often "leave the screen" for classroom visitations which help students relate to them as "live" people too.

Children watch an ETV program.

Recent CD project:

Snake charming for fun and profit

By **ROBERT DREW**

Penshurst, Costa Rica

Some might say that it was only natural for Arthur Seldin to contribute to the success of the snake rodeo, but if it weren't for Arthur's gentleness and patience—which after all are individual traits—the interest everyone had in the rodeo, the pure fun everyone got out of it, would have been less than what it was. Naturally the final success was due to the unstinting efforts of many people, but it was Arthur's unique contribution that most deserves relating here.

Arthur was a little late in making the scene. To understand how a snake rodeo came to Penshurst, that unlikely-sounding trainstop in the humid semi-jungles of Costa Rica, it is necessary to introduce Capt. Herschel Flowers of the U.S. Army. Capt. Flowers is a veterinarian specializing in processing snake venoms into antiserums for treatment of snakebite.

Deadly pets

There are no accurate statistics on the incidence of snakebite in Costa Rica, a country that abounds with notorious serpents: the tropical rattler, the bushmaster, the fer-de-lance, the coral. Official government figures reflect only those fatalities that occur in hospitals, around 20 a year. Since snakebites usually occur in areas remote from adequate medical treatment, and since time is of the essence in such treatment (one to six hours depending on the type and size of snake, the age and condition of the victim), it is likely that the true figure is some 10 times greater than the statistics show.

Poisonous snakes can be generally divided into cobras and vipers or, in the Western Hemisphere, "pit-vipers," since each of these species has a noticeable pit between the nostril and the eye. Their venom, injected in large quantities, breaks down the blood cells and causes internal hemorrhage. The fer-de-lance alone accounts for perhaps 95 per cent of the deaths by snakebite in Costa Rica.

Pit vipers include all poisonous snakes in the hemisphere except the coral snake, which is the sole species of the cobra type. The coral is a beautiful snake with red and black bands separated by yellow rings that glisten as though lacquered. Many times children pick it up and play with it; many times they bring it home and many times their mothers faint dead away. It is shy and not vicious, does not coil and strike in the manner of vipers. But it is a nervous snake and the least pressure is apt to start it thrashing and biting wildly. When it bites it grips and chews, its small round head and tiny fixed fangs injecting perhaps only little more than a drop of one of nature's deadliest fluids. Slow acting, this extremely potent venom attacks the nerve cells and causes a protracted death by paralysis. Its victims are usually children or people who, barefooted, step on it accidentally.

Venom gathering

Capt. Flowers' program serves a dual purpose. The first is to provide sufficient antiserum through the country to eliminate death by snakebite. To this end he is developing one antiserum to counteract the venom of the several vipers and another antiserum for the coral.

The other purpose stems from the sheer number of poisonous snakes in Costa Rica. There is no reason why antiserum could not be produced in sufficient quantity for export as well as fulfilling local needs. For example, the only place in the world currently making a coral antiserum is in Brazil, yet this snake is found throughout Latin America and as far north as Florida.

One ounce of crystallized coral venom fetches $24,000 at laboratories in the U.S. Penshurst, in common with the entire Atlantic zone, is thick with coral snakes, a rather anomalous

Serpent-draped Capt. Flowers, left, and Ambassador Telles display rodeo performers.

situation wherein a public health menace becomes, potentially, a valuable natural resource.

I met Capt. Flowers a few months after arriving in Penshurst as a Volunteer. He explained his program and stated that he needed all the poisonous snakes he could get. The prices he offered were generous; a medium-sized coral snake would earn a *campesino* as much as he'd make during a working day in the cacao groves. For several years small farmers in this region have depended almost entirely on cacao, a crop whose price has skidded on the world market in face of cheaper exports from Africa.

Bounty nets funds

While snake-buying will by no means correct this situation, I felt that no way should be overlooked for getting a little extra money into the economy and offered to act as his agent in the area. We agreed that he would send me the money; I would buy the snakes and ship them to San Jose. In two and a half months, nearly 300 snakes have been caught and more than $1,000 has been paid out. A further anomaly, more delightful than the first: the Peace Corps and the War Corps working together for community development.

The rodeo brought the whole snake collecting business into the realm of community development. Capt. Flowers patterned it after the annual snake rodeos in Sweetwater, Tex.

This type of rodeo necessarily differs from the usual kind in that such events as dogging, roping and busting are more spectacular on animals endowed with legs and feet. The events of a snake rodeo center around their collection and exhibition with public displays of handling and venom extraction. In Sweetwater, admission is charged for all these events. A dance is held for crowning the Queen of the Snake Rodeo. Each queen candidate has a large jar with her name on it and the voting is done by cash donations: the girl with the most money in her jar wins.

Rodeo opens

It seemed a golden opportunity to publicize Capt. Flowers' program and to raise money for a much-needed community center in Penshurst. It was the first such event in Costa Rica. In Penshurst enthusiasm ran high.

All preparations were made. Capt. Flowers would give the handling exhibitions and demonstrate how venom

Penshurst's Snake Rodeo Queen is crowned at final ceremony by Raymond Telles, U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rica. Peace Corps Director Richard Enslen holds the queen's hand. Author and Capt. Flowers, and their reptile friends, kneel in front.

is extracted. These events would be held Friday, Saturday and Sunday mornings in a large pen built on the cement porch of the schoolhouse, thus affording a good view for spectators in the yard. Saturday night the dance would be held in a salon which everyone helped put up.

Prizes set

Sunday afternoon there would be trophies and cash awards for the largest coral caught, the largest fer-de-lance, another to the man who caught the most poisonous snakes and a compensation prize for the smallest coral. U.S. Ambassador Raymond Telles would present the awards and make a speech. He also donated a trophy, along with Col. Springer, commanding officer of the Army Mission in San Jose, and Lt. Col. Seely. Richard Enslen, Peace Corps director in Costa Rica, donated the crown. All was in readiness but, just as a certain modest ingredient is often necessary to lift a hearty stew from the tasty to the sublime, so *something*, some *presence*, seemed lacking to tie the whole occasion together and really make it swing. It was at this point that Arthur Seldin, as if in answer to a prayer, made the scene.

Hero enters

He was more than seven feet long, very handsome with a kind of dress-khaki olive color around his head and the front part of his body, tapering down to a deep blue-black tail. His kind is locally called *sabanera*, a non-poisonous species related to the Florida indigo snake.

Arthur, however, was indifferent to genealogy and when someone once remarked, "Funny, you don't look Jewish," he simply flicked out his tongue. To me it never seemed any more surprising that a snake should be called Arthur Seldin than a man should have been called Sitting Bull.

Because of his gentleness, his handsomeness and his size, Arthur became extremely popular. People who normally shrink in terror at the mere sight of a snake would first touch him with quivering hands, then hold him all a-tremble, finally draping him around their necks.

It was touching to see how his gentle disposition bestowed courage upon even the most timid souls. One

—*'Funny, you don't look Jewish'*

of the peculiar ambivalences of human nature is the simultaneous repulsion and fascination snakes hold for man. No one goes to a zoo and misses the snakehouse. The sight of a snake coiled in a cage, doing absolutely *nothing*, will rivet a man's attention longer than the most daring acrobatics of a longtailed monkey.

He gave his all

Arthur was the hit of the show. At the exhibitions people from the entire region—Boy Scouts and schoolteachers, city folk and *campesinos*—had their photographs taken in the schoolyard with Arthur wrapped around their necks.

His crowning moment, literally, came at the coronation of the queen, who, in white dress and pearl crown, proudly posed with Arthur draped over her shoulders. Many oldtimers proclaimed the dance as the finest and most successful Penshurst ever had. A mood of jubilation set upon the town. Sunday morning there were more people than ever at the exhibition and Arthur was in constant demand. In the afternoon Ambassador Telles arrived and, accompanied by a spontaneous calypso group, everyone marched to the site of the proposed community center for the grand presentation of trophies and awards. Speeches were made expressing welcome, gratitude, confidence in the future.

Arthur, held by the school director, had been on the platform during the ceremonies. But the course of these three hectic days had taken its toll and when he was returned to his cage Sunday evening he could scarcely move. The next day he was fittingly buried in the very schoolhouse yard where he had his greatest success and achieved his greatest fame. He had given everything he had.

A fitting memorial

Penshurst wants to have a snake rodeo as an annual affair. I hope they do, but it's going to be difficult. Other places are somewhat jealous of Penshurst's success, of the fact that it netted over 2,300 *colones* ($350) for the community center. There is talk of having it next year in Limón, the largest town in the province and its capital. The argument is that transportation is difficult to Penshurst. That's true, but someday there will be a road and who knows but that the rodeo may help make that day soon rather than late. A snake rodeo belongs in the country. Penshurst has a good thing in the rodeo and these small places need every good thing they can get. The first rodeo was something altogether new, organized and held on the relatively short notice of two months, and Penshurst saw many ways by which the next one can be improved. It was an important event in the development of the community and future rodeos will add considerably to future developments, as witnessed by the fact that even the modest success of the first snake rodeo was enough to start a community center. Some even want to call it the Arthur Seldin Community Center.

Robert Drew has been a community developer in Costa Rica since last fall.

Volunteer Drew uncoils writhing exhibit for curious crowd.

Capt. Flowers "milks" venom of viper into collecting tank.

Where the Peace Corps does its own training, prospective Volunteers talk about "pulling a zebra" if they can't survive the "commit-pit." But there is more than a new jargon at in-house training sites—there is a new unstructured approach to overseas preparation. Some of the procedures follow proposals of the Education Task Force, reported in our February issue, for more seminars, more practical work in unfamiliar environments, more individual reading and research, more trainee participation in decision-making and evaluation of the training program. This article examines how some of these concepts are being applied. It is a look at the Puerto Rico program and its effect on trainees and staff.

Puerto Rico:

training style without shape

"Thirteen weeks is nice for the States," comments a Peace Corps trainee about the program going on in Puerto Rico, "but down here you age a lot faster." That's what the new kind of Peace Corps training program is all about.

"Unstructured" is the key word used to describe the first training set up by staff members (most of them returned Volunteers) to let trainees, in essence, plan their own program. "The first couple of weeks are chaos," say staffers. "They're hell," say trainees.

The methodology has swept Peace Corps training centers in Hawaii and the Virgin Islands, as well as Puerto Rico where it all began. By mid-May, in fact, Puerto Rico's two camps, Radley and Crozier, had housed a winter pilot group (Ecuador RCA/ Colonization and Latin America Regional Arts and Crafts) and were nearing the tail end of their second "unstructured" training session. This summer about 600 of an estimated 8,800 trainees will participate in the already established "unstructured" programs.

Before he led Radley and Crozier onto a new training path, Dick Hopkins, then Director of Training in Puerto Rico and now Deputy Director of Training for the Agency for International Development, called training in the Peace Corps "about the squarest thing in the agency." Hopkins felt that the average program taught a trainee to do a job, but not to "live a life."

He said that most Peace Corps programs were saddled with "most of the trappings of the undergraduate life with all or most of its *in loco parentis* rules and regulations, its classroom blackboards, its textbooks and reading lists, its air-conditioned dorms and student-union atmosphere."

Role-centered

Hopkins called his own approach to training a "role-centered" approach (others have subsequently tagged it "heuristic"). "Its purpose," said Hopkins, "is to prepare the Volunteer to undertake a kind of total role as a change agent whatever his technical specialty, his prior professional or technical training. The technical skill (if any) is perceived as a kind of peg to hang a way of life on, and the process of the training program is considered to be as important as the subject matter."

"It's the whole idea of: look into yourself for resources," says Herb Eling, a Crozier trainee who hopes to end up in Venezuela this summer. "It's not being able to fight the institution, because there is none—we make the institution. Here there hasn't been any real authority figure but ourselves."

"It's maturing in a Peace Corps fashion," says another trainee.

Crozier and Radley (situated three miles apart) are located in the midst of a rain forest, 15 miles from the closest community, Arecibo.

They are reached by a bumpy ride over a narrow, snaking mountain road in a government vehicle—in one like "Leo's horse" (the mailman's truck, so christened by trainees) or in a sedan like that used by Acting Training Director Carl Ehmann, who has to keep the trunk of his car stuck down with masking tape. The trunk occasionally creaks slowly open, and Ehmann has to stop and run around to the back of the car to tape it down again.

At both camps, trainees live in long, rough-planked, closetless *casetas* topped with "G.I." (tin) roofs. Each *caseta* can house 12 trainees. Cold showers and sanitary facilities are outdoors. *Casetas* for married trainees are divided into single rooms, one to a couple. Everyone eats in the *comedor* (cafeteria), which serves hardy,

Studying Spanish in an outdoor classroom: Puerto Rico's answer to "air-conditioned dorms and student-union atmosphere."

starchy camp food, and each trainee cleans his own tin food tray in drums of boiling water.

The spring training group—slated for Colombia, Ecuador, Venezuela, Costa Rica, Peru, and the Dominican Republic—started out with nearly 200 trainees. At the beginning of May, the Ecuador and Dominican Republic groups left for further training in their respective countries; those training for the Dominican Republic will return to Puerto Rico for three weeks after their three-week stint in the host country. The trainees range in background from a "real cowboy" (a rodeo man) to a philosophy major to a claims adjuster, although the majority are recent business administration graduates. They will be serving overseas as community developers and cooperative workers.

The initiation

On arrival, the trainees were told to organize—but not told how. They later labeled this initiation into the program "commit-pit," reports Jim Fitzgerald, camp director for Crozier and a former Volunteer in Chile. "Trainees said it was like throwing a person into a pit by not telling him what to do but forcing him to do something."

In a one-day orientation, trainees were given excerpts from program descriptions which gave them as much documented background as the staff had about what their jobs would be overseas.

The resources

Staff biographies were placed in the library so that the group could see where each staff member's field of knowledge and experience was strongest. They also received packets which included case studies and camp rules (the trainees are expected to maintain the camp), "the only Mickey Mouse rules in the program," says one trainee.

Four-hour-a-day Spanish classes had been "structured in" to the program before the trainees arrived, although if a trainee feels his Spanish is good enough he is not required to attend classes. Jon Epstein, a former Volunteer in the Philippines, coordinates language classes at both camps through the use of native speakers of Spanish or their FSI equivalent. He doesn't look for professional instructors, but teaches Spanish speakers new linguistic methods himself. "The trainees are getting as much Spanish as they can possibly handle. In this kind of program, we can't count how many hours that makes—between 300 or 400 probably. Sometimes classes go on until midnight," says Jim Fitzgerald.

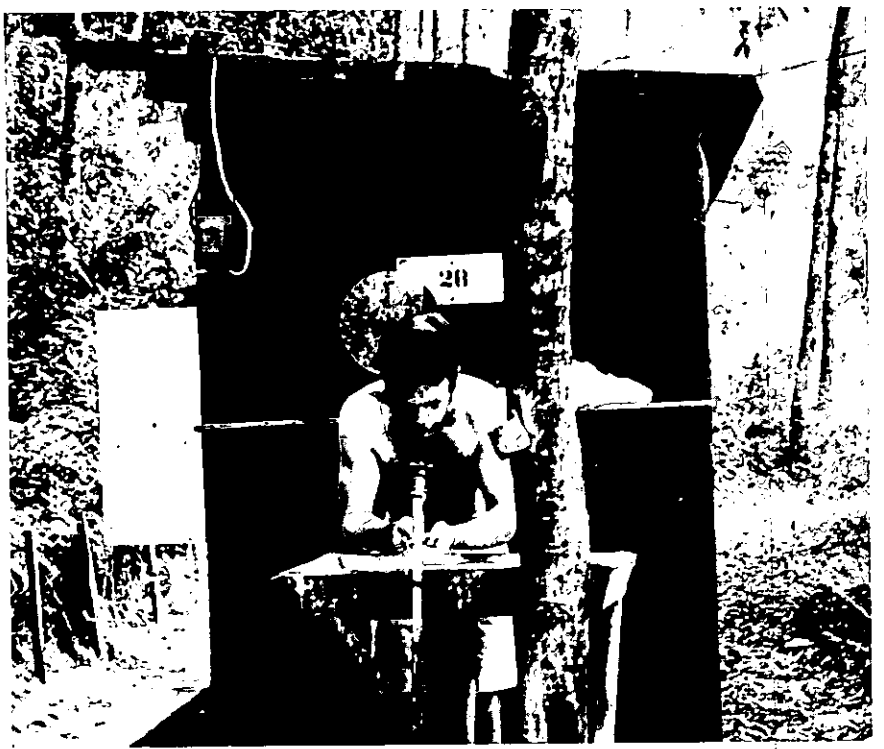
Coordinator of cultural and political affairs Al Galves, who was a Volunteer in Peru, handed trainees a list of guest lecturers who had been scheduled beforehand by the staff. Each lecturer is given an initial two-hour meeting with the trainees to interest them in what he's got to say. After that, it's completely up to the group as to how the lecturer will be used during the remainder of his three-day stay. Points out Carl Ehmann: "This makes some lecturers jittery."

Most are utilized as much as time allows—Andrew Kopkind, a writer for *The New Republic*, for instance, was kept up talking one night until 1 a.m. But a few lecturers have been ignored by the trainees—who often pull two or three staff members aside to see whether staffers consider the lecturer relevant or not. One man made his initial speech and wasn't approached by a trainee the rest of the time he was at the camp. "Fitzgerald," says Ehmann, "kept trying to encourage him to leave. Everytime Leo would go down to Arecibo in the mail truck, Jim would make sure this guy knew he could have a

ride down. But he was determined to stick to his three-day contract."

Evaluation and social change groups, which meet once a week, are also part of the structure. In the evaluation groups, trainees meet with a staff member to talk about the program; in the social change groups, they talk about themselves.

"The first two weeks of training were pretty well wasted," says Paul Brown, a trainee headed for Colombia. "Every time we'd go up to a staff member to try to get some information, he'd throw back at us: 'I don't know, what do you think?' It would throw me every time. We just about had a revolution here about that."



Cold water, again. Hot water was a "felt need" but the project flopped.

At a lecture, for instance, the speaker, Carl Oglesby of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), tried to find out what community development workers do. "Do they ever work with unions?" he asked the trainees. Silence. Finally someone said, "Sometimes." More silence. Another trainee said, "There's an ex-Volunteer here who worked with a union." Oglesby looked around the room. "John worked with a union," said another trainee. "Did you work with a union, John?" asked Oglesby. "Yes, I worked with a union," said John Kostishack.

"You understand," says Kostishack, a former Volunteer in Ecuador, "why we do this." Non-directive methods seem to revolve around two theories: not only do easy answers tend to be just as easily forgotten, but even more important, individual impressions of ex-Volunteers can mislead trainees. "It's hard," explains Jim Fitzgerald, "for a person to put his experiences into a meaningful scope."

"Theoretically," he goes on, "this kind of program takes the burden off the staff. You can't tell the trainees what to do, and you can't tell them what not to do. Everything comes about through personal contact. The staff has a lot of difficulties in trying to figure out where am I now—am I friend, authoritarian, and so on. It's kind of trying on everybody."

Ehmann takes another tack: "I've never seen a group exercise so much self-restraint," he says of the staff.

"I feel there are some individuals on the staff that are talking my language," agrees Rich Farris, who's training for Venezuela. Comments another trainee: "Most of the staff are dedicated to what they are doing. My only objection is, some are fanatical."

"It took me awhile," says Colombia trainee John McGonigal, "to see what they were trying to do. I was completely lost." But after floundering for a couple of weeks, trainees suddenly began posting full-day class schedules on the bulletin board in the *comedor*, and pig and chicken co-ops cropped up around the camps. A few people at Radley decided—through the use of what looked like good community development principles—that a definite "felt need" was a hot shower co-op (at 10¢ a shower). There wasn't that much interest, however; materials turned out to be expensive, and the heater kept blowing out fuses. The co-op never really seemed to get off the ground.

At Crozier, a group built Mama's Tienda, which did so well selling India (the local beer), soft drinks, and snacks, that two local *tienda* (store or hangout) owners down the road who depended on trainees for most of their business put the squeeze on, says Tim Davis, training for Colombia. Tomasito, who was in the process of remodeling his *tienda* at the time, would come down to Mama's in the evening and sit around looking sad as he bemoaned the expense of his remodeling job. Jorge, the second *tienda* owner, just stopped doing the trainees' laundry. The *tienda* co-op decided to yield to pressure and cut back the store's business to one night a week.

In the field

Field training, another "structured" item, begins early in the game. A total of three weekends, and two or three full weeks at the end of the training period, are spent with a Puerto Rican family which may or may not have accommodated trainees from other programs (one trainee checked in the back of her family's Bible before she left and discovered nine trainees had preceded her).

On the first weekend, the trainee is dumped in a community and told to find a place to stay for the remainder of his field training. When Larry Popejoy couldn't find an available bed in his *barrio* in the mountains above Lares the first night, he turned up in a neighboring *barrio* about midnight at the home of a Puerto Rican who had housed previous trainees and had just taken on a new one, Mary MacKelvey. Don Miguel provided Popejoy with a roof for the night and sent him to a relative the next day. "It's harder for men than for women to find a place to stay," comments trainee Jerry Hoogerwerf. "It's even harder if you speak good Spanish."

Subsequent weekends are spent getting acquainted with the family and the community and preparing for the

"Instead of schedules that preclude reading, research . . . more time must be left to individual learning"—Task Force Report.

three-week-long visit at the end of training. "Three weeks isn't enough to accomplish anything," complains Lee Rhoads, "but it's too long just to get to know people. It's a problem if you can't get in a project to occupy your time."

A few trainees have been lucky enough to stumble onto something. Hoogerwerf, for instance, discovered that his *barrio* was in the process of building a road down to the main highway, something he could get involved in. Mary MacKelvey started to organize adult English classes. "What will happen to them when you leave?" asked Radley staffer Shirlee Owens, a former Volunteer in Colombia. Miss MacKelvey decided instead to work with a woman from Lares who was helping the community start a Girl Scout troop.

"It was artificial at first," says trainee Kerry Berry. "But after awhile that faded away. As far as field training goes, it's two different worlds."

The trainees' final evaluation seems to be: "You hate like *hell* to go out there, but once you get there, you hate like *hell* to come back."

After ten weeks, says Carl Ehmann, "the trainees get kind of wise." They reach a point of such sophistication—from reading, from lectures, from small group discussions, from living in the field and working on their co-ops, that they are well enough informed on a subject to drag from the staff an answer to their questions. As a result, around that time trainees and staffers started getting together for "war stories," something the staff had been trying to hold back from since the beginning of training. "War stories" are what the trainees call the tales that staff members tell about their Volunteer experiences, and most trainees felt they should have been started much earlier in the program.

Self-selection

The biggest thing to come out of the new type of training, both staff and trainees seem to agree, is the evolution of a new attitude towards selection. To begin with, Director Vaughn has recently decreed that no one is to be de-selected at midboards (except in groups scheduled for in-country training). This places more emphasis on self-selection. Aside from the fact that the new rule appears to relieve much of the pressure of selection, attitudes towards de-selection still seem much more casual in Puerto Rico than they have been reported to be in other training centers. "The trainees seem to feel," remarks resident psychologist Fred Strassberger, "that if I can't be a Volunteer, I can always do something else."

The spring training group has even gone so far as to make a game of it. They have dispensed with the term "de-selection." The latest term is—"he's pulled a zebra." When a trainee leaves camp and goes to strip his bed, he finds a striped mattress underneath the bed clothes. So when someone is planning a "zebra," he hints around the camp that he's going—he may rip a piece of ticking off the mattress and stick it in his back pocket—or he might leave "zebra signs" around the classrooms.

"Whenever anyone makes a special visit to me," says Strassberger, "his odds, posted on the bulletin board by the trainees, go way down—5 to 1, 2 to 1. I think a lot of it is due to the easy-going staff (they all call me Fred, for instance): mostly to the whole atmosphere of the ex-Volunteers." It's part of the "low-key style" of the program.

Venezuela, originally composed of 41 trainees, is down to 28. Colombia, once 23, is now 16. "People have been doing a lot of self-evaluation," says Lee Rhoads. "Some of it is due to this type of program, I think. A lot of people see what the life is going to be like a little bit; maybe some

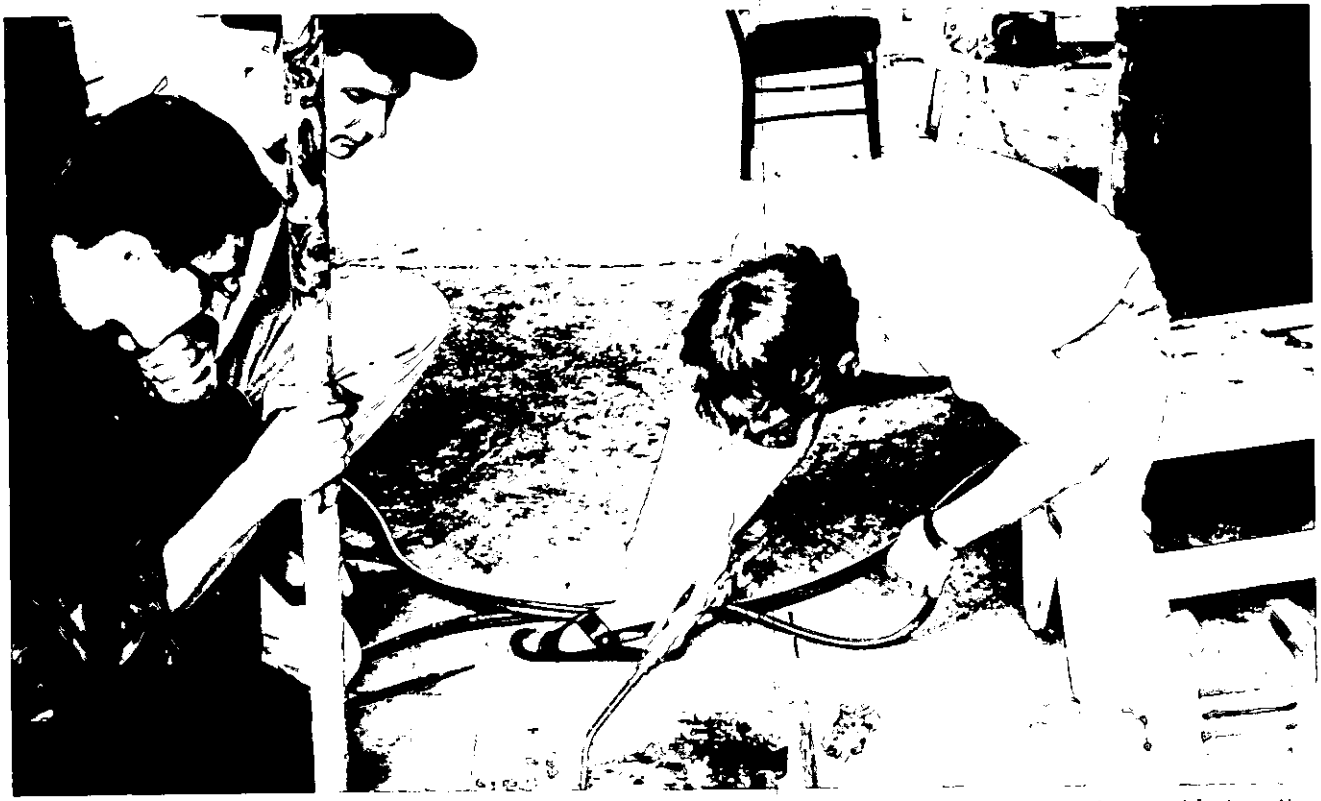
War stories: staff members relate their Volunteer experiences. Trainees say they should have started earlier in the program.

people see they just aren't for it."

Some of the "zebras," points out Carl Ehmann, are simply transferring to other Peace Corps programs, like teaching.

The trainees do some of their own selecting, too. When one man who looked pretty good to the staff decided to leave because he claimed he wasn't getting enough out of training, the staff talked him into staying. The trainees protested and said he shouldn't stay—he was a nice, pleasant person, but he didn't do anything. The staff knew that, says Ehmann, but they didn't have to serve with him as Volunteers. And termination conferences are riddled with complaints by Volunteers of the burden placed on them by weak Volunteers.

In the first weeks of the program, a few Crozier trainees decided to see how the rest felt about the program as a whole, and they sat down to write an evaluation questionnaire. Less than half the trainees filled it out. A lot of them thought it was a staff plant.



The technical skill is perceived as a kind of peg to hang a way of life on; process counts as much as subject matter.

Trainees shooting pool at Jorge's: "You can't tell the trainees what to do, and you can't tell them what not to do. Everything comes about through personal contact," says staffer Jim Fitzgerald.

"They get possessive about the program," explains Ehmann. "They resent interference by the staff."

About 50 trainees did fill out a second questionnaire, which was distributed towards the tenth week of training. According to the results, more than half the trainees felt the program should have had more structure given not by the trainees but by the staff.

"The first thing we did with the unstructured program was to structure it," says Judy Burke, although most trainees agree that they structured it too much. "At the beginning," says John McGonigal, "I was so against the unstructured program, it was unbelievable. But I finally realized this was what had to be done—what it would be like in Colombia." Now most trainees feel a completely unstructured program is almost as bad as a completely structured one. They'd like the line to be drawn just a little to the left of center, leaning towards the unstructured pole.

One of the program areas most sharply criticized by trainees was that of technical skills. "The program had faults," complains one trainee, "mainly because the staff wasn't equipped to handle co-op programs."

"But," says another, "you find out you really know more than you think you know. You won't be there to run a co-op like a business, anyway. You'll want to teach people to throw off old ways." The trainees were also given an intensive one-week course in accounting, points out Fitzgerald, which they didn't seem to take into consideration as a technical skill.

Carl Ehmann was especially pleased with the answers to the last question on the mimeo'ed evaluation sheet: "Do you believe you have been adequately trained?" A little more than half of the trainees said no—nearly all qualified their answers with, "It's impossible to be adequately trained."

Says Ehmann: "I don't know of many other Peace Corps trainees that would have enough knowledge about what they'll be doing to know that much."

At the grass roots: envy or respect?

By **KIRBY JONES**

According to Mr. Larry Mirel (THE VOLUNTEER, April), "when our Volunteers hobnob with villagers and spend their leisure hours with their students, they are reflecting their belief that all men are created equal and possessed of equal dignity, regardless of birth or wealth. But our hosts may not see things that way."

If this is indeed the attitude which our "hosts" foster and if by living at the higher level of society, Peace Corps Volunteers support it—then it is clear that we are helping to perpetuate the denial of these most basic beliefs. I doubt if there is any Peace Corps activity anywhere in the world in which this is, or should be, the goal. That the Peace Corps could consider working against the concept of equality is inconceivable in any context.

In most Latin American countries a rich Indian will not have the same status as a rich Spaniard, whereas in many African nations, material wealth may very well bring equal status and prestige. In Latin countries the aristocracy exerts much of its energy to maintain its position by keeping the masses down, while in Africa there are many who see the material growth of the poor as leading to greater buying power and hence a larger market for goods.

It is in this context that Volunteers are working. As Mr. Mirel would have it, Volunteers in Africa would live at the level of officials of the country in order to set the example for the villagers and not to offend the upper classes. I seriously question whether Volunteers should, by being the example of the white, upper-class official, support the status quo, support the perpetuation of the inherent inferiority complexes of the villagers begun by the patronizing—albeit benevolent—colonialists.

It is more than a bit presumptuous to say, as Mr. Mirel does, that "despite injustices, bitterness, and exploitation . . . there is much evidence that in the long run the people who were colonized are better off than those who were not." (By whose evidence are they better off? And if they are, how? This reminds me of those who say Trujillo was good for the Dominican Republic because he built roads and kept streets clean.)

This seems to be the typically cultural-imperialistic view that the Haves know what the Have-nots need, that we are doctors and they are patients. Is this not similar to the many middle class Americans who tell the Negro that to make the grade all he has to do is adopt white, middle class mores and standards? Is it not, therefore, in the realm of Peace Corps activity to demonstrate to African villagers that a white foreigner is not the absolute ideal or pattern, that there is as much dignity in being a black, tribal African speaking his own language as there is, for example, in speaking French, acting French, and being French?

Mr. Mirel writes that Volunteers run the risk of being resented if they associate with the villagers—I ask, by whom? Volunteers will breed contempt—I ask, whose? The way that Volunteers live depends on cultural values—I ask again, whose? The African villagers do not seem to be complaining. They may be puzzled, but this happens when any American assumes a way of life that we call "less developed".

Mobility needed

What Mirel describes could not be less true in Latin America. There, the Peace Corps thrust is aimed directly at villagers—not so they can achieve "success" as seen by the established wealthy, but so they can achieve success as seen by themselves. The most effective way to promote this has been for the Volunteer to live as close as possible to the level of the villagers.

To be sure, Volunteers have been questioned about what they were trying to prove. But this has been a passing judgment, based on lack of communication and understanding. Once understanding is achieved, the Volunteers have been in the most advantageous position as a link among government officials, members of the wealthy classes and the local villagers. Social mobility has proved one of the most useful Volunteer tools. This mobility is only possible if Volunteers start at the village level and move up. The reverse is impossible.

Living in limited surroundings for its own sake should not, of course, be a Peace Corps goal in itself. There may be certain situations where it would be advisable for a Volunteer to live in conditions of a higher standard. But I suspect they are few and far between.

Mr. Mirel cites Volunteers who comment that a Volunteer teacher in Africa "must live like a 'European' if he is to have the respect of his students, and therefore be an effective teacher." Based not only on experience in other areas of the world but also on the laws of human nature, there are other ways to gain respect than by living the affluent life surrounded by vehicles, refrigerators and servants. In fact, Volunteers may be the only Americans overseas who hold the confidence and trust of the villagers of the developing nations. Affluence has spawned envy but rarely respect. Are Volunteers to be envied for their refrigerators or respected as people?

To support this, I cite the fact that Mr. Mirel did not make one reference to what villagers think—only to officials. Does the Peace Corps work for officials or with villagers?

I, for one, cannot support a position which cites, with apparent approval, a statement that "the natives are a great nation of imitators, and when they see the Americans acting like this (living at the village level), they believe that there is no need for them to improve." It is that sort of statement—and the smug attitude it represents—which has brought the West to its present pass; a Peace Corps Volunteer—or a staff member—who believes this is in the wrong business. I support Mr. Mirel's basic premise that Peace Corps policies need to be flexible, but let us examine the reasons why.

A rejoinder

Mr. Mirel replies: Kirby Jones employs the dubious forensic technique of identifying me with certain outrageous statements I quoted in the article, and then, on the strength of those statements, denouncing me as a racist and cultural imperialist. Of

Kirby Jones was a Volunteer in the Dominican Republic. He is now in Washington as Program Operations Officer for Ecuador.

course I don't agree with the VSO volunteer who speaks condescendingly of the "natives," or with the African official who complains that Peace Corps Volunteers mix too freely with Africans, or with the Volunteer who wants to live like a European, as any objective, fair-minded reader of my article would see.

The statements are quoted in my article simply to support the point, which apparently Mr. Jones has missed completely, that the Peace Corps overseas deals with persons from a great variety of cultural settings, and this calls for a similar variety of approaches. My argument is not with the Peace Corps aim of promoting grass roots democracy, with which I agree completely, but with our naïve assumption that we can communicate this concept with the same techniques in Tunis as we use in Chimbote, Peru. A Volunteer who chooses to walk in Chimbote may thereby gain the respect of the people of Chimbote; in Tunis he might be laughed at for the same behavior. To get across Peace Corps aims it may be necessary to walk in Chimbote. In Tunis it may not only not be necessary, it may actually be counter-productive. The key to our success must be a more profound knowledge of the culture in which we are working at each site, and a willingness to set different rules in different countries when necessary to enable the Volunteers to accomplish Peace Corps purposes in the most effective manner.

I would like to apologize to Mr. Gidley (see following letter) for giving the impression that all VSO volunteers have the attitude expressed in the passage quoted from the British newspaper. The VSO is a fine outfit, and the opinions of its volunteers range as widely, presumably, as those of Peace Corps Volunteers.

A VSO complaint

To The Volunteer:

Unintentionally—I trust—Mr. Mirel presents an unfortunate picture of Voluntary Service Overseas in "On Exporting American Values," (The Volunteer, April). By contrasting "the Peace Corps principle of modest living" with the patronizing opinion of *one* returned VSO volunteer he implies that VSO has "roots in Europe's colonial practices." This implication should not pass unchallenged.

If VSO has a single principle—and I find that VSO principles and policies are openly more flexible than those of the Peace Corps and vary fantastically from country to country and project to project—it is certainly no less a principle of modest living than that of the Peace Corps.

There is only one (slight) significant difference between the organizations as far as ideas go. When VSO began, it took volunteers straight from grammar school at 18. (To a lesser extent it still does and I hope that Mr. Mirel's volunteer was such a one—in which case she still has a chance to grow wiser!)

One of the founders' ideas was that these young people be put into situations from which *they* would benefit by contact with another people; they would have nothing but enthusiasm to offer and everything to gain; they would learn as much as teach.

Today most volunteers are university graduates but this philosophy still has a place; great stress is placed on each volunteer's getting to know the host people for himself. Hence only minimum instruction about the host country is given in training and volunteers are expected to live at the material level of their hosts whenever this is possible and desirable. As far as I could see during two years in Nigeria, volunteers did just that. Also, as there are fewer volunteers in the field, they mix less with each other and consequently get to know their hosts better than the average Peace Corps Volunteer.

Of course the immense colonial past hangs over many a VSO head; but each one must learn to live with it, somehow. Living with it is not living it. The only direct colonial inheritance within VSO itself is the devotion of several VSO staff members who were formerly as devoted to those peoples a warped history had given to their charge (as District Officers, etc.); these men were among the first of their countrymen (or yours) to see the great possibilities and demands for organizations such as the Peace Corps and VSO.

Mick Gidley
Returned VSO Volunteer
Chicago

A plug for hair shirt philosophy

To The Volunteer:

The best thing about your "another opinion" articles is their SB-factor, that is, snowball effect. Not only do opinions breed other opinions, thus leading to understanding and effective action, but they just might have the side effect of stirring some drowsy Volunteers (as in my case).

The "opinion" with which I would like to differ is found in the April Volunteer: "On Exporting American Values" by Larry Mirel.

To me, Mirel's article boils down to a capitulation of the most essential ideals—the very life blood—of the Peace Corps. He allows that "the most important part of the Peace Corps assignment is the work of the individual Volunteer overseas—not just his assigned job, but the whole impact of his being in that country."

But, in a mistaken effort at achieving "flexibility," the substance of his writing urges the diluting or loss of the "whole impact" for the sake of a narrowly conceived "assigned job."

Labeling as "American" the belief that all men are created equal and possessed of equal dignity, regardless of birth or wealth, and the belief that service to others is more admirable than self-aggrandizement, he claims that Volunteers should not promote these beliefs where "our hosts may not see things that way."

He says that many Volunteer teachers in Africa okay the so-called "hair shirt" attitude for community development workers, but claim: "a teacher in Africa must live like a 'European' if he is to have the respect of his students and therefore be an effective teacher."

And I violently disagree with the author when he says: "where poverty breeds contempt, the Volunteer should be given enough to live at a level that will enable him to work in the most efficient and effective manner."

First of all, in regard to "values," I am under the impression that the Peace Corps is sent only to those countries where the existing government is at least nominally committed to building a "good society." And while many values do and should stop at national and cultural frontiers, I believe that equal dignity and selfless service are universal principles, derivable from the nature of man, who is the common denominator of the world. As such, these principles are indispensable ingredients in the creation of a good

society under any flag of the world.

I grant that a teacher must have the respect of his students in order to be an effective teacher. But is fitting into the students' stereotype of a European teacher the only way that a Volunteer teacher can gain the respect of his students, or is such a superficial respect even worth gaining? I suggest that those Volunteers who answer "yes" break off and form their own "European-Style Teaching Corps" and let the other Volunteers go about their "very special work."

Assuming that the living allowance I have been receiving for a year and a half in Ecuador is roughly equivalent to that given in other Peace Corps countries, some clarification is in order about the Peace Corps Volunteer standard of living.

Critics of the Peace Corps' worldwide insistence on modest living have dubbed the policy "hair shirt." But far from being hairy, the living allowance doesn't force any Volunteer into a subsistence existence but it does and should force *every* Volunteer into a modest manner of living.

An initial lack of respect by his students is a reasonable price for a Volunteer teacher to pay if two years' actions get across to some of his students and the general populace the belief that poverty, in itself, is no reason for contempt and that modest living can be praiseworthy.

Let's never compromise our very special approach for a patronizing European-to-native, doctor-to-patient or even for a teacher-to-student approach. Let our approach bear witness to the universal brotherhood of man. In some respects we might be precocious brothers—but always brothers!

We Peace Corps Volunteers are such a tiny army. We must make up in roar what we lack in numbers. When, giving in to a natural and commendable urge to get a specific job done, we start squeaking in unison with all the other development groups, then we and our "very special work" will be lost. Nobody listens to a mouse that squeaks.

With advance apologies to my Ecuadorian colleagues and other pun-pained readers, let me conclude by urging: Hair, hair, let's not shave the shirts!

JOHN BRUNING

Quito, Ecuador

Better definitions needed

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I am a Volunteer supposedly working in urban community development in Chile. It is right at this point where we first become hampered in terms of "effectiveness." I say this because as far as I know the Peace Corps has no "working" definition of urban community development. Mr. Mirel made this quite clear when he said: "But the most important part of the Peace Corps assignment is the work of the individual Volunteer overseas — not just his assigned job, but the whole impact of his being in that country—and no universal set of rules ought to be allowed to interfere."

I question Mr. Mirel on his second point, for if we do not have a "working" definition of urban CD for the Copiapo area, for instance, this means that we have no real goals in mind for this area other than those generally implied in our meaning of "image," which means, in part, where we live. One may say, "oh, but such definitions are left up to the individual Volunteer to decide." In answer to this comment, I would like to point to a specific example and perhaps come to a conclusion:

No less than eight Volunteers have worked in Copiapo (including the three now working here) in the last four years. At the end of this four-year period the only real effect manifested through our presence is that people who have known these Volunteers generally feel more warmth towards Americans than they felt before. This sole effect is due to a phenomenon that Mr. Mirel ably described when he said "service to others is more to be admired than self-aggrandizement."

Our conclusion here is that our "image" creating has had little or no effect in terms of helping people to establish institutions by which some very serious and real human problems can be solved and that after four years we haven't yet begun to establish overall goals for Copiapo as a Peace Corps organization.

I question the validity of whether our living conditions have any serious ramifications in terms of urban CD. People living in the urban situation are accustomed to thinking more in terms of institutions rather than in terms of individual initiative, thinking, etc.; in a word, people are concerned about group worth rather than individual worth if they are concerned about the community at all. This necessarily means that the Volunteer, in this same situation, must identify himself with the host country institution if he is going to make his presence felt. Preferably the Volunteer should be in this type of situation (that is, clearly defined objectives between the Volunteer and the institution should be established as to avoid political haggling, general confusion, etc.) no later than two months after he has entered his community. Actually, this process should be set into motion even before the Volunteer arrives at his site. I personally consider this a very important step to be taken if the Volunteer is to be effective in the urban situation as a community developer. We can readily see that this process called "entry" has nothing to do (in most cases) with where one lives.

JOE TOMAINO

Copiapo, Chile

Making fun?

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I enjoyed your article, "On Exporting American Values." It was timely, and to the point. The difference between the British attitude as expressed by the VSO volunteer and the American approach were well defined and illustrative.

However, I wish to point out that THE VOLUNTEER is read by a number of national counterparts and must therefore be careful of what it prints, especially anything that could be considered as an affront to the various host countries that Peace Corps serves. The article in question would undoubtedly be worthwhile to the educated youth of many of these countries. I wonder if you thought of the reaction of a young Brazilian, Ghanaian, or Indian who upon reading an article devoted to the principle of building a new society based on their own values was confronted with a cartoon that he could only understand as making fun of his country's underdeveloped state.

KENDALL ROBERT FURLONG

Cuiabá, Brazil

If you want to share your views on subjects of general interest to the Peace Corps, write THE VOLUNTEER, *Peace Corps, Washington, D.C. 20525.*

Kennedy proposes peace corps for the hemisphere

Senator Robert F. Kennedy has proposed a multinational peace corps for the Western Hemisphere.

In a Senate speech on Latin American affairs, the New York senator said that "Americans from both North and South could join for work in their own or other American countries, as well as the United States."

Kennedy said that "the (U.S.) Peace Corps has shown that young people can make a difference—to individuals, to communities, to whole nations. It has given to thousands of young Americans an opportunity for direct action in support of their ideals; and a hemispheric peace corps can and should do the same for Americans south of the Rio Grande."

"I would hope that our own Peace Corps would become clearly aligned with it," he said. "The two corps should work together."

"The benefits of such participation would be as great for us as for them," he added. "It could add to the efforts of our Peace Corps, and to the work of such groups as the International Voluntary Service and the Papal Volunteers, thousands of eager workers, thoroughly knowledgeable about Latin America . . . such a corps might one day become the nucleus of a true hemispheric community."

Kennedy suggested that the hemispheric peace corps would be one way for the youth of Latin America to have "a full chance to participate in the building of their continent." In this vein he noted the growth of national voluntary service organizations in such countries as Peru, Chile, Venezuela and Brazil, and he urged more Latin American nations to form their own peace corps.

FSO tests

The 1966 examination for Foreign Service officer careers will be given at many locations in the United States and overseas on December 3. Interested Volunteers may obtain application forms from the Department of State. Completed forms should be sent to the Board of Examiners for the Foreign Service, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D. C. 20520.

Memorandum

TO : The field DATE: July, 1966

FROM : The editors

SUBJECT: Shoes, socks and solipsistic Volunteers

Run, Volunteer, Run: A Connecticut woman saw a film in which a Volunteer used discarded nylon stockings to tie up an animal. Inspired, the woman writes that she has a quantity of old nylons that she would be happy to distribute to Volunteers "who might be able to use them for this or any other purpose." Refer your orders to the Division of Volunteer Non-Support Stockings.

☐ ☐ ☐

British writer Richard West asked a young American lady why she chose to serve abroad with a volunteer organization other than the Peace Corps. Her reply: "I gave up wearing sneakers when I left college. Don't you know how the Peace Corps Volunteers all wear sneakers and jeans. And they're so dirty."

☐ ☐ ☐

Sequel to apple pie and Stars and Stripes? Volunteer Barry Vogel has forwarded a Peruvian newspaper clipping of a photographed blonde American bathing beauty. The caption says that the "girl with the gold bikini is as North American as chewing gum and the Peace Corps."

☐ ☐ ☐

After attending a reception at the U.S. Embassy in New Delhi, Mr. Caskie Stinnett complained that the Peace Corps Volunteers in attendance "were dressed as though they had stopped off at the local pizza joint on the way to a rumble." But that was only half of the indictment. Writing in *Speaking of Holiday*, a publication of *Holiday* magazine, he concluded that Volunteers, "like young people everywhere, inhabit a solipsistic world in which good taste and manners make only a minor intrusion." That sent us to our dictionary for a reading on solipsism, which turns out to be "extreme indulgence of and concern with the self." Something new in the Peace Corps! A solipsistic Volunteer—grand, not bland; seedy, not sacrificial; tacky, not tasteful. Let's rustle up an image antidote: Amy Vanderbilt in the book lockers, tuxedos and patent leather into the foot lockers, and canapés into the beer lockers. Cool everything. We'll have a Volunteer on the best-behaved and best-dressed lists yet.

☐ ☐ ☐

Two staff changes have occurred at THE VOLUNTEER. Susan Murray has accepted a Peace Corps staff job overseas, and John English has returned to our staff after a year's absence to obtain a master's degree at Columbia University School of Journalism. Miss Murray, who was with the magazine for more than a year after her return from service in the Philippines, will be administrative assistant in Somalia. English, who served in Sabah, was a VOLUNTEER editor for a year before he returned to graduate school.

☐ ☐ ☐

A letter from five "camp" Volunteers in Ecuador was received recently by the Division of Volunteer Support:

Dear Sir:

It has been brought to our attention that in neither the Peace Corps library in Ibarra nor any known booklockers is there any reference or data concerning Red Ryder. Sir, please send by return mail the name of Red Ryder's horse.

Education is first choice of former Volunteers

Education is proving more popular than ever among former Volunteers.

A survey of the 6,582 Volunteers who had completed service as of last April 20 has indicated that more than one third of all returnees are back in school and that about one sixth are in teaching or school administration work.

Among those who have gone back to school, 1,673 Volunteers, or 25.4 per cent of all returnees, are pursuing graduate work. A total of 685 former Volunteers, or 10.4 per cent of the total, are enrolled as undergraduates.

The Federal Government is a large employer of returnees. A total of 775 have taken jobs with the government, including 292 with Peace Corps; 115 with the Agency for International Development; 14 with the United States Information Agency; and 10 with the Department of State. State governments claim 94 returnees; county governments 89, and municipal governments 66.

A total of 161 former Volunteers are working in some aspect of the War on Poverty. There are 691 employed by profit-making organizations, 334 who extended or re-enrolled as Volunteers, 288 housewives and 26 persons who are retired.

NY conference

The State of New York has scheduled a conference for former Peace Corps Volunteers interested in teaching in the state. The conference will be at the Statler Hilton Hotel, New York City, August 7-9. School superintendents, university personnel and state civil service representatives will be on hand to meet with returned Volunteers.

ONE-WOMAN SHOW: Volunteer Joann Morrison's art show in Lagos contained a collection of 40 abstracts and figurative paintings depicting scenes of Lagos and nearby areas, all done in the past year. Joann has an M.A. in art from the University of Washington in Seattle. Here she and a Nigerian examine a painting.

The conference is being coordinated by Dr. Paul M. Miwa, who has become a full-time consultant to the New York State Department of Education on matters relating to returned Volunteers. He is a former Peace Corps training director at Syracuse University. Interested Volunteers may write him at the Peace Corps Liaison Office, State Department of Education, Albany, New York 12224.

Woods appointed

Leon E. Woods has been appointed Director of the Office of Management, which includes the audit, personnel, and management service divisions of the Peace Corps. Woods, a Foreign Service officer, has been with the Alliance for Progress for the past year. He succeeds Robert T. Freeman Jr., who was a special assistant to former Director Sargent Shriver and later Associate Director for Management.

Mirel heads Liaison

Larry Mirel has become chief of the liaison staff of the Division of Volunteer Support, succeeding Carl Ehmann, who is serving as director of the Peace Corps training camp at Arecibo, Puerto Rico.

Mirel was formerly special assistant to F. Kingston Berlew, former Acting Associate Director of the Office of Peace Corps Volunteers. Before joining the Peace Corps staff he was legislative assistant to Senator George McGovern (D-S.D.).

Coffey to USIA

Ken Coffey, Deputy Director of Recruiting, has been appointed special assistant to the Director of Personnel and Training for the United States Information Agency. Coffey served the Peace Corps in the Office of Public Affairs for four years.

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