The returned Volunteer as a bureaucrat
Do RPCVs really make a difference?

By PAT BROWN

"The big topic at our termination conference," a returned Volunteer-turned-Washington staffer mused in our office the other day, "was getting a job in Peace Corps Washington. We were all fired up from two years in the field; the man from Washington who came to our conference seemed really interested in our ideas about the Peace Corps, and we were convinced that from our desk in Washington, we would be able to make great changes in the Peace Corps. Too bad we didn't know then what we know now."

What they know now, our roving commentator went on, is that no returned Volunteer in Washington makes great changes in the Peace Corps. He does not, first of all, because he does not hold the kind of job in which policy is made or from which any major change is easily translated into action. And he does not because he comes back from overseas unawed to the communication skills and political personality necessary to provoke change effectively in the government bureaucracy that is Peace Corps Washington.

About 170 returned Volunteers work at Peace Corps headquarters. Comprising one fourth of the total Washington staff, the former Volunteers work in every office of the agency. They recruit, train, evaluate, program and write. They compile statistics and man country desks. They attend meetings, draft letters and memorandums, and answer telephones.

"There's no doubt about it that we do all the work around the place," says one. But returned Volunteers do not make Peace Corps policy.

The ultimate policy is made by two dozen Peace Corps officials—regional directors, office heads and special assistants to the director—who comprise what is called the "senior staff." About half of the senior staff has overseas Peace Corps experience, none as a Volunteer. When the senior staff gathers in weekly council on Tuesday mornings the average returned Volunteer-Washington staffer is probably washing out his coffee cup for the second time that day.

After slightly more than a year in Washington, the returned Volunteer moves on. Some go back overseas as associate Peace Corps directors; this, in fact, is a pattern which is being encouraged: two tours abroad in his mid-twenties. A senior staffer has about 15 years of work experience; he is familiar with administrative procedures. For many returned Volunteers, working for Peace Corps Washington is their first permanent job.

Peace Corps headquarters must concern itself with the opinions of the President, Congress, and the American public. Its members must know how to work with other federal agencies and how to work within a federal budget. Many senior staff members have felt these concerns before; most returned Volunteers have never faced them.

Most former Volunteers are aware of their limitations. Says one: "I know I'm not ready to head an office of 30 people, most of whom are older and more experienced than I."

The only thing a returned Volunteer has "up" on a senior staff man is his Volunteer experience. In the Peace Corps bureaucracy, this is not enough.

A JOB DESCRIPTION FOR VOLUNTEER APPLICANTS

"Peace Corps/Washington: Volunteers are needed who have unusually good judgment, keen eyes for detail, a tolerance for the office structure, a tolerance for ambiguity, writing ability, and a large capacity for work. Backgrounds in accounting, law administration, journalism, public speaking, personnel and management are useful although a good desk officer, for instance, need not possess any particular technical training."

An indirect voice

So the returned Volunteer, if he wishes to have a voice in Peace Corps policy—and most do—is relegated to the role of influencing those who make policy. From his relatively low-level job, he must somehow make himself heard.

His complaint is that no one listens. He's recently been told, however, that he isn't speaking up loudly enough.

"I've been depressed over the nine-to-fivism of returned Volunteers in Washington, instead of using their knowledge and skills to improve the Peace Corps," said Charles Peters, Director of Evaluation and Research. "In the early days there were few of us here who had access to the field, and we looked forward to having returned
Volunteers here to help storm the barricades. It just hasn’t happened. Returned Volunteers don’t have all the answers, and the answers are not simple, but they do have some of the answers and I’d like to hear from them ... let’s get rid of the hall muttering ... you have to overcome the gnawing in your stomach and speak up.”

The spirit of Peters’ remarks was appreciated. Few returned Volunteers here can tolerate the kind of publicizing that worker who, upon hearing the plans of Returned Volunteers Conference in the spring of 1965, said with a pained sigh: “At last, they’re going to listen to us.” She needed star billing and an auditorium at the State Department to frame her remarks. As Peters said, “It’s childish to expect to be rewarded for speaking up. You’re usually damn lucky not to get fired for it.”

But Peters’ chiding produced few lasting ripples, probably because parts of it did not ring true. He paid all returned Volunteers an undeserved compliment by presupposing that all had the potential and the desire to develop effective communication and political skills. And he hit a sore spot by verbally lumping returned Volunteers together into one tactical, collective mold.

An examination of these two points and others reveals obstacles which often make it difficult for the returned Volunteer to speak out effectively, and be heard effectively, on matters of policy in Washington.

**Jobs restrict**

The majority of jobs held by returned Volunteers restricts rather than permits contributions to major policy change. These are the nitty-gritty; the daily tasks that are necessary to program, recruit, select, train and support Volunteers. A lot of the work is dull. But all of it has to be done; and all of it takes time.

A returned Volunteer is hired to do a specific job, not to be a returned Volunteer. But because he is a returned Volunteer he is expected to bring something of his Volunteer experience—a translation of sorts—to the job. Usually he tries. He pushes a point at a staff meeting. He persuades his boss to let him do a particular task in a different way. These are day-by-day innovations, small changes that make the wheels grind more smoothly. But if his job does not lie in the bureaucratic path traveled by policy-changing ideas—and usually it does not—he must go outside his job, leave his office niche, divert himself from that for which he has been given daily responsibility—and go elsewhere to effect policy.

For some returned Volunteers, this is a difficult, if not impossible conformation. “I don’t have time to attend agency-wide discussions and get involved in the burning issues,” says one returned Volunteer. “Our office is three months behind in its work right now. I was a Volunteer for two years, and frankly, after eight hours a day here, all I want to do is get away from the Peace Corps.”

For those who do take the time to get involved in the “larger issues,” the channels for expressing their opinions are few and of questionable value.

The Volunteer Forum meets irregularly on Wednesday mornings whenever the Forum committee (a group almost completely made up of returned Volunteers) can think up a topic which might provoke agency-wide interest and discussion. Anyone can submit ideas for topics. The director almost always attends, as do other scattered members of the senior staff. For one hour, a sometimes provocative topic is bandied around. At the end of that time, the participants are thanked, everyone leaves the room, and the topic proceeds to die in the elevators carrying staffers up and down to their respective offices.

In past months, former Associate Director Harris Wofford and Deputy Director Warren Wiggins held open discussions over bag lunches. Wofford’s sessions were poorly attended. Wiggins’ few meetings were good for the souls of those present, which wasn’t everyone who counted in policy-making terms.

Exclusive gatherings of returned Volunteers have notoriously gone nowhere. When the conclusions are reached—and usually none are—there still remains the problem of communicating ideas to those who can put them into action.

Sometimes the most effective way of launching an idea or expressing an opinion is person-to-person contact. Anyone can send a memo, place a telephone call, or ask for a personal interview. But this is not an effective, long-range method of pursuing a policy change.

**Hard to communicate**

In short, there is no clear-cut way of funneling the opinions of returned Volunteers (or any low-level staffer, for that matter) into the policy-changing pot. Task forces, organized to attack a specific issue and comprised of persons from all staff levels, might be one answer. Another suggestion, from a returned Volunteer, is to structure opinion-giving into the organization in the form of “an office for gathering information on specific issues, designed for problem-solving.”

A senior staff member advises the following: “There are power vacuums all over this building; all you have to do is find out where they are and then play it cool.” But some returned Vol-
unteers aren’t cut out to “play it cool,” and to have to do so galls them.

The bureaucratic system, however, is not sympathetic. “Washington is an environment of politics and ideas,” concludes a former Volunteer. “Its humanity is limited.” Humanity, ironically, is the commodity which supposedly most concerned the returned Volunteer when he was serving overseas.

Another problem is that the returned Volunteer has no consistent and reliable way to keep himself informed on what the current issues are. The office grapevine is as accurate as most, and often slow. For example, by the time a Volunteer Forum had been scheduled on the recently controversial issue of home leave, everyone felt certain an executive decision had already been made on the question.

A returned Volunteer suggests that one who is ignorant about what is going on, and the reasons why things are the way they are, “would be a fool, or at least be in great danger of being one” if he went charging “into Vaughn’s or Wiggins’ office demanding to know why, for instance, we’re flooding 600 Volunteers into Micronesia instead of going slow and assuring ourselves of the program’s quality first.”

He proposes an intra-agency newsletter to keep all staff informed on what policies are about to be considered. It’s doubtful, however, that any steel-willed editor could pry such matters out of the executive woodwork, much less slip them into print, even if it were for office eyes only. This pessimism is encouraged by the non-distribution of the minutes of a recent, open, Volunteer Forum on Volunteer social behavior.

Keeping informed

There have been some hopeful signs during the past few months. The Africa region has scheduled several open meetings presided over by country directors passing through Washington. Anyone in the agency can come and ask questions about that country’s program. And at least one returned Volunteer has made an effort to organize small group discussions between persons from various offices, with varying backgrounds, to meet once a week. The purpose, at least at this stage, is purely communicative.

But even if a smooth path were beaten between the returned Volunteer and the policy-changers, there are some who say the returned Volunteer still would not speak out. “In meetings the passionate advocate is rarely the returned Volunteer,” says one senior staffer.

One former Volunteer blames this on the atmosphere in Peace Corps headquarters: “When you speak up in Washington, you have to be able to document your statements. There isn’t time. Perhaps it should be opened up more to rash comment.”

There would probably still be returned Volunteers who rarely opened their mouths. Many of these are the same people who had little to say in a college classroom, or at a Volunteer conference overseas. They may listen hard, feel deeply and lack nerve. Or they may be lethargic and dull. Some of them, undoubtedly, mutter in the hall. But their existence—past, present and future—points out the one great truth which Peace Corps Washington has not yet fully grasped—an incomprehension which forms the returned Volunteer’s greatest obstacle to major effectiveness: returned Volunteers are individuals. They are extroverted, introverted, aggressive, shy, articulate, bumbling, bright, dull, sophisticated, naive. Those who are unduly depressed by the bureaucratic system have probably been sold short by over-indulgent country staffers who, when writing recommendations, thought because so-and-so was a “good” Volunteer he would also be a “good” Washington staffer. But if there is a profound, total mystique about returned Volunteers as a group, it is only in the minds of non-Volunteer staff.

Those who boast that they “can spot one (a returned Volunteer) every time” are vague when pressed to identify character traits. “Returned Volunteers are a type of people,” tried one. “They’re always running around yelling and screaming,” offered another. And a third, less kind: “Every time a skinny, pimply-faced kid comes to my desk asking directions, I know it’s a returned Volunteer.”

A more serious charge came from a
senior staff member who said he didn't like to hire returned Volunteers because he felt they could think only in the framework of their individual Volunteer experiences and therefore perpetuated through Washington the same mistakes they made overseas.

At least he was truthful. A substantial lack of candor among senior-level officials has produced a syndrome which is largely responsible for the cynicism that exists among returned Volunteers in Washington—tokenism. Since Sargent Shriver first encouraged their hiring in 1963, Peace Corps officials have been pushing for returned Volunteers on their staffs. But the former Volunteers weren't given much serious notice, which is all right, except when it came time to count how many of them there were, which is hypocritical. One observer of this hypocrisy describes some supervisors accordingly: "They pat returned Volunteers on the head and say, 'See our returned Volunteer? Isn't he cute? Sit up for the nice people, former Volunteer!'"

But if it was tokenism or nothing, returned Volunteers seem willing to accept tokenism. "Let's face it," says one, "being a returned Volunteer helped me to get this job. But now that I have it," he went on, "I don't want to be identified as one."

He didn't want to be identified as one, because he wanted to be identified as himself. But being a returned Volunteer still comes before being an individual in Washington.

Individuality is the only means through which a returned Volunteer will affect or effect Peace Corps policy.

Union ineffective

United, they can do little more than kick up a temporary fuss which will end up sounding like a whine. United, there is no place for them in a bureaucracy, and therefore they could not possibly be effective. United, they would do better, one staffer suggested, if they went "outside the Peace Corps and organized a 'Veterans of Foreign Peace.'"

Divided, they will have the opportunity to use their personal strengths. Obviously, the most influential returned Volunteers in Washington today are those who hold the most influential jobs. But they had to be something other than returned Volunteers, or something in addition to returned Volunteers, or able to put their Volunteer experiences into work-effective perspectives, in order to get those jobs and retain them and perform in them. Most of them have long since lost their RPCV banners (one calls it "my yellow badge") trail behind.

Returned Volunteers will make it fine in Peace Corps Washington. Harris Wofford predicts they will take over the agency in the next two or three years. Jack Vaughn says they'll need five to do it. Even the latter number may be optimistic. But they're on their way.

Recruiting has long been their stronghold. Two are training officers. Two are full-time evaluators. Two of the four regional program officers are returned Volunteers. Five former Volunteers have been branch chiefs in the Office of Volunteer Support; two are area chiefs in the regions. Seventeen former Volunteers are desk officers. The director's congressional liaison is a returned Volunteer.

In ten years, at this rate, the former Volunteer will own the show. Hopefully, there will still be some Charlie Peters' around to bug him; there will be danger then—in security. Today the only danger is in forcing the returned Volunteer to live up to a myth of collectivism.

Tips on tax forms

It's tax time again, and nobody in the Peace Corps can avoid it.

All Volunteers must file federal income tax forms with the Internal Revenue Service, reports Mike Haviland, chief of Volunteer finance. To expedite the process, Haviland offers the following advice:

Filing deadline is April 17. Peace Corps Volunteers are allowed an automatic extension of time for filing to June 15, but must pay interest on the tax due if they file later than April 17.

Volunteers who have no other source of income outside of the Peace Corps are permitted to use Form 1040A, the "short form." If non-Peace Corps income exceeded $200 during 1966, and if federal taxes were not withheld from that income, the Volunteer must use Standard Form 1040.

All taxes must be paid in U.S. dollars. Volunteers should ask country directors to prepare a check payable to the Internal Revenue Service for the amount due. The amount of the check will subsequently be subtracted from the Volunteer's readjustment allowance.

Tax guides, W-2 forms for 1966, and all necessary information will be available from country directors beginning in February. Haviland's advice: file before April 17.

World assembly

A world assembly of the International Secretariat for Volunteer Service (ISVS) will be held in New Delhi, India, from March 29 to April 3. A major theme of the assembly will be the role of voluntary service in national development.

Delegates at the international conference are expected to review the growth of the volunteer movement in the past five years and attempt to evaluate its significance and chart its future direction.

The 41 countries which are members of ISVS will be represented at the conference. In addition, all other members of the United Nations and interested organizations concerned with volunteer programs will be invited to send representatives.

ISVS, an inter-governmental organization formed in 1962, encourages governments to inaugurate or expand national volunteer programs. Almost 50 countries now sponsor national volunteer service efforts, either at home or abroad.

Exit the divisions

Peace Corps Washington has no more divisions.

Instead, it has offices. This change, made "in the interest of uniformity and to eliminate possible confusion over the roles, levels and functions" of Washington units, affects name changes in four former divisions. They are now:

Office of Volunteer Support, Office of Selection, Office of Medical Support and Office of Contracts.
The Peace Corps as a rediscovery of the American purpose

By HARRIS WOFFORD

To sum up the Peace Corps is to subtract from it, to define it is to pin it down.

There are two ways of appraising a new born creature. One is to say, "What a miserable thing. If you only knew what I had in mind, the baby I dreamed of. Let's forget this misbegotten thing and start all over." The other is to say, "Look, it's alive, what a miracle! How wonderful! Let's give it all the food and warmth we can. Let's help it live and grow."

There are days when I would like to see us start all over; and I am sure Jacqueline Grennan is right when she says we in the Peace Corps, too, must consider ourselves expendable, that to live well we must be prepared to die. But today I want to make love, not war. So let me take as my theme a happy warrior's inaugural line: "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

There are real problems, which could paralyze some people. From watching bureaucratic paranoia over the years I know it is usually based on some objective reality.

For the first time our budget is truly tight and good things are having to be cut. . . . good plans are having to be shelved.

For the first time our public image of unmitigated virtue is being tarnished; the protests and letters and literature of Volunteers are at last conveying some of the complex reality of the Peace Corps.

But these are the pains of growing up. And they are shared by this whole generation as it comes of age.

We are all in the same boat. Or rather we are in different boats but on the same sea, and it is stormy right now. We in the Peace Corps are not down deep in a yellow submarine. We are on the surface in a sailboat. The essential thing is not to panic. We must not lose our bearings.

What are the main points on our compass? The first is the idea of a volunteer. A volunteer, according to Webster, is "one who enters into or offers himself for any service of his own free will." The Peace Corps has resurrected that first dictionary definition and, in doing so, has rediscovered the first purpose of America: self-government, self-government in the full sense of individuals and communities of individuals deciding their destiny by deliberation and choice and not by accident or force. Fortunately this is also the idea the world is trying to realize.

The problem for us and other people has been to make self-government a reality in the complex 20th century. The optimistic, logical, agrarian world of Jefferson has been shattered by the industrial revolution, the atomic bomb and psychoanalysis—by Marx, Einstein and Freud. We are trying to put the pieces together not in the new order of 1984 but in a way that in 1967, as well as in the year 2000, will enable people to make their own future.

Gandhi was the first man of this century to demonstrate on the world stage that men can govern themselves—that they can reason together not only through words but through symbolic acts and non-violent struggle and
A Peace Corps associate director-turned-college president "leaves some final advice with the agency, including a plea for more Volunteer participation in policy-making processes. This article is adapted from the portions of his farewell message to the Washington staff that concerned the Peace Corps.

constructive service. He was the first volunteer of the 20th century.

"It is possible," he said, "for a single individual to defy the whole might of an unjust empire to save his honor, his religion, his soul and lay the foundation for that empire's fall or its regeneration."

And Gandhi set about to do just that. For most of us, however, it does not seem possible for a single individual to do that. In fact, individuals have been feeling singularly helpless in our great 'organization society'—and this is as true today in India as it is in the United States, and indeed in any country.

But this is where the Peace Corps came in, in this decade, out of America to carry on that experiment of self-government—to carry on in American terms the original American experiment. By volunteering in the Peace Corps, a few thousand Americans, for a few years, have discovered and demonstrated that they can make their own futures. Whether they are teaching in school rooms or on farms, whether they are engaged in community action or practicing modern medicine, they are spreading the revolutionary idea that men can govern themselves and make a better future, and they are in no way more revolutionary than in their very volunteering—in this, practicing, at least for two years, the freedom they preach. Or preferably, they are preaching freedom by practicing it. And I suspect most of them will keep doing it for the rest of their lives, having discovered that they like it.

This is the theory I think the Peace Corps has been sailing by. Let's see where it points now.

Take the Program Planning Budgeting System (PPBS). Some fear it as the forerunner of 1984, as the curtain coming down on spontaneity. But if we are true to the idea of the Volunteer as the center of the Peace Corps, the call for five-year—or longer—range planning in each project can be the occasion for greater and more significant participation by Volunteers. No Peace Corps country five-year program should be accepted where the Volunteers there were not consulted.

if not most cases they are probably justified. Every edict issued by Washington or by a local staff without participation—without the registering of consent and dissent—of Volunteers only compounds the problem.

As Vice President Hubert Humphrey said, we don't want a planned society but a society that plans. We don't want a planned Peace Corps but a Peace Corps that plans, in which all of its parts, all its members, plan—in which they all think about the whole, about their common purposes, so that they can do their individual parts responsibly and intelligently, and so that the whole organization can respond with maximum intelligence. In modern systems analysis this is the essential factor called communication and feedback.

The fact that Volunteers in Nigeria, at a time of revolution and blood in the streets, were focused on petty matters such as hostels, Hontias and living allowances is an indictment of the whole Peace Corps. What bigger questions was the Peace Corps putting to them? How was the Peace Corps raising their sights? In Peace Corps recruiting, training and overseas administration, were they being asked the larger questions? Did they have any reason to feel the Peace Corps listened to or cared about their views?

To provide responsibility and intelligence and self-government among Volunteers the Peace Corps—from its first contact with a prospective Volunteer to its final contact with a returning Volunteer—must convey its respect for responsibility, its need for the Volunteer's intelligence and self-government.

For this, the Peace Corps needs films like David Schickele's film on...
Nigeria, "Give Me a Riddle," a realistic and artistic portrayal we can be proud of, one that conveys the complexity, the comedy and tragedy of the Peace Corps, a film in tune with the best of this student generation. It was shown to the summer student interns from a score of campuses, and each one said it would make a strong, favorable impression on his campus. One of the finest former Volunteers I know said: "If you want more Volunteers like the central one shown in the film, you should show this film everywhere." Yet because one person disliked the beard on one Volunteer, and another disliked the drinking scenes, and another thought the dancing looked like an orgy, and another thought there was an implication that there was sex in the Peace Corps, and another thought Nigerians or Kansans or congressmen would lack a sense of humor about some of the funniest lines, the film has not yet been shown outside our little in-house family, except surreptitiously. (Maybe we should have made an underground film.) Copies have finally been ordered for training, but by not showing it on campuses around the country, an opportunity is being lost every day to attract the kind of autonomous Volunteers we need.

David Schickele's article, "When the Right Hand Washes the Left," has probably led more good Volunteers into the Peace Corps than any other single publication. Schickele's film will do even more. It is hotter—or cooler, in Marshall McLuhan's terms—but it should not be too hot or too cool for the Peace Corps. If Hollywood is not afraid of Virginia Woolf, the Peace Corps should certainly not be afraid of David Schickele. The only thing we have to fear is fear itself.

Beyond films like that, we need a wholly new relationship to campuses and to former Volunteers. The former Volunteers at Stanford and Harvard began to develop a comprehensive continuing year-round program of information and education. The Division of Institutional Relations began to promote such programs on what were to be 25 campuses. Next I heard they were cut down to 16, then to 11. Yet the future of the Peace Corps will depend on the response of the tens of thousands of former Volunteers. Are we going to them in
faith, and asking them to develop and lead programs on the campuses they know, or are we holding recruiting tightly to our chest, as a professional matter for Washington staff, in fear of the former Volunteers?

After recruiting we need an education and training program that remains experimental and that just begins in this country. It must begin with a bang and not end with a whimper overseas. Each overseas country program needs at least one full-time continuing education officer on the staff, and we need to provide many kinds of Volunteer study and continuing education overseas. Most of the Volunteer's learning has to take place over a two-year period, and the 10 or 12 weeks preliminary training is but a fraction of the education process in the Peace Corps.

But a good climax overseas will be difficult if the initial training is dull and dampening. Progress has been made in training, but some parts of the Peace Corps worry more about the experiments than about the still largely unleavened lump—what we need next are 30 programs like Roger Landrum's recent education-in-action program in Roxbury, Mass., and 30 variations on this, and variations on other models.

Then there are the Peace Corps Seminar Readings, the "Aspen Papers". By contract, five years late, we finally got the ten volumes of discussion readings prepared and published. They are not the final word, but they are provocative and raise the larger questions. How widely are we using them throughout our recruiting, training and overseas system? Are we promoting a seminar system throughout the Peace Corps that will use these, or other readings from the book lockers, or select their own new texts—a discussion system that will encourage Volunteers to think freely, to raise the big questions, and follow them where they lead? As a Volunteer keynoter said at the Returned Volunteers Conference: "We would not have come back so inarticulate if the Peace Corps had helped us more to become articulate—to understand what we were doing while we were doing it."

As some of you know, I not only consider the Peace Corps a university in dispersion, but as a special kind of university, a Socratic seminar writ large (there is a sign tacked over my desk by a departing friend who got

A classroom in Ethiopia

In the three pictures at the left, Mrs. Jackie Billings employs a maximum participation approach in teaching English to her third grade class. Mrs. Billings, a Volunteer who is stationed with her husband Scott in Korem, Ethiopia, teaches English to a class of 70 students who sit on the floor while class is in progress. Photos by John Coyne.
tired of this analogy: "Down with the Dispersiversity!"

The Volunteer education I'm talking about comes through decisions required in the midst of the tensions of competing responsibilities. What is educative is the pull of these responsibilities—to your students, to your fellow Volunteers, to the Peace Corps, to your country, to your new country, to your conscience. In most cases a Volunteer should wait until he returns home to engage in political issues; in practically all cases he will need to keep out of the other country's politics. In some cases, if his view of his responsibility and the Peace Corps' view differ, he will resign or be sent home.

Fortunately, in the most direct test of our courage to date—the drafting of Volunteers who are in service—Jack Vaughn has spoken out. (In fact, his machismo in offering to take on 4,000 draft boards may be momentarily beyond our capacity.) But this is a fight the Peace Corps as a whole must fight. It isn't the disinterested issue we might prefer, but it's an issue we can't avoid. If we don't stand and fight this one, within the Administration, with the Congress and with the American people, no one else will. If we lie down on this, we are going to be walked over in other ways in the future. This is one I think we can win, but I know this is one we must fight.

I am going to miss the Peace Corps. My prodding here does not put me in the category of the critic who says, "Let's start all over." I'm with the midwife who says, "It's alive. What a miracle." Our problem is to keep it alive—partly by prodding, partly by warmth and food.

From outside, I may even try to challenge you by breaking the Peace Corps' near-monopoly on this new virtue of volunteering, by trying to create a new kind of university in action and dispersion. It is time for the Peace Corps miracle to be turned loose and applied more widely. So maybe American higher education can compete with you as well as collaborate. Those of us who see the Peace Corps as an educating institution have discovered that the problems of American education are rolled up and embodied in what the Peace Corps is doing. Out on the periphery, where there is the most freedom to experiment, we have been dealing with the central problems of American education. Taking this experience and this spontaneous commodity back from the periphery to the center will be precarious. But learning by doing, by problem-solving, by teaching by crossing cultural frontiers, by participating in self-government in the large sense—needs to be extended and adapted throughout our public life.

John Calhoun, the scientist, said to the Returned Volunteers Conference that the Peace Corps suggests the antidote to the technological society. Along with the "standardization, order, predictability, hierarchy, and minimum channels of communication" that go with technology, he said, we need a "process of programmed diversity, programmed uncertainty, sufficient unpredictability—just going to the threshold of chaos but not quite reaching it. Something on the order of a universal Peace Corps."

I thought I would be tongue tied today, as Sancho Panza is in "Man of La Mancha," when he is asked, "Why do you follow Don Quijote? Why do you go out on these adventures? Why do you do it?"

"That's easy to explain," said Sancho. "It's because . . . because . . ."

and he had no words, except, finally, "It's because . . . I like him." My answer about the Peace Corps, six years to the week Sargent Shriver asked me to join the first task force, after four and one half years on the payroll, is: "I like it."

And a last word on the subject of fear: do not fear the five-year rule. It's part of this crazy experiment. Standing on the edge of the five-year flush, I can still say, "I like it."

In one sense my message is the new one: the medium is the message. The whole mixed-up, far-flung Peace Corps is the medium—the Peace Corps itself, its nature, its operating principles, its central ingredient—the Volunteer, its exploration of new worlds is the message. The problem is to keep that alive and moving. Why? Because we like it.

Or let me put it in the words of an Ethiopian—words I discovered on the road to Tessaini in Eritrea. They are the words of a postmaster writing his girl friend. He could speak but not write in English, so he asked a helpful Peace Corps Volunteer girl in that town to write his love letters for him, and his best letter ended with this line, which can do as my parting line, too: "And so," he wrote, "I have loved you, I am loving you and I will be loving you until my perpendicular is horizontal and I die."

Harris Wofford left the Peace Corps to become president of the College of Arts and Sciences being developed on Long Island as a part of the New York State university system. He was a member of the original Peace Corps task force, a special assistant to President John F. Kennedy, a Peace Corps director in Ethiopia, and an associate director in Washington.
The Four Stages of
TRANSCLULTURATION

During two years of Peace Corps service, a Volunteer passes through four stages of adjustment: the stage of Discovery, the stage of Self-Alignment, the stage of Participation, and the stage of Devolution.

This breakdown of the Volunteer service cycle has been made by Maurice L. Sill, a former overseas staff member and sociologist who is now with the Peace Corps Office of Training. The four stages comprise what he calls the "Transculturation Process." Sill believes that an understanding of this process should be encouraged in pre-service and in-service training, because "the more a Volunteer understands himself in his overseas situation, the more he is able to influence that situation and do his job."

Sill, who was acting Peace Corps director in Pakistan, believes that "much staff and Volunteer time and emotional energy may be saved if we can achieve greater consensus on appropriate Volunteer roles and transcultural stages so that Volunteers may more readily acquire realistic expectations of themselves and their situations."

He notes that some Volunteers refer to a sequence of "manageable" frustrations and treat the surrounding of frustration as good in itself, while other Volunteers are influencing their situations but seem unaware of the process by which they participate and continue to expect too much or the "wrong" things.

In an effort to assist Volunteers toward more realistic expectations, Sill sought to define the process through which a Volunteer moves from the goals of Main Street U.S.A. to those of his host country situation. In his view, progressive changes in the mutual expectations of the Volunteer and his supervisors, co-workers and friends have much to do with the quality and intensity of the Volunteer's adjustment to and communication with the host culture.

Sill acknowledges that the four stages of "transculturation" do not apply to all Volunteers and that not all Volunteers reach all stages, or at the same time. His sequences were first drawn out of his observations and discussions with Volunteers in Pakistan. Subsequently many Volunteers have given "feedback" after hearing the stages discussed in training centers or reading his paper, "The Peace Corps Volunteer as a "Bridge-Builder" in Pakistan." His four phases are presented as follows:

Maurice L. Sill would like to know what Volunteers think about his stages of transculturation in the Peace Corps. He invites Volunteers, past and present, to write him at the Office of Training, Peace Corps, Washington, D. C. 20525, with opinions and suggestions on the adjustment-communication process. Sill seeks more data for a continuing study of Volunteer reactions overseas in hopes that the information might assist in adjustment to overseas life and work.
By MAURICE L. SILL

**Discovery (0-4 months)**

The Volunteer faces a major adjustment during his first few months in the host country. At first, he is a foreigner, looking but not seeing. True, he excitedly sees, hears and smells all the things that are different—the camels, noisy night watchmen and cow dung; but he misses human relationships. He misses so many cues that the realities behind structure and behavior are not apparent. As one Volunteer put it, "It was a full three months before I began to see the country."

A Volunteer writes:

"Until I get to know my village better I guess I really won't know how to predict how much is happenable. I was sincerely invited to breakfast by a village young man on school vacation, but the invite did not come off. I waited until 11:30... got good and hungry. I finally started on my village rounds and came upon him by accident. I discovered 'face' that day. He was too socially chagrined to tell me that as an untouchable he could not entertain me while I was a guest of a Brahmin."

Discovery is an exciting process, and the anticipation of its delights is part of the attraction of the Peace Corps for many applicants. It is not without hazards, however. One who opens himself to the Volunteer experience is also expected to abandon the protective shield of beliefs, values and customs that he has relied on to make sense of the world. When a Volunteer lands in the host country, his commitments to transcend cultural barriers exposes him to an assault on his personal way of seeing the world to which other visitors rarely lay themselves open. As another Volunteer said:

"I'll never forget my first trip to the teeming bazaar, with all the wild, strange people, its mutilated beggars straining and pushing each other to get a look at us. I acted unimpressed and nonchalant, of course, in front of my fellow Volunteers, but that night I had a nightmare... I dreamt I was strapped naked to a stretcher and two attendants were carrying me into an insane asylum. As we entered the place, the inmates, all dark-skinned, covered with filth and running sores, and wearing coarsely woven gray cowls, crowded around me to leer and touch my clean, white body. I squirmed to get away but the straps held me tight, and as the attendants carried me further and further inside, the multitudes became bolder until they were poking their oozing, mutilated limbs into my face. I woke up in a cold sweat and instantly realized the obvious connection between my dream and my trip to the bazaar. I also realized what people meant when they talked about (I hate to use this term) culture shock."

The excitement and discovery cascade into frustration. A Volunteer resident is in a new culture is living and working still on American terms. By opening himself to experiencing the conditions of life and the view of the world of the host country, he has brought his own beliefs and values into question. He faces the necessity to re-align his convictions to fit the experience into which he has plunged. A Volunteer may go through a deep depression at this time, a "dark night of the soul," and refuse to see the hope or significance of giving himself to the situation. The feeling at this stage was summarized by a Volunteer nurse at the end of four months in Pakistan:

**How I Feel During TRANSCULTURATION**

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**DISCOVERY**

**Transcultural Threshold**

**PAR**

**SELF ALIGNMENT**

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0 4 8
“The lady health visitor (co-worker) has her own way of doing things and has been doing them that way for a long time. Like performing D and C after an abortion with unsterile gloves and prescribing glycerine for a post-injection abscess. I don’t consider her very receptive to teaching or even casual suggestions. Every time I try to do something, I run into a brick wall.”

Self Alignment (4-8 months)

The second stage begins when a Volunteer decides to cross the threshold between an American value orientation and a host country value orientation. A Volunteer reassesses himself, his skills, his expectations, his values; and he chooses more delimited, attainable goals. He aligns himself with a host country view of the situation. He finds a crack in the “brick wall” and discovers some way to participate in his new culture. Some comments at this stage:

“I am learning not to be so hard on myself by continually criticizing my own endeavors and undermining my mental capacity to cope with myself, my husband, and village life.”

“I’m not sure of just what has worn off... the newness of the romantic notion that somehow creeps its way into training, despite all the best efforts of the instructors. Or, perhaps it’s a more realistic attitude that is exerting itself and forcing some of the naiveté of idealism out. I honestly like my former idea of the world better, but to the extent that it wasn’t real, I am changing it.”

“We’ve been in Pakistan four months now and it seems to me as if the haze or fog is lifting and we’re starting to see our way more clearly—or we’re getting a better idea of how to go about accomplishing things. Or I at least hope that that is the case.”

“This month will mostly be spent just building up rapport and making friends. I think this is the hardest job of community development, coupled with communication problems... I’m finding it difficult to get (my fellow Volunteer) motivated to do anything. She’s got good ideas, but seems to have a defeatist attitude about our success here. Time will tell I guess. I’m not ready to give up yet, but I am anxious to get more underway.”

Participation (8-20 months)

During this stage the Volunteer settles into his job, and finds new ways to feel that he is fulfilling the aspiration which initially motivated him. He is beginning to consolidate his broadened view of the world and to regain confidence in his ability to make sense of it. This growth frees him for more complete participation in the host country culture.

The Volunteer’s agony of definition and search revealed much to his Pakistani colleagues and friends which was helpful to them and provided a role model for their own part in nation building. These co-workers sensed the Volunteer’s concern to understand, to find a real job, and to include as many people as possible in planning and growth processes. A Volunteer’s comment:

“After my initial eight months of setbacks and frustrations, I now feel that I am starting to realize some of the idealistic goals that were uppermost in my mind when I left home. As to how worthwhile my Peace Corps experience has been, I cannot dispute the fact that during my first year of service I was virtually on the receiving end at least 90 per cent of the time, but for my second year I believe that I can actually make a contribution.”

Another Volunteer writes of com-
munication beyond the job: “Along with the knowledge and understanding comes the most trite sounding and yet the most significant experience of all—the mere fact of living in another country and trying to understand what makes it tick. We are all human beings, true, but there are differences and these differences are important to understand in the world of today. Things beyond our comprehension in our snug bungalows on Main Street, U.S.A., are coming to have a profound effect on that snug, tranquil life. Now maybe we will have a more sympathetic attitude toward such things. While we have been here, perhaps for the first time in our lives we have tried to serve others and have learned the joys and sorrows that go along with it. We have had successes and we have had failures, but I think we will remember the successes longer. What’s more, I have made friends, not only with those who work with me, but also with some who work against me; nonetheless, both are equally valuable.”

Devolution (20-24 months)

Toward the end of the Peace Corps term, the Volunteer begins to think about that nice life back home. But he is not ready to leave the people with whom his lot has been so intimately cast and the projects which he has helped develop without wondering whether the programs will remain a people’s program and live after him. After all the effort which has gone into assessing the situation, the Volunteers begin to ask whether the situation is sufficiently diverse so that they and their leaders will continue to give it time, resources and guidance. Having incorporated some of the values of his hosts, he wonders whether they, in turn, have in fact incorporated some of his.

An illustration of this stage is found in the planning, near the end of the tour, of a Volunteer who had built a community development project out of an adapted leather tooling hobby. He writes:

“The leather project seems to be moving along nicely. I have just about cleared the debts, and the orders are holding up well. Several of the boys are developing a real skill and pride in their work, which is most satisfying. Our supply of raw material is improving in both quality and dependable, and although we have not been able to obtain any good quality belt leather, we have hopes. Bob is making progress on the machines for producing tools and lacing, and I am confident that we will soon be able to obtain all our supplies here in Pakistan.”

“...The cooperative society is all set up on this end, and I hope to be in Lahore at the beginning of March to try to get the papers through the registration procedures (red tape is a better word) required. I am convinced that, to insure a successful functioning of the industry in Pakistan, this society is necessary.”

Conclusion

Volunteers have “joined the human race,” but not as they thought they would, for those first expectations were hometown ones. If they decided to join on the host country’s own terms, they grew more personally and became more effective. The job they did was not the job they thought they would do, but the end results were deep involvement in the life of their two-year land of adoption, and a new synthesis of values uniquely theirs—neither passively accepted from their own culture nor doctically drawn from the host culture.

Deep understanding, wide communication, and some friendships have resulted, and this is what the Volunteers wanted. After a few months back in the United States, most Volunteers agree that they gave and got about what they really had hoped for. A sample taste of the socio-economic revolution which rages around the earth whetted the appetite of many Volunteers for more effective tackling of basic issues now on their conscience. Many of their jobs had demonstration value. Their new shoulder-to-shoulder relationship with and orientation to the problems of the people drew co-workers, supervisors, and even higher officials into more active, democratic, nation-building activities.

The transculturation implied in the second and third goals of the Peace Corps Act is not unrelated, then, to the first goal. The better one under stands, the better he serves.

The author holds a doctorate in sociology from Pennsylvania State University. He has administered community development programs in India and the United States and is currently a training officer for the Peace Corps.
By TOM MULLINS

Volunteers and visited many of their sites, which enabled him to talk with the people they were working with and to see what they were doing.

The reasons for the study were to bring about recommendations for the selection process and to be able to predict a Volunteer’s effectiveness in the field, and also to find out just what changes, if any, occur in the Volunteer as a result of his overseas experience.

Stein thinks that through testing such as was administered to the Colombia group, trends can be seen that, along with careful examination of the applicants’ references, can help in the selection of effective Volunteers. Language ability is also cited as an important factor in selection. Stein says, “In training the Volunteers in a foreign language, more emphasis should be placed on communication rather than on the ability to speak the foreign language in a grammatically perfect fashion.” He also suggests that more individuals than are now being accepted as Volunteers are capable of doing an effective job overseas and that “selection should not be limited to those who are likely to offer the fewest headaches and the smallest chance of failure. This is not simply the problem of the selection boards alone: government and the American public as well must be willing to allow for mistakes or political embarrassment; they must also be aware of setting arbitrary and unrealistic standards of achievement.”

For the idealist who requires the hard facts in order to measure achievement, Stein lists the numbers of schools, roads and health centers that were finished or under construction at the sites of Colombia 1 Volunteers. But he looks at the intangible advances too. He describes many of the relationships that developed between the Volunteers and the Colombian villagers. A farmer remarked that because the Peace Corps worked with both himself and the government officials he felt that “we are worthy people too.”

To conduct further study of the effectiveness of the Volunteers, Stein sent a team of several Colombians and an Ecuadorian to the villages where the Volunteers had worked. The people responded to the evaluators, for the most part, with praises for the Volunteers for helping to bring successfully the idea of community development to their villages. They also said that they missed the Volunteers and felt sad that they had left. The use of the host country nationals to get an unbiased account of the work performed (both physical and hidden results) seems to be a very good idea and perhaps should be considered for more project evaluations in the future.

One object of the study was to determine what changes would occur in the Volunteer as a result of having a Peace Corps experience. Stein defines what happens as “a psychological moratorium, an opportunity to withdraw temporarily from the lives they had been living, an opportunity to experience new kinds of stimulation which allowed them to re-evaluate their lives.”

Training at Rutgers (1961): “A psychological moratorium, an opportunity to withdraw temporarily from the lives they had been living, an opportunity to experience new kinds of stimulation which allowed them to re-evaluate their lives.”

"Here at last were our first Volunteers! For five months we had been talking about them, arguing over them, worrying about them and defending them, hypothetically, in the press, and here they were at last in the flesh. Now we would finally see what they were like. I had a final moment of trepidation on my way to Rutgers where I was scheduled to greet them in the name of the Peace Corps—could the critics be right, after all? When I finally stood in front of them to make a few remarks, I noticed that they were at least a fine looking group. When I had finished, I asked them if they had any questions—if they did, I would try to answer them. Instantly, their faces, passively listening until then, were transformed. They plunged into the question session with a kind of keyed-up enthusiasm and rock-hard intelligence."

—Sargent Shriver, in a recollection of his visit to Colombia I trainees in 1961.
opinions on politics, domestic problems and themselves.

The reader of Volunteers For Peace should not approach the book as if it were from the Best Sellers list. It is a study and is loaded with tables and jargon that are at times rather difficult for the untrained mind or eye. The book does contain interesting data and quotations from the Volunteers themselves regarding their experience. Stein makes many recommendations for the improvement of the selection system and gives advice for the domestic Volunteer program.

This particular study may be completed, but the long-term results of this first community development project are still to be found. The community development in the villages and the experiences of the individual Volunteers may never really be measured or measurable at all. Volunteers For Peace is a scientific and thorough look at just what the Peace Corps sent overseas in the early days.

Hopefully, similar studies are being done which, as Stein's book does, will lead to a better understanding of Volunteers and their effectiveness.

Reviewer Tom Mullins read about himself in Stein's book. A member of Colombia I, he was a Volunteer from September, 1961, until June, 1963. He is now with the Office of Selection.

A persistent volunteer takes a look at selection

Richard Powell was selected out of a Peace Corps training program in 1965. The formalities of his exit began with a note that read: "There has been a change in your status," and they ended when a field selection officer informed him that he was not fit for Peace Corps service at that time. Powell says that it took him almost a year to recover from his ordeal with failure.

He describes his feelings:

"In general, it is a feeling bad, not so much for yourself, but for others such as family or friends who looked on you as the one on the block who was out of the rut... a feeling of defeat is the prevailing sentiment. Besides defeat, two other common feelings creep up at de-selection: resentment and shock. Resentment is aimed at those responsible for the selection, and shock from the awareness that it had really happened and wasn't just a dream.

"As a corollary of defeat, one suffers a lack of confidence. Time, mingled with success, seems to be the method of restoring it."

Powell should know. A year after he failed to pass one final selection board, a second one endorsed him for overseas service. He is now a Volunteer in Brazil—a Peace Corps dropout who dropped back in.

Before departing for South America, he told THE VOLUNTEER: "I've been trained enough." That is among the greater understatement of this Peace Corps generation. Powell, 23, went through one training program and was not selected for service. He then went through VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America) training, was selected for service, and did a stint as a volunteer in West Virginia. Then he re-applied for the Peace Corps, accepted another invitation and trained a second time for service in Brazil. Altogether, Powell spent seven months in training for volunteer work at home and overseas and eight months as a domestic volunteer before he made it to Brazil in October, 1966.

Powell is not bitter. On the contrary, he considers himself lucky. But as a one-time dropout he is sensitive to the feelings of those who are not selected for Peace Corps service, and he thinks the agency can do a better job of administering the selection process. Here are some of his suggestions:

- More "straight talking." Powell says that his personal status reports always came through the trainee grapevine, never officially. "I think people in the Peace Corps like to talk things straight," he says. "Some will have their feelings hurt, but in the end this is for the good, because a lot of the hurt is in the doubting."

Powell seeks more "leveling"—honest and forthright assessments of the trainee by staff members—in place of "deception." He said he discovered the same grapevine tendencies in his second, successful training effort.

- More mid-term de-selection. During Powell's second training program, he found a trainee who "got off on the wrong foot and was told he would need great improvement in the remainder of the program to be considered. His work, desire and all-around change of attitude put to shame
many middle-of-the-road select-ins in both programs, but he was told he hadn't done enough. He went away bitter, and he was not entirely unjustified."

- More counseling. "It is very ironic that the Job Corps dropout receives abundant counseling and, in fact, assistance in finding a job when he quits; but the Peace Corps trainee, who has, so to speak, been 'fired' and isn't even a quitter, is just given a pat on the back, asked what he plans to do and then sent on his way. It isn't really too shocking then to see former trainees still purposelessly wandering." Powell says that in his case, at least, he received encouragement and a recommendation to go into VISTA, and he says the Peace Corps should give positive encouragement to select-outs, especially to those who have a strong service motivation.

- Less emphasis on attitude, more emphasis on performance. Powell says that his tenure in VISTA pointed up a real weakness on the part of the Peace Corps selection process. "In VISTA I was judged on the basis of what I did rather than on the basis of my attitude toward it." In his first Peace Corps training project, Powell recalls, ten sessions were devoted to community development, and they really amounted to ten lectures on sociology. Powell, whose major in college was sociology, had covered that ground before. He was later criticized on this point for demonstrating "a lack of interest." During the second training project, he says, there was field work in community development, "(doing instead of listening)." Powell went to Brazil excited about the possibilities of community development beyond his school-lunch work.

- Offer options on training programs. Powell was selected out of a health project, but thinks that if he had started in school lunch, his second program, he would have made it. Also, he is convinced that his first project was too rigid in its administration and judgment of trainees. Though this cannot be anticipated by an invitee, Powell feels that in some cases the program, and not the Peace Corps, is wrong for the particular individual. He says "too many people snap up the first training invitation because it has taken so long in coming, and they don't have any assurance that an alternative will follow in a reasonable time."

Powell remains philosophical about his first failure in the Peace Corps (he relished the idea of mailing his first post card from Brazil to the field selection officer who gave him the bad news the first time around). He calls himself "lucky" because of his acceptance into VISTA, his completion of VISTA training, a "successful and satisfying" assignment to a Job Corps camp in West Virginia, and the offer of another invitation to train for Brazil.

Looking back, he recalls two reasons for his selection out of the first project at Marquette University in Milwaukee in 1965. One was physical—he went through training without any hair on his head. The other was attitudinal—he was unable to get along with some of the staff members.

Powell was one of several varsity football players at Brown University who shaved their heads, and he carried his hairless head high until near the end of Peace Corps training. "This was out of place," he recalls. "There were three trainees with beards there too, and they didn't make it either. Hair wasn't the only factor (in selection) but it was present. I grew hair to go home, and they thought I was trying to improve myself. Actually, my mother can't stand me without it."

When he entered training the second time, Powell had raised his hair level to a crew cut.

As for attitude, Powell was told that he failed to exhibit a strong enough desire and enthusiasm and that he developed too many personality conflicts with other individuals at the training site. "If you can't get along here, what will it be like in Brazil?" they asked.

Powell knows that he didn't make the proper impression. He attributes failure to over-confidence, which apparently rubbed some of his fellow trainees and staff supervisors the wrong way. In the final interviews, he was told that he should be able to adjust under different circumstances, and the field selection officer urged him to reapply for another project.

"I could have swallowed my pride and forgotten about it," says Powell, "if I didn't want to do this type of work. But this (the Peace Corps) is what I always wanted to do. This was something more than simply meeting a challenge where I had failed."

Invited back, Powell showed up at a, Georgetown University training project last summer as a seasoned veteran of Peace Corps and VISTA training. He says that he looked on things in the second Peace Corps training project as "old hat." This time he had hair on his head, a wary eye on psychologists and more enthusiasm for community development (which was easier because Georgetown took it out of the classroom into the slums of Washington). Even so, he says, the staff was still too close-lipped about its feelings toward the trainees and their performances. Powell's reaction was "just to stay alive. If you stick out in any way, good or bad, it's going to come back at you, in some way." One result, he feels, was that the second time he learned less language than the first time.

Such caution goes against Powell's activist nature. "I'm not about to be a 24-hour-a-day Volunteer," he said after successfully completing training, "but if there's something I'm interested in, I'll do it. I don't think you can do too much."

Powell is now settled in a town in Espirito Santo, a coastal state of Brazil, breaking ground for a school-lunch program where no Volunteer has been before, sharpening up his Portuguese and thinking less about where he has been than about where he is going.

"I am very excited and pleased about this particular site," he writes, "The challenge is there and I hope I am able to meet it."
Making better use of older Volunteers

By LARRY MIREL

Among the Volunteers I met at a recent completion of service conference in Venezuela was an elderly couple from California. The husband was in his late sixties, his wife ten to fifteen years younger. They both looked tanned and relaxed. They had evidently enjoyed their two years in the Peace Corps. From the good-natured banter between them and the younger Volunteers it was clear that they enjoyed the respect and affection of the rest of the group.

They told me their two years in the Peace Corps had been wasted. I asked them why.

"We never did learn any Spanish," they told me.

Moreover, the husband said, the Peace Corps had not taken advantage of his skills. For more than 30 years he had taught school, the last ten he had spent as a superintendent of schools. The Peace Corps put him in a rural community action program.

"In a country that has such a need for qualified school administrators, it's a waste to put me in a rural community action program, for which I have no skills at all," he told me.

I know what problems the Peace Corps faces in training and programming older people. Programming must be done before we know what skills our applicants will have. Venezuela might ask for a school administrator, but since we do not know that one will apply, we cannot promise to supply one. Moreover, even if one has applied (and this is relatively rare), the chances are fair that he will be deselected—many older people are unable to meet the Peace Corps' high medical standards.

So we tell the Venezuelan government that we cannot provide a Volunteer school administrator, but wouldn't they like some bright, eager, adaptable, hard-working men and women just out of college? We know we can supply these—they form the bulk of our applicants and can quickly be trained as teachers, community development workers, or any of a variety of lesser skills where, by their own ingenuity and willingness, they can usually make a contribution.

The Peace Corps has been singularly unsuccessful in utilizing Volunteers with highly developed skills, especially older, retired people. Yet these people represent a wealth of skills and experience, much of it very relevant to the needs of underdeveloped countries. At the very time of their lives when they can afford to work for little more than the satisfaction of it, they see their abilities going unused. The trend towards enforced retirement at relatively early ages (especially since the average life expectancy continues to increase dramatically) means that an ever-greater number of people find themselves in this category. It is demoralizing to our older citizens, and a waste of a great national asset.

Merit extra effort

The basic mistake the Peace Corps makes, in my opinion, is to treat older persons as if they were 22. We train them with 22-year-olds, we program them into the same jobs as 22-year-olds, and we expect them to live the same way as 22-year-olds. We do it because the overwhelming majority of applicants are 22 years old, or close to that age, and the cost of setting up a different program for the relatively small number of older Volunteers would be high. I think the extra cost would be well worth the great contribution older people can make under the right conditions.

To make it possible for more older persons to serve effectively as Volunteers, I propose the following:

TRAINING. Most of the older applicants the Peace Corps has are retired, quite recently, from their lifetime oc-
cupations. If they have anything, it's lots of time. There is no need for them to go through training in three months, competing with young people just out of college for whom rapid learning has become a skill and a habit. The Volunteer from Venezuela told me he is certain he could have learned Spanish in six months. He said he was not stupid, but that he had not been in an intense learning situation for some time.

The Peace Corps should be able to mount an "advanced training" program for retired applicants along the lines of the present program for college juniors. Under this program a qualified applicant would enter training a year before his availability date. The program need not be intense. The Peace Corps might simply arrange for a language tutor and send reading materials on the cultural aspects of the potential area of assignment and on the Peace Corps mission—sort of a correspondence course. Technical training should be less of a problem for these people, who have the job skills already. After a year of this "advanced training," these people could either go into a regular training program or, if the numbers warranted it, a more intensive program designed, especially for them.

PROGRAMMING. During the year they spend in "advanced training," the Peace Corps will know of their availability and interest. It still will not know for certain that they will make it through training. Nevertheless, it should be possible to say to the Venezuelan government, "We have applications in from three retired school administrators. They all look good, and at least one should make it through training. If all three make it through, will you be able to use them?" I'm sure the answer would be "yes."

With the year's lead time we should be able to program much more carefully and specifically, looking for positions which need precisely the skills the older Volunteers have. Sometimes we may not be able to find such jobs, but I would think that we would know, when an older person applies, whether his skills will be useful in the undeveloped world and, given a full year, that we could find a job that would utilize those skills.

LIVING CONDITIONS. We expect our younger Volunteers to live at the level of the average citizen of the host country. Indeed, this is often a major part of the contribution these Volunteers make—to show by their own example that with energy and initiative things can be done with very limited resources.

The contribution older people can make is of a different kind. They have skills to contribute, not simply enthusiasm. There is much less point to their living at a low level. If they were citizens of that country, with their skills and at their age, they would most likely be relatively well off.

Young people generally like rugged living. In fact, part of the challenge of the Peace Corps to young people is the chance to show themselves and the world that they can survive and function effectively under adverse circumstances. For younger Volunteers the real shock is how comfortably Volunteers sometimes do live overseas.

'Testing' unnecessary

For older Volunteers the motivation is different. They ordinarily feel no need to prove themselves under difficult circumstances. They know who they are and what they can and cannot do. They simply want to use the skills and experiences of their lifetimes on behalf of other human beings.

There is no need, in my view, to have older Volunteers live as simply as younger ones. They should not, of course live in an ostentatious manner, but I would provide them with a living allowance sufficiently higher than that of the younger Volunteers to enable them to live at the level of an older citizen with comparable skills in their country of assignment—in other words, at the level of their counterparts.

I spoke recently to another older Volunteer who had returned from Venezuela after six weeks. He was a highly qualified machinist with 30 years experience. There is a great need for his skills. Yet he came home, among other reasons, because he was stationed in a place that had no bathroom facilities. He told me he was too old for that kind of thing. I suspect he is right. But he was too old to make a real contribution to Venezuela, and we should have seen to it that he got his chance, by creating minimal conditions to enable him to function. These minimal conditions might be higher than those necessary for the 22-year-old Volunteer, but it seems a small price to pay for the added benefits to the Volunteer and to the host country.

Larry Mirel was until recently chief of the liaison branch of the Office of Volunteer Support in Washington.

Some facts and figures

The Peace Corps has always encouraged older citizens to serve, and many have done so. Once, a recruiting poster even turned up in a home for the aged (it inspired several applications). For the most part, however, the problems that both the oldsters and the Peace Corps have faced in their application, selection and service overseas have obscured the advantages of their participation. Some statistics and complications:

- The average age of Peace Corps Volunteers is now 23.5 years. Latest figures show that only 46 of the 14,216 Volunteers are older than 60.
- Older applicants often face major hurdles in receiving medical clearance.
- The Peace Corps seeks only exceptionally skilled persons from the higher age brackets, yet many of the older applicants have non-specific skills. In the case of married couples, the wife has rarely been anything but a housewife.
- Peace Corps experience has shown that young college graduates are more flexible, more adaptable, and easier to train than older people.
- A study of overseas attrition found that Volunteers over the age of 31 are more likely to come home before their service is complete than are Volunteers in the 21-to-30 age bracket.
- Recruiters have regularly made special efforts to attract qualified older Volunteers. Also, about 150 companies offer pension credits for Peace Corps service. Many school systems offer re-employment and seniority rights to teachers who take off two years for Peace Corps.
- An estimated 340 men and women over the age of 50 have served in the Peace Corps since it began, comprising only about 1.6 per cent of all Volunteers.
A Peace Corps father takes a critical look at the learning processes of Volunteers, and suggests that the Peace Corps could do a better job of helping Volunteers define themselves.

Opportunities afforded to Volunteers by the Peace Corps are impressive, but I feel a concern that some might not benefit as they could.

We could state a recurrent theme in Volunteer letters and articles in this way: "Why doesn't someone give us more direction and help?" Talking with other Peace Corps parents has led to the feeling that sometimes the Volunteer's situation is traumatic.

Identifying with my son, I suffered for him through the early months when he tried to define a role and a job while adjusting to a new culture in which the things we take for granted (e.g., drinking water) can be a major problem. All this was complicated by events which left him and his partner almost without funds for two months or so. I wanted to hold his hand and sympathize with him; but I couldn't. He was too far away, of course. Probably he would have rejected my sympathy because he had chosen this way to grow. Furthermore, since one grows by solving problems and not by finding someone else to do it, I could help most by staying away.

As the months have passed, my son's letters have become more cheerful sounding, even enthusiastic. They have reflected a feeling of activity with some sense of accomplishment.

Volunteers have an opportunity to learn a valuable lesson early in life. But their "complaints" sound exactly like those of managers in industrial concerns who cry, "Why doesn't management tell us what they want—at least give us some direction?"

On the other hand, top managers say, "I hired some problem solvers, not people who can do what they are told." In my few years experience as college professor and staff man, manager trainer and manager in the industrial world, one lesson became slowly and painfully clear: The doers in this world are those who make their own jobs. Management expects it of them. On my first venture into the world of business I was hired to develop a program of research in a nationwide company. I asked my new boss if he had any suggestions. He had none except that it might be a good idea to visit some of the field offices.

After several years I went to another company to build a manager-development program. Again, I asked the executive how he defined a program and he answered succinctly: "We hired you to tell us." In the university world some people start new programs and special projects; others complete teaching and other assignments and fade into the woodwork.

I hope that the above comments do not imply that I advocate an absentee chief or lack of support from home. Throwing youths into the water selects the swimmers from the nonswimmers, but a few potential champions may be lost. Samuel Abbott (The Volunteer, November) seems to suggest that, since adequate staff support cannot be given, selection in to identify the swimmers before throwing them into the international water becomes important. I agree with him—if staff support is lacking. However, we might find another approach to maximize the value of the Peace Corps as a tool for developing its major resource—people.

Barry T. Jensen, a psychologist, has experience in government and industry, and as a university staff member. He is currently manager of the human resources development staff of an aerospace company.

Let me extrapolate a bit from industrial manager development. While some companies have management training programs that may require several years, usually a specialist spends some time as a technical worker, more or less happy doing what he learns in school. Suddenly, and in some cases he gets only a few minutes' notice, he becomes a supervisor, representing management to his people and faced with entirely different problems from those he thought of before. What does he need? Well, he needs to know how to approve a time card, how to budget and how to coordinate the work of others. In addition, he needs someone to help him clarify his problems, his goals and his job. He should be taught just as a student pilot is instructed. After being told how to do the job, he has an opportunity to feel the controls while someone else flies. Then he flies it himself under close observation, but with the instructor's hands off the controls. As he gets experience he needs less and less help and, eventually, in confidence he acts on his own and finds that he can succeed. As he continues to function, he should have his work reviewed with a perhaps wiser person who helps him to evaluate himself and his performance.

Does this sound too different from the situation facing the Volunteer? From the comfort and security of my study (in my son's room) it seems highly similar.

If the Peace Corps does not provide that kind of staff support for the Volunteer, why not? Perhaps it is a matter of allocation of resources. The requests for Volunteers are many, the financial resources limited and, I guess, a Volunteer costs less than a staff man. But, do we want a vast program of... (perhaps you know the
rest of the statement) or, would it be better to have a smaller program of more competent individuals having an experience which leads to development of their potential? A study might indicate a direction for improvement and it might be, initially, in the selection of supervisory personnel.

With my present knowledge I believe that Peace Corps supervisors should realize that their major job is teaching the Volunteers and helping this hand-picked cream of the nation to grow. They should get their satisfaction from seeing growth in others. The selected supervisors should be helped to learn ways to cultivate the Volunteers.

I'll conclude with a message to new Volunteers. You can learn a great deal from this experience if you will step up and out to the challenge. I appreciate the probability that you have heard this statement before and that it doesn't solve your problems. Being told that it was good for me never made Castor Oil more palatable; and the last time that I took it my mother didn't add orange juice. However, I knew the intended effects and it became bearable.

Two Volunteers killed

Diane Kuulei Nitahara, a 24-year-old Volunteer teacher in Nigeria, was killed December 27 when the car she was driving on a vacation trip suffered a blowout and overturned on a road between Kano and Bauchi in Northern Nigeria. Two companions traveling with her were unhurt.

Services and burial for Miss Nitahara, who was of Japanese-American descent, were held in Honolulu, Hawaii. She had taught mathematics and chemistry at a secondary school in Ondo in the Western Region since her arrival overseas in September, 1965.

Another Volunteer, David Larson, suffered fatal head injuries in a truck accident in the Dominican Republic January 8. Larson, a rural community development worker who had been at his post in Pimentel only two months, was in the back of an open truck when it was sideswiped by a car. A Dominican was also killed in the accident, and 20 were injured.

Larson, 22, joined the Peace Corps last summer after his graduation from the University of Iowa. Services and burial were held in his hometown of Gowrie, Iowa.
if he were given one, he would probably sell the egg in the market in order to buy rice and vegetables which would stave off hunger a little longer. We seem to be blind to the fact that at present many people in India are near starvation and that every bowl of grain used to feed a chicken would keep a man alive for another day.

It seems to me that the Peace Corps has ignored priorities. We should deal first with the much more urgent problem of mass starvation and then, only when starvation conditions have been eliminated, should we turn to the matter of raising the level of nutrition.

I reject the Peace Corps theory that poultry production is the most useful thing the Volunteer can do to help alleviate India's acute and massive food shortage. It is difficult at times not to be ashamed when one sees how misdirected our efforts are. I believe that the Peace Corps should consider its first responsibility to be that mass of people who live daily on the fringe of starvation; the Peace Corps should devote its major effort to promoting the cultivation of rice, vegetables and fruit which can be grown cheaply and easily by the average Indian.

Only when most of the people in India can fill their stomachs at least once daily with food can we devote our attention single-mindedly to nutrition. Until that time we should emphasize the production of protein-rich vegetables, and more effective methods of cultivation.

Someday, hopefully in the near future, India will move away from her precarious perch on the brink of mass starvation. When this happens, the Peace Corps can in good faith concern itself with the nutrition level of the Indian diet. Then poultry production will be important. Until that day arrives, we must operate on the basis of priorities—and keeping many people alive comes before keeping a few well fed.

GERALD RUST
Gram Sevak Talim Kendra, Orissa, India

South Dakota backlash
To THE VOLUNTEER:

May I take this opportunity to comment on the critical blast aimed at me by Efrem Sigel's friend, Thomas Leonhardt (November).

Mr. Leonhardt feels my vantage point in South Dakota is too remote to qualify me to judge Peace Corps activity in Africa—he is so right! I would not attempt to venture an opinion on conditions in the Ivory Coast; my comments were based entirely on Mr. Sigel's own evaluation of his subservient attitude toward officials, disgust with lowly vegetable sellers, inability to communicate with his hosts due to varying economic levels, and smug superiority toward students who should have asked his advice but didn't. Even thousands of miles away, these ideas rang loud and clear.

I might feel I'd been mistaken, except for the fact that I have since heard from three Peace Corps Volunteers in various parts of the world (one in Africa) commending me and agreeing with my letter in THE VOLUNTEER.

May I sincerely suggest to Mr. Sigel and Mr. Leonhardt that they read carefully the article in the same issue by Samuel B. Abbott, "On the making of a Peace Corps Volunteer."

His comments are so explicit and well written that it would behoove most Volunteers to ponder them. It seems the essence of his very enlightening article is contained in the sentence, "The question is not what a Volunteer must do but what he must be to serve."

MRS. C. W. STAMP
Sioux Falls, S.D.

‘If you can’t take love, don’t go’

To THE VOLUNTEER:

Fourteen months ago, while traveling from my training site, I wrote a summary of my thoughts of one aspect of the previous ten weeks of Peace Corps training. Last week I opened the notebook in which I had written these thoughts, and read the following:

"After eight or nine weeks you are thinking to yourself, do we have to be so technical? . . . facts, facts, facts over and over. You wonder what the hell you are doing here. This isn't why you came. You think about leaving; but you have too much invested...

. . . . . . better wait . . . see the whole program through, then decide. You wonder about all the things that you have been told, but really you feel that you have been told nothing.

"Then on the last night of training you meet a Latin woman, and she says to you as a farewell:

"Go to Peru and take what you will; but above all take love, and if you can't take love, don't go." Good advice for any Peace Corps trainee.

DENNIS J. CASEY
Lima, Peru

The A.B. generalist as a generalist-specialist

To THE VOLUNTEER:

I found the letter of Mr. R. C. Alexander (October) very interesting and very much to the point. As a Volunteer working as part of a group of four in a rural health and nutrition program in Kerala, India, I can only emphasize the need for teamwork among Volunteers. The problems in health work are much too manifold for one person to handle. They can be much more effectively coped with by a team.

But I would like to emphasize that teamwork is really only possible for specialists. The A.B. generalist (whom I define as a person knowing a little bit of everything, but not a lot of anything specific) may be fine stationed alone, but if you put four or more together in one place, they only step on one another's toes. Teamwork requires complementation and not duplication.

Four of us arrived here trained as generalists with a very limited orientation in health and nutrition. Soon we realized that if all of us were to work in this village we would have to specialize. So each of us chose one field and tried to gain specialized knowledge in that field. Today we can say with some confidence, "I am a 'sanitation specialist,' or an 'agriculture specialist,' or a 'nutrition specialist' or a 'midwifery specialist.'" The advocates for the generalist might say, "See, they were able to specialize because they were trained as generalists and are now working in the fields in which they are most needed."

But I disagree with this argument, for it neglects to consider certain factors. We picked a certain field mainly because of the urgent need to specialize, and not because local needs indicated that we would be most effective in these fields. Also, developing a specialty takes time. Most important is the fact that the lack of a specialty creates an initial uncertainty for the Peace Corps Volunteer as to what his
own abilities are. The people of the host country are very quick at sensing this uncertainty, and the judgment is easily made that here is a group of Americans enjoying a two-year vacation. This judgment proves difficult to overcome.

Initial rapport is extremely important, and I definitely feel that a specialist has less of a problem establishing rapport.

So why not devote all, or at least a large portion of training time to specializations? It seems to be the common misconception of the training-planning staff that if you train a generalist in a specific field for 6-12 weeks, you end up with a specialist! Instead, you get a generalist with some special knowledge.

By giving the generalist specialized training, you give him a certain amount of security which is important to him in the beginning, and you give the members of the group the necessary complementation which makes a team such an effective working unit. If his specific skill does not seem to be needed in his working situation, then he still has a chance to use his skill as a generalist in order to apply himself in other areas.

WERNER HOLLSTEIN
Erumpapely, Kerala, India

No allowances here

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

In the fifth edition of the Peace Corps Handbook we recommend the following addition. Immediately after, "Remember, Representatives and their staff do not get allowances to entertain Volunteers," we would like to have this sentence inserted: "Remember, Volunteers do not get allowances to entertain Representatives and their staff."

BETH STROFFOLENO
Dunkwa-on-Offin, Ghana

'Short pants' scoop

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I detect just a wee bit of prejudice in Mr. Lo Pinto's letter in the December Volunteer. He cautions Volunteers not to think that the "job is all that counts," and then lays this motivation to the work of the Boy Scouts and the Agency for International De-

Memorandum

TO: The field
FROM: The editors
SUBJECT: Dollars and sense

Looking for tips on how to spend your readjustment allowance? Former Volunteer David Lemons invested his entire amount in three oil wells in Texas when he returned home from Iran last year. He figures his wells, gushers all, will start paying off in seven months.

Correspondent Gary Engelberg's Christmas reading list from Dakar included a volume titled To Pieces, With Love, by J. H. Vaughn, published by Rundown House and billed as "a spoof on mores and morals in the Peace Corps by an insider."

Just like home? Our first letter from Micronesia arrived via an eight-cent U.S. air mail stamp from Volunteer Tom Goltz, whose return address contains a zip code (96943). What's more, he reports, Volunteers are helping the Pacific islanders apply for funds from the War on Poverty's Office of Economic Opportunity.

Quotes:

"There has been no change in the policy that executives going abroad (with the International Executive Service Corps) receive no salary for their work. The only compensation is the living allowance, averaging about $900 a month. . . ."

—The New York Times

"The Peace Corps is like a latter-day schmoo—it can be used for everything."

—A Volunteer in Turkey

"This year for the first time: Not one congressman in the House Foreign Affairs Committee voted against the Peace Corps . . . we received our 2,000,000th piece of mail . . . our 5,000th Peace Corps staff member was hired . . . the 25,000th Peace Corps Volunteer went overseas . . . the 10,000th Volunteer to have completed two years of service returned to the U.S. . . . a Volunteer went to Russia . . . the first Volunteer was drafted from overseas service . . . the first and second ex-Peace Corps Volunteers became overseas country directors . . . Volunteers went to the 55th country . . . we hired our 1,000th ex-Peace Corps Volunteer . . . Peace Corps psychiatrists spent more time with the staffs than with the Volunteers."

—Jack Vaughn

At Peace Corps staff orientations in Washington, they talk about MOM and POP—Memo on Marriage and Policy on Pregnancy. At training sites, these subjects are often treated with more practicality, and Lee Hougen is glad for that, reports El Salvador correspondent Mark Schneider. Hougen attended a lecture titled "How to Deliver a Baby" at an Oklahoma training site. Several months later Hougen, associate Peace Corps director in El Salvador, acted in an emergency to deliver his second son, Eric, at home in San Salvador.
velopment. I cannot speak for the motivation of the former, having served only briefly as a Second-Class Scout when I was in short pants. But as a returned Volunteer who lived for 20 months in a small village in eastern Nepal’s Himalayan foothills and who has now worked for USAID/Nepal for the past 14 months, I’d like to give Lo Pinto the straight scoop.

There are a multitude of reasons behind mutual misunderstanding between Volunteers and USAID technicians in the past in various countries. Not the least of the reasons is the failure of both parties to understand and appreciate the role and motives of the other fellow. Everyone knows that the Volunteer is “a highly motivated agent of change who has been crash trained in language and culture to work in harmony with host-country people in a variety of challenging, and often frustrating situations.”

Fewer know that the USAID technician is usually an equally highly motivated person who has 10 or 20 years of experience in working with foreign governments and who is likely to have an understanding of the complexities of a foreign culture equally as penetrating as that of the precocious boy with checks of tan six months removed from halls of ivy.

Yes, there are technicians (and Volunteers) who only think of getting the job done, and who fail to communicate.

But it is time for others like Lo Pinto to take a peek on the other side of the fence. Perhaps the increased maturity which they have gained as Peace Corps Volunteers will enable them to understand what they see there. We are all here to help to the best of our ability.

NICHOLAS M. ECKER-RACZ
Kathmandu, Nepal

On to Vietnam
To THE VOLUNTEER:
I thoroughly enjoyed your article on the unstructured training program (July). It was of particular interest to me because I was one of the Latin American Regional Arts and Crafts trainees in the first unstructured program at Camp Crozier, Puerto Rico.

Only now can I begin to measure how effective training was for my work here. I find I can come up with answers to various problems, or know what to do to find out. And “culture shock,” which numerous times we were told occurs about three months after arriving in country, I have not experienced and doubt if I will. It is the same with the others in my group whom I saw in our first group conference. That certainly should be the goal of all training programs. I wish unstructured programs the best of luck, or I guess I should direct that wish to the training staffs, for their job is really difficult and crucial. And if what other Volunteers say about their training is true, I hope that all training programs will take note of this one.

KATHERINE MULDOON
Santiago, Chile

Editor’s Note: For another angle on “unstructured” training, see Miss Muldoon’s picture on this page.

Good for Puerto Rico
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KATHERINE MULDOON
Santiago, Chile

Editor’s Note: For another angle on “unstructured” training, see Miss Muldoon’s picture on this page.

New CIS chief
Mary-Rita Tascketta, former director of placement at Chatham College, has been appointed director of the Peace Corps Career Information Service. She was previously deputy director of CIS. Miss Tascketta succeeds William Baxter, who is now director of the Office of Public Affairs.

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Puting structure into unstructured: Miss Muldoon’s banana leaf hut in the hills.