Do professionals belong in the Peace Corps?
Last year quantification was the most frightening word in the Peace Corps, and probably the least understood. It was a component of a new programming system called PPBS, a systematic approach to long-range planning. In the following article, James Pines, a former staff member in Ecuador who is acting director of the Office of Planning and Program Review, describes the present state of program goals and measurement and the Volunteer’s relation to PPBS.

Measuring Peace Corps performance

By JAMES PINES

The Planning-Programming-Budgeting System (PPBS) is intended to sharpen Peace Corps thinking about its project goals, the means it uses to achieve them and its effectiveness in reaching them. Volunteers have a role to play in its processes.

The PPBS framework begins with the purposes of the agency as set by the Peace Corps Act. Peace Corps goals in a country, consistent with these legislative purposes and with host country desires, are established by country directors.

Broad goals

The goals are usually such broad objectives as rural transformation and social development. Specific problem areas are then selected for priority Peace Corps attention (such as agriculture, education, health). Projects in these areas are then chosen for their presumed effectiveness in reaching the country goals and achieving all three purposes set forth in the Peace Corps Act. Each Volunteer’s job, as part of a project, is an integral part of the country Peace Corps program.

PPBS should increase the amount of information considered in decisions. It is an invitation for Volunteers to participate in programming—in the decisions on what projects will be undertaken, expanded or eliminated and when and how this can be accomplished. Although decisions will still be the responsibility of the Peace Corps country director, Volunteers are the best sources of useful programming information and can be the major source of influence on development of the country program.

Rational programming within the PPBS framework requires comparison of alternative projects and types of jobs. Measurement of results has sometimes been misunderstood as the

Volunteers in the new program in Mauritania have already been assigned to make contributions to the Planning-Programming-Budgeting System (PPBS) by country director C. J. Reynolds.

Reynolds says that a country director’s ability to program well “will depend upon the quality of the project programming he gets from Volunteers.”

To obtain that quality, he has launched self and project evaluation procedures among Volunteers. During orientation, each member of the group received a set of questions to be answered at a conference to be held six months after the Volunteers have been on the job. Sample questions:

Which of your projects is most successful and why? How do you evaluate your projects and your own success? What new projects might be successful and why?

“ar proper technique for Volunteer initiation into PPBS must be one which first emphasizes self and project evaluation,” says Reynolds. “From these analyses, questions can be asked to suggest more comprehensive evaluations among PPBS guidelines. A second way to increase comprehensiveness might be to compare staff and Volunteer evaluations of the same project, then to publish syntheses.”

The next logical step is from evaluation to making programming alternatives, says Reynolds, and to involve Volunteers with planning: “Implementation of staff-Volunteer plans should provide reinforcement for continuing Volunteer.PPBS involvement.”

Reynolds developed his Volunteer approach to programming in the belief that the key to successful programming lies in the ability of the system “to be understood and effectively manipulated by all persons responsible for conceiving and implementing program plans,” namely Peace Corps Volunteers.
point of PPBS. It is not an end in itself, but one of the necessary elements for making the system a useful instrument. Five years of Peace Corps operations have so far produced little hard information for use in comparing the effectiveness of various alternatives.

The Peace Corps does not, by measuring results, become just another technical aid program, so long as we are careful that what we measure is appropriate to our goals. To measure merely the number of bridges built would not be appropriate. A Peace Corps project would be more concerned with development of host country capacity and use of self-help means to build bridges. The number of bridges completed by national self-help efforts may be less than the number built through a project with a narrower objective, but the Peace Corps is prepared to defend the broader choice. Where numbers can be made more helpful by including a narrative description or explanation, this can be freely done. The aim is to recognize and describe the effects of various types of Volunteer activity as precisely as possible.

Some Peace Corps staff and returned Volunteers say that “the results of Peace Corps efforts won’t be visible for 20 years.” Others urge that we “are changing attitudes and nobody can measure that.” They are concerned that attempts to talk about results will distort our programming and emphasis.

**Compare early results**

_It will take 20 years and more to effect rural transformation in Kenya or social development in Brazil. Nevertheless, if we are doing anything right, some results of our efforts will be evident much sooner, and there are better and worse ways to do the job. Unless we compare the results of alternative approaches, we cannot intelligently choose the right ones._

Academic social scientists, who have been working on the problem for years, are clamoring to help Peace Corps measure attitude change. I think Peace Corps Volunteers can do it, because they can see whose attitudes are being changed, in what direction, what kinds of behavior are likely to result from the changed attitudes, and how the changes in attitude and behavior may be identified.

There is little history in the Peace Corps measurement field and no bases for comparisons. Some day we may be able to say that it is harder to change attitudes in Bolivia than in Chile, or that Peace Corps Volunteers are likely to bring more pupils from one place to another in Ethiopia than in Liberia. We do not have the answers yet. If we ever do, it will not follow that, because certain goals are harder to achieve, we choose to abandon pursuit of them. But no agency or individual seeking to be an agent of change will be hurt by exploring and describing the results of various approaches to change.

**An imminent task**

Peace Corps country directors, field staffs and Volunteers will soon be called upon, with help from the Office of Planning and Program Review, to define goals and to develop a system for collecting information about Peace Corps effectiveness in reaching them. Volunteers can prepare for this effort by thinking and talking about programming objectives and indices of their achievement. They may find that projects claiming to do one thing are effectively doing something quite different. They may also discover that there are better Peace Corps alternatives for doing what their program seeks to do. During staff visits, Volunteer conferences and any other time they are so inclined, Volunteers can be thinking about the kinds of data that might give meaningful information about effects of Peace Corps work. Staff, host country people and visiting firemen may have helpful ideas about the best things to look for and the numbers which can express them.

The more formal gathering of performance data will begin by June and agreement on criteria must be reached before then.

This will not be an attempt to measure effectiveness of individual Volunteers, nor does it contemplate describing every accomplishment of particular programs. Hopefully, the systematic collection of relevant information will enable us to describe better what happens when a certain number of Peace Corps Volunteers are programmed in a certain country to help the people of that country achieve certain goals. The immediate research will serve as a base for future investigations that may permit us to make major contributions to the study of development and social change.

The mechanics of data collection will vary from country to country. The Office of Planning and Program Review will supply brief basic questionnaires for various kinds of projects. Country directors and Volunteers can then add questions and decide how best to collect and compile answers.

We are confident that greater participation in the programming process by Volunteers will lead to better programs and a more effective Peace Corps.

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ON THE COVER: Dr. Robert Rogers, an articulate physician who thinks professionals and their families have a place in the Peace Corps (page 9). We are grateful to Fred Baldwin, a former staff man in Sarawak, for the cover photograph and those on pages 10-12. Also, thanks to Paul Reed and Carol Condon for design assistance and execution for this issue.
Warren Wiggins opens 'graduate Peace Corps'

Warren Wiggins, a major architect of the Peace Corps and one of its leading administrators, has resigned to form what might be called a graduate Peace Corps of the private sector.

He has set up a firm in a Washington slum to tackle social and economic change in the United States and abroad. It is called TransCentury Corporation, and will offer management assistance, middle level manpower and training programs to private and government clients who are rebuilding cities, assisting developing nations and expanding opportunities for eliminating poverty. Says Wiggins: "Its concern is transition; its business is people."

Wiggins hopes to hire some 300 former Peace Corps Volunteers and others with "proven experience in the arena of social change" (including VISTA and IVS graduates) by the end of next August.

The employees will be called "associates" and they will be hired on a one or two-year contract basis at salaries ranging from $7,000 to $12,000 per year. To attract them Wiggins has hired Richard Irish, a former Peace Corps Volunteer and Peace Corps Talent Search officer, as chief of recruitment.

Wiggins says the firm will be project-oriented and he hopes to keep hierarchy at a minimum, with "total responsibility" vested in the associate at the operational level. That will come as no surprise to those who knew him in the Peace Corps, for Wiggins was a strong advocate of individual responsibility and the foremost apostle of an "open society" inside the bureaucracy.

Wiggins and Irish are operating out of a store front office at 1320 7th St., N.W. in the slum-ridden Cardozo district of the capital. The site of the Spartan headquarters symbolizes Wiggins' efforts to attack poverty at the grass roots level.

TransCentury's 45-year-old president views his ambitious new project as "a continuation of the Peace Corps by other means."

"I thought about a lot of things I might do after leaving the Peace Corps," says Wiggins, "and decided I would like to stay as close as possible to the people associated with it and the things they stand for. I look on TransCentury as a continuum for the people and ideas of the Peace Corps."

Like the Peace Corps, TransCentury will be young minded; it will not be career-oriented; it will be "a combination of idealism and practical work." Will it compete with the Peace Corps? Wiggins thinks not, since his associates will be on a skill level one notch above that of the Peace Corps, at the returned Volunteer level. And Wiggins and Irish make it clear that they seek only outstanding former Volunteers.

Wiggins resigned from the Peace Corps on Feb. 5, 1967, six years to the day that Sargent Shriver, impressed with Wiggins' draft paper on the Peace Corps called "The Towering Task," invited him to join the original task force. Later Shriver was to say: "More than any other man, Warren Wiggins is responsible for the miracle of planning and organization that has brought the Peace Corps into being."

From 1961 to 1965 he was in charge of program development and overseas operations. Two years ago he became deputy director. In accepting his resignation, President Lyndon Johnson said, "your ideas, your forceful leadership and commitment to the ideals of the Peace Corps have played a very significant role in the success of this program."

Director Jack Vaughn has said that Wiggins was "the Peace Corps' secret weapon" and that "it would be hard to overstate what he has done for his government and for the future of our nation." In a message to the Peace Corps, Vaughn thanked Wiggins for his service.
Members of the Peace Corps will spend more time in 1967 than ever before on developing and improving their language skills. Language classes at training sites generally will be smaller in size, and there will be more of them. There is added impetus for secondary language training overseas. And there is support in some quarters for requiring minimum language proficiency levels for Volunteers as well as staff members.

For six years language has gained momentum as an essential component of Peace Corps work. Yet enforcement of language policies and procedures has been weak. As former Deputy Director Warren Wiggins said: “We have failed to institutionalize the teeth of the system.”

Support for better enforcement and better language skills has come from a variety of sources, including a recent recommendation by a Harvard professor that Volunteers should have at least a Foreign Service Institute language proficiency rating of S-2.

In order to achieve that level, said the professor, John Carroll, a potential Volunteer with average language aptitude and no previous acquaintance with the language would require 400 hours of training. The Peace Corps has approached that training time component in only some Spanish and French projects.

Allan Kulakow, language coordinator for the agency, supported Carroll’s findings and said that S-2 is the minimum acceptable proficiency for a Volunteer to serve effectively. He has urged that this requirement be written into training contracts, but no final decision has been made on this proposal.

Carroll’s study for the Peace Corps also revealed that if a Volunteer goes overseas with less than an S-2 rating, it will take him from five to six months to overcome the adverse effects of language problems. Those Volunteers who already have an S-2 proficiency usually need only one month to overcome difficulties, he noted. Carroll recommended that regular language instruction for those below the S-2 level should be continued after they arrive overseas.

The S-2 rating indicates an ability to satisfy routine social demands and limited on-the-job requirements.

There has never been a minimum level of language proficiency for Volunteers. Overseas staff members are required to achieve an S-3 rating (the minimum professional level) before going abroad. However, the requirement is often waived in the rush to fill staff vacancies.

Between March and October of last year, for example, only 12 of 82 staff members who were supposed to reach an S-3 level in their primary languages before going overseas actually achieved that level. Of the 12 who met the requirement, six were from the Latin America Region (which traditionally pays more attention to language), four from Africa, two from North Africa, Near East and South Asia and none from East Asia and Pacific.

Guidelines from Training

Kulakow found that during 1966 some training institutions failed to provide potential Volunteers with the 300-hour minimum of language training desired by the Peace Corps, and he is seeking more universal application of the minimum (in most training projects language accounts for more than half of the total instructional time). Also, on recommendation from the Foreign Service Institute, the Peace Corps will recommend a maximum class size of six trainees, with even smaller classes for low-aptitude trainees.

But even with improved language training components, many Volunteers are still going overseas with language deficiencies, especially those who need more difficult languages such as Yoruba, Thai, Amharic and others. Thus, Kulakow endorses increased efforts overseas in both primary and secondary languages (for recommendations on secondary language approaches, see the following article).

Kulakow believes that Volunteers and staff have been unable to learn much language overseas because they lack facilities, support and guidance in this area. To correct this he seeks to have full-time language officers in some of the more difficult linguistic areas. Other recommendations, which are already being applied in some Peace Corps areas, include vacation language seminars, tutorial services and self-study programs.

Charles Peters, Director of Evaluation and Research, says that programming and site selection should take language into more account and that Volunteers should be assigned only where they can learn the language. He criticized the oft-heard complaint that Peace Corps members can’t learn the local language because there are too many dialects. He said that the Peace Corps should apply itself to the learning of local languages and should be tough on Volunteers and staff who don’t improve in language proficiency.

Former Deputy Director Wiggins suggested to the staff that some requirements might be: issue “unsatisfactory” ratings to Volunteers who don’t reach a certain level of proficiency after 12 months; force staff members who haven’t reached a certain level after a year to resign; finance pre-training language studies for invitees and require that they arrive at a training site with certain proficiency; create the position of Volunteer leader for language.

If the Peace Corps adopts stringent rules for language such as the above, it would have considerable impact on recruiting and selection. Now, for example, Peace Corps advertising flatly says the Peace Corps will teach a language. The director of selection, Al Carp, suggests that the present approach, “Don’t worry about knowing a language . . . we’ll teach you,” might be changed to, “If you don’t think seriously about language . . . don’t join the Peace Corps.”
Another spotty area in language is testing. Many Volunteers have not had their proficiency measured by the customary FSI test, the only one available to measure actual ability to communicate. And there have never been enough test administrators at home and abroad.

The Carroll Report recommended a formal program of language proficiency measurement, based largely on objective tests, to be applied three times: at the beginning and end of training and at some point in the overseas tour. Peace Corps testing requirements have already strained the resources of the Foreign Service Institute which has worked closely with the agency in this area for four years. The FSI has agreed to assist in the training of in-country testers who will be under Peace Corps jurisdiction. Some Peace Corps staff members think that someday the Peace Corps might form its own testing unit. Others, noting that the Peace Corps is now the largest user of language training in the world, go even further to suggest setting up a separate language facility for the agency.

**NEEDED:**

**A survival kit for secondary languages**

By EARL STEVICK

These remarks are phrased in terms of the needs of Peace Corps Volunteers in Africa, because that is the kind of trainee I have been working with most recently, but the ideas expressed here may also be applicable, with appropriate changes, in other parts of the world.

A few of the Peace Corps Volunteers in Africa really have little use for any language but English or French. Others require an African language only for limited purposes. Many, however, have a genuine need for at least a working knowledge of some African language.

The Peace Corps has hitherto met these needs either within its training programs or not at all. It has provided as many hours of instruction as possible, with the best staff and resources available to it, in as many languages as it could. A recent Peace Corps manual (Where Do I Go From Here?), attempts to show Volunteers how to continue on their own after the training program is over. The urgency of Peace Corps needs, the almost immediate feedback from graduates of its programs, and the boldness of its experimentation have had a stimulating and largely salutary effect on the language teaching community.

One kind of language problem, however, has remained largely untouched. What about the Volunteer who has been trained in Twi but finds himself in a Dagomba-speaking area? Or who has been trained in Swahili but finds that the daily life of his neighbors is conducted in Luo or Nyakyusa? Individual needs for secondary languages such as these are real—in some cases urgent—and potential benefits are greater than most people think. I would suggest, however, that secondary languages call for an approach that is unusual in three respects:

- Languages are usually taught in the training program. Secondary languages must almost inevitably be learned in the country and on the job. The logistic problems of producing materials and engaging instructors and other staff are prohibitive. In addition, pre-field assignments are subject to change for too many non-linguistic reasons.
- Training is usually measured in hours. For secondary languages studied on the job, study should be measured in hours per week.
- Training programs usually aim at some level of absolute proficiency (S-1, S-2, etc.). The Peace Corps Volunteer studying a secondary language should aim first of all at making steady progress.

Volunteers who are headed for areas where secondary language will be of primary importance to them should therefore spend a few dozen hours of their training in acquiring a set of survival techniques, so that they will be able to keep their heads above water in a language even while totally submerged in it.

Specifically, I would suggest that Volunteers concentrate on developing four skills.

First, they should learn to pick out those expressions that will be most useful to them in the situations where they are. Instead of the old grammar book cliché, “the book is on the table,” one person may need to learn “the meeting is at the school” and another may need “the hypodermic needle is in the autoclave.”

Second, they should become accustomed to eliciting expressions of this kind from speakers of the language, with special attention to the economies that come from getting families of expressions that are partly alike in form and meaning. Once having learned “the chairman is at the meeting,” it costs only a little more effort to learn “where is the chairman? The chairman is in the office, the chairman is at home, the president is in the meeting,” and so forth.

Third, Volunteers will need to know how to bring their pronunciation up to the level where it is easy to understand, and fairly pleasant to peoples' ears. A few simple techniques can make it much easier for speakers of the language to help them toward this goal.

Finally, one needs a system for keeping track of what one has learned, because periodic review maintains fluency and because looking back at previously mastered material can make it easier to see how two old sentences can provide the basis for construction of a new one.
More generally, Volunteers in this kind of training must come to regard the language as a tool that they are using—not just a tool they may someday use, and certainly not as an abstract intellectual puzzle or game.

It should be evident that I am not suggesting that we try to teach Volunteers to ‘do their own linguistic analysis.’ Nor am I suggesting that we try to get every Volunteer to ‘develop language study materials’ that will be used by others. I only want them to become self-sufficient in making progress, day by day, with respect to their own language needs, in whatever situation they find themselves.

Earl Stevick, a linguist with the school of language studies of the Foreign Service Institute, has devoted much of his time during the past three years to Peace Corps language training and testing.

We’ll teach you to speak a foreign language in thirteen weeks. Free!

You name it, we’ve got it. The biggest selection in town. Urdu and Tagalog and Swahili and Hindi and Quechua and Spanish and French and Portuguese. To list a few. All free for the learning. And when we say learning we don’t mean ordinary speak and listen and read learning. No sir. When we teach you a language we teach you to make it in it, play basketball in it, build sanitation facilities and farm cooperatives in it. We teach you to climb mountains and span rivers in it, to have patience and understanding in it, to do something important in it, to look at yourself and the world in it.

We teach you to make friends and get along with people in it. And we even supply the friends and people. Yes sir. With every foreign language you get, absolutely free, an invitation to spend two years in a matching foreign country.

So hurry! Hurry! Don’t delay. It’s the chance of a lifetime. No catches. No gimmicks. Nothing to pay. You see, it’s all part of a promotion for a product we’re interested in pushing. Peace.

Write: The Peace Corps, Washington, D.C. 20525. Published as a public service in cooperation with the Advertising Council.

A current ad. With the freedom to learn, a promise of longer hours, tougher requirements, and, for some, overseas study.

Punjabi Fula Wolof Pashto Hindi Tumbuka Mandingo
SECONDARY LANGUAGES:

In the Andes, a discovery of a compromise verb tense

By ANDREW COHEN

La Paz, Bolivia

Walichispaya. ("Although it is doubtful, it might perhaps be O.K. pues.")

Without a doubt the Incas adopted Quechua as their tongue because they could not learn Aymara. This tough little race of people, the Aymaras, have lived around Lake Titicaca on the Altiplano upwards of 2,500 years, according to even the most pessimistic anthropologists. This has given them a long time to develop their language. It has managed to become so complicated as to lead one Peace Corpsman to speculate that most probably they can no longer understand one another—they just pretend to. Others have commented that their lengthy conversations are a good reason for not learning the language—that once learned, it could prove a bore to listen to since no one could say interesting things for so long!

These speculations hold a good deal of Lake Titicaca water. But it's interesting to note that while professors in the United States are sometimes chided for their inability to carry out the discussion of a topic—that they might refer to point A and actually discuss it, perhaps arriving at point B, but that they never get to points C, D or E—the Aymaras can spend hours in a reunion talking above, below and around point A alone, without actually talking about it and very often with no intention of doing so.

In many parts of the Altiplano, Aymara is the only language. Some youths speak a version of Spanish, but it is mainly Aymara spoken with Spanish words and Aymara pronunciation. They could not exactly be called good informants because none of them agrees with another as to proper Aymara usage, nor are they consistent among themselves.

I had always gone on the assumption that if you knew a word, you could recognize it in speech, thus the importance of learning vocabulary. The problem with Aymara is that the transliteration that appears in books is at best an approximation, because it is not a written language! And it seems that all important Aymara words defy transliteration. The vowels are particularly hard to vocalize. There is no "o," but rather a sound that floats somewhere between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same peregrinations between the Spanish "o" and "u." Their "e" performs these same
tion but find it hard to believe that it was asked. This is because the Aymara form of small talk is to ask you if you are doing what you are most unquestioningly doing. If, in truth, you simply could not understand the question the first time, it helps little to ask them to repeat it. As if more voluble forth the opportunity to take it from the top once again, they actually speed it up and perhaps even throw in another suffix!

Some ancient Aymara was pretty shrewd to come up with form janicha. Used at the end of a question, it demands a "yes" or "no" reply. This janicha helps avoid hours of fruitless interrogation and, surprisingly enough, no one considers it rude. In fact, they feel quite unobliged to answer a question honestly unless the janicha appears. Then they begin to consider the question.

There is also an all-purpose interrogative, -stti, that delightfully changes meaning according to the word to which it is suffixed. If you ask someone, "Tatamasti?" you would be inquiring innocently about the health of someone's father. If, however, you say, "Cullacamasti?" there is no doubt that you are trying to find out what kind of a piece some guy's sister is. These shades of meaning are learned strictly from experience, sometimes painful experience.

This article is bound to speak out, or perhaps even cry out, for Peace Corps souls all over the world who, used to a logical language like English, or a more logical language like Spanish or a little less logical language like French, have encountered totally illogical languages or dialects. Inevitably someone will remark, "Just because they think differently from us, does that mean their language lacks logic?" But in these moments we must think of our endless struggles to communicate and calmly reply, "yes."

Andrew Cohen has been a rural community developer at Ancoraines, Bolivia, on the shores of Lake Titicaca, for 1 1/2 years. He was so enlivened with his "illogical" secondary language that he translated an Aymara grammar into English, and incorporated updated vocabulary and Spanish words currently used in Aymara.

Ashabranner appointed acting deputy director

Brent Ashabranner, director of Peace Corps training and a veteran overseas staff member, has been appointed acting deputy director of the Peace Corps by President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Ashabranner, 45, previously served as country and deputy director in India and he was one of the first overseas staff members of the Peace Corps, as deputy director in Nigeria in 1961.

He is an Oklahoman, and taught English at Oklahoma State University before going to Africa in 1955 with a forerunner of the AID program. Ashabranner is also co-author of seven books.

Director Jack Vaughn says Ashabranner "has earned my confidence from the devoted service he has given to the Peace Corps," and characterized his new acting deputy as "a rare breed of administrator—one who can keep a tight rein on things while encouraging people to develop their own ideas and to run with them."

In a first appearance at the Peace Corps forum for staff members in Washington, Ashabranner outlined his view that the Peace Corps "must be a people program," and said that the agency should give more attention to human resources development.

"During the first five years we never believed it (the Peace Corps) was possible," he said. "We've just started, and in the second five years we have an opportunity to do so much better."

"The greatest possibilities for improving the Peace Corps in the long run are in the area of program development," he said. "I don't think we know how effectively the Peace Corps can work in the area of human resources development—it is important for the Peace Corps to address itself to developing good programs in this area."

Alex Shakow, Ashabranner's deputy in the Office of Training, will assume his chores in that area as acting director of training.
Doctors serving as Peace Corps Volunteers demand more tailored job assignments than other Volunteers and, having families, require more support than the Peace Corps should have to give. This is what we doctors hear from many sources.

Doctors do represent a group of people who have put in much extra time, with considerable outlay, to acquire skills. They represent a group of people who are more mature than Volunteers just out of college. They are very often married and have families. In all these respects they are not different from a group of specially trained teachers, engineers, agricultural experts and others with advanced degrees and experience.

Whenever one deals with higher skills, programming of projects becomes more essential. It is all very well to tell less experienced Volunteers that part of the Peace Corps challenge is to find and make your own job. But when it comes to more highly trained personnel, not only is it needlessly and unduly frustrating to waste one's skills, so to speak, but also it is failing to give the host country the proper, full benefit of these rarer services. This makes it imperative that appropriate programming be coordinated by a team involving per-
sonnel of the host country, Peace Corps staff familiar with the area, and experts from the United States in the field of specialty concerned.

It is a time-consuming requirement but a necessary one if glaring failures in the utilization of skills and opportunities are to be avoided.

The Nangrahar medical school project here in Jalalabad is an example of a well programmed project.

This is a relatively new medical school which just began its fourth year. The Peace Corps undertook to furnish doctors a year and a half ago to help teach students and to train counterpart teachers gradually to take over the full teaching responsibilities. The Peace Corps realized that this was a moderately long-term responsibility and that doctors must be furnished over a period of perhaps six to eight years.

In October, 1965, four of us from the Peace Corps arrived in Jalalabad. With part-time help from our staff doctor, one of us directed the surgery department; the rest of us kept busy in the preventive medicine and medical departments. We had the benefit of two Fulbright teachers, one in biochemistry, one in nutrition. CARE-MEDICO furnished us with visiting specialists from time to time and helped a great deal in teaching pathology. This year two more physicians from the Peace Corps joined us: one in surgery, one in medicine. All the Peace Corps doctors are married with a total of seven children among them.

We have three Volunteer laboratory technicians and a chemist. They are an essential part of the whole set-up, and plan to train more in-country technicians to carry on.

There are eight Volunteer nurses training student nurses and organizing the hospital nursing service, and now working in new community health stations being set up by the preventive medicine department.

A Volunteer pharmacist is developing the department of pharmacology.

Four Volunteers teach English to the students.

A Volunteer secretary-librarian fills a very much needed function.

Another Volunteer teaches general science.

We have simple, but excellent living quarters; a challenging though very often a frustrating job; interesting counterparts. Our skills are being used. One of the great rewards is the stimulation of working with our counterparts and the knowledge that we are accepted and appreciated by them. It is exceedingly gratifying, too, to see the progress made by the students.

The programming of this project was quite well worked out. Our communications and transportation problems were bad but are improving. Unfortunately, many of the other physicians in the Peace Corps medical project have not fared as well. Either no job existed or the programming was vague. Family problems were not foreseen or were poorly handled so that a number of Volunteers have terminated. But this need not have happened.

In addition to careful programming, these more highly specialized services require definitely more in the way of equipment and transportation. The needs of the job should dictate what supplies and what transportation are necessary. Distribution of these tools and facilities should not be governed by preconceived ideas in Peace Corps offices that Volunteers should not be allowed their use.

The more skilled professional should be entitled to a larger readjustment allowance or termination pay. While on the job he usually can live reasonably well on the allowance now given to all Volunteers.

The Peace Corps must constantly remember that Volunteer doctors need full support for their families in matters of health protection, housing,
equipment and schooling. The wife may or may not be a part-time Volunteer. But her chief job is to help her husband and care for her family so that he may make his maximum contribution.

Doctors often do help out in many matters non-professional. They are glad to do this providing their main job or emphasis uses the skills they have acquired. and have come overseas in order to exercise as fully as possible.

The Peace Corps heretofore has involved itself in all sorts of semi-skilled and pioneer-like activities. These Volunteers (mostly A.B. generalists) have performed a tremendous job, often leaving counterparts trained well enough to carry on, but often, too, requiring other Peace Corps Volunteers to take over and go on with the project for two or more years. Each time there is a change-over, the chances are that the incoming Volunteer should be endowed with higher skills. It is likely to be a continuous step-up process. Otherwise, there will be a slipping back of progress and a real dissatisfaction on the part of the host country with the Peace Corps. Of course, we could continue to spread out into new areas and new countries with unskilled people, but there will be a limit to that.

What does the Peace Corps then face? Either it gradually loses its effectiveness and countries will cease to require its services, causing it slowly to fade out of the picture, or it will undertake the challenge to supply specially trained personnel. If it does this, it must be willing to take on a vigorous and understanding support of such people and their families.

To me it seems a great challenge. There must be many potential projects that would be as challenging as the Nangrah Dar medical school here in Jalalabad. It takes time and knowledge to find them. If the Peace Corps is not willing to make this next forward step, then some other organization certainly should.

Dr. Rogers assists in the abdominal examination of an Afghan woman. Man.

Dr. Rogers is chief of the department of pediatrics and co-chief of the department of medicine at the Jalalabad medical school. His wife, Mildred, also a Volunteer, teaches English at the school. The Rogers are from Greenwich, Conn., where he practiced pediatrics and served as chief of the city's board of health.

Special problems of ‘different’ Volunteers

"We are different but not special.” That is how a group of Volunteer doctors rated their roles in the Peace Corps last year at their midterm conference. The 15 doctors and their families comprised the majority of the first group of Volunteer doctors to be trained together and the first Peace Corps group to include non-Volunteer wives and children. The project was labeled an experiment; a chance to see how professionals fared in the Peace Corps and how the Peace Corps might have to change in order to accommodate them.

Doctors are more highly educated than any other collection of Peace Corps Volunteers. Their experience with human suffering is wider than that of most Volunteers. They are older than the average Volunteer; many have been married for several years and have families.

In some respects, the Peace Corps does treat them differently. Wives with dependent children are offered an option to serve as Volunteers. Non-Volunteer wives receive a separate living
allowance, 75 per cent of the amount of a Volunteer’s allowance in their host country. All children under 18 receive 25 per cent of the Volunteer allowance. Volunteer doctors whose wives are not Volunteers receive a readjustment allowance of $125 per month, instead of the routine $75. Special per diem for leave is also granted to families.

But the doctors’ exceptional requirements—expanded programming and family support—are relatively new to the Peace Corps, which has, through both currently available resources and staff attitudes, at times found it difficult to see a separation between “different” and “special.”

Distinguishing between the two is not made any easier by the fact that the Peace Corps Act prescribes that only those Volunteers who qualify as “Volunteer leaders” may receive support for their non-Volunteer families. In the middle-level-skills spirit of the Act, the fielding of specialists as Peace Corps Volunteers is thus limited by the Volunteer leader provision. Doctors with families must be able and willing to perform “supervisory or other special duties or responsibilities,” such as coordinating health programs in which other Volunteers work, before they can go overseas as Volunteer doctors.

Also, recruiting doctors to become Peace Corps Volunteers has been difficult. Younger doctors are anxious to begin using their skills in a way which will advance their careers and start replenishing the funds they spent on their educations. A shortage of doctors in the U.S. and the needs of the war in Vietnam compound the recruiting problem. Almost all of the younger doctors who are ready to begin practicing medicine are eligible for the draft. While serving as a Peace Corps staff doctor (through the Public Health Service) fulfills military obligations, serving as a Volunteer doctor does not.

In addition, the recruiting difficulty negatively affects the quality of programming. Field staff can never be confident that slots painstakingly found can be filled and promises made can be kept.

The result is a small and fairly select program. At present, 22 Volunteer doctors are serving in nine countries. They are working in medical schools: teaching, helping develop and expand the schools, and training future medical teachers. They are guiding A.B. generalists in health programs which include preventive medicine and health education. Some are involved in curative medicine.

A half dozen more are scheduled to go overseas this summer and, for the time being, the Peace Corps plans to continue recruiting and programming doctors on an individual basis. According to Dr. David Griffith, coordinator of the doctor program, the Peace Corps is especially seeking to attract specialists, doctors with teaching experience and doctors with experience in public health.

Dr. Griffith doubts that Volunteer doctors can make a lasting impact on medical development within a host country (“other than the short-term, Albert Schweitzer kind”) unless they work in teaching and public health situations as part of a continuous host country effort toward medical progress.
2,248 Filipinos questioned on the subject made this composite portrait of

The 'ideal' Volunteer

which denotes an ability to get along well.

The survey concludes: "For our Filipino respondents the best possible Volunteer is the nicest possible person."

Conversely, for 95 per cent of the respondents the characteristic which makes a Volunteer undesirable is his inability to get on well with others.

Teachers and principals tended to place a strong secondary emphasis on technical skills and the professional preparation of Volunteers. This was especially true among Filipino educators who had been associated with Volunteers.

Overall, the Filipinos showed only a very slight preference for female Volunteers.

Two out of every three Filipinos surveyed said they preferred single Volunteers. Religious leaders formed the only sampling group that showed a preference for married Volunteers.

As for skin color, the Filipinos had a slight preference for brown-skinned Volunteers, which implied to the researchers that "most Filipino respondents would like Volunteers who look more like themselves."

In language, about two out of five Filipinos thought competence in Tagalog, the national language, should be excellent, while about another two out of five thought fair ability would suffice. The remaining one did not think Tagalog competence mattered. Half of the respondents thought the ideal Volunteer should know a local language (such as Ilokano, Waray or Tagalog) fluently, a third thought fair competence would suffice and one out of ten thought it didn't matter. All told, the Filipinos indicated that a Volunteer's knowledge of the local language was more important than his knowledge of Tagalog, the national one.

Many Filipinos apparently didn't like smoking Volunteers, especially female Volunteers. Four out of five objected to women Volunteers smoking. Male Volunteers fared better, but a surprising one of every three Filipinos preferred that male Volunteers not smoke. The Filipinos registered some strong negatives on drinking alcoholic liquors. Seven out of ten respondents said male Volunteers should not imbibe. Nine out of ten said female Volunteers should abstain. Still, 7.3 per cent of the respondents said they preferred females who did drink (23.7 per cent favored male Volunteer tipplers) and the researchers called that a surprise finding.
Among the sample groups, the better educated Filipinos—municipal and national officials, principals and teachers and religious leaders—proved less demanding in their attitudes toward Volunteer language competence and smoking and drinking behavior. Barrio officials, ordinary household heads and local people who had contact with Volunteers generally demonstrated a more rigid outlook toward Volunteer behavior.

The Filipinos also provided information about the Volunteer they liked best and the one they liked least. From this data, the researchers deduced that Volunteers with whom respondents worked were much more likely to be best liked than those Volunteers whom they knew only socially.

The best-liked Volunteer is thought of as liking the Philippines and Filipinos. He will also tend to be called by an informal name and to be thought to profess the same religion as the Filipino who likes him. He will be considered fairly fluent in the local language and will be remembered for the things he accomplished in the community he served.

The University of Hawaii researchers take frequent note of what they call a "courtesy bias," or a tendency for Filipinos to tell interviewers what they think will please them. To insure valid responses on attitudes towards Volunteers and other subjects, the interviewing was done by Filipinos, and with an announced purpose of better understanding of Filipino feelings about "outsiders" of any kind.
Most often the Peace Corps reads about itself through the eyes of Americans. But the latest major research effort on the Peace Corps departS from that insular perspective. This work approaches the Peace Corps almost exclusively through the eyes of host country nationals.

The Philippines Peace Corps Survey, a hefty, three-pound, 700-page document, was two years and $89,000 in the making. The survey was conducted by the University of Hawaii under a contract with the Peace Corps.

The survey team set out to answer the big questions: What impact does the program have in a particular country? How lasting is its effect? How do host country nationals in day-to-day contact with Volunteers feel about the program and about Volunteers? To what extent has Peace Corps achieved the goals for which it was created? What has changed because the Peace Corps was there?

Unfortunately, by the time the social scientists finished their report the Peace Corps had already come, up with many of the answers it needed to effect training and programming changes in the Philippines. For the reader of The Survey, this problem of time is compounded by laborious prose and lengthy descriptions of research methods.

Still, The Survey reaches deeply into the Philippines, and as an anthropological happy hunting ground it at least matches its famous Peace Corps predecessor in impact research, the Cornell Peru Report (The Volunteer, January, 1966). The researchers scoured the country from top to bottom, sampling villages where the Peace Corps had been and where it had not been, and came up with a reservoir of data. Quantitatively, they learned more about the Philippines than they did about the Peace Corps.

The research effort resulted in 302,000 bits of information about 2,248 Filipinos who were interviewed at length, and in 13,000 items about the 180 communities in which these people lived. Some 16,000 items of information about 124 Volunteers the Filipinos discussed in their interviews were also collected.

The Philippines was a logical choice for the research. During part of 1963 more than 10 per cent of all Volunteers abroad were assigned to the Philippines. The friendly bond between the Philippines and the United States gave rise to an expectation that Volunteers in the Philippines would have few of the adjustment problems experienced by Volunteers in other parts of the world and would consequently produce substantial results. In such a country, it was reasoned, results should be readily discernible.

The study was conducted by Thomas Maretzki and Frank Lynch, S.J., both anthropologists who had participated in Peace Corps Philippines training programs. The in-field phase of the research began in July, 1964, and lasted for nearly a year.

The study intended to measure impact in two areas. Working from the general guidelines set out in the Peace Corps Act and the more specific guidelines in the project description, research first looked into the ways that Volunteers might have affected Filipinos. The second focal point of the study was to judge the reactions of Filipinos to the Peace Corps program and Volunteers, and then to determine what characteristics of the Volunteers accounted for the differing reactions.

The Peace Corps program in the Philippines was inaugurated chiefly to provide assistance in improving English language and elementary science instruction; however, the project goals were stated in such broad terms that the fact of their accomplishment was bound to be open to question.

Volunteers in the groups studied were given the controversial role of “Educational Aide,” a position without precedent in the Philippines public school system. The team of investigators hoped to clarify the role of educational aide and to discover other information of value to programming in the Philippines.

Selected for study in the project were 48 experimental, or Peace Corps, municipalities and 27 control, or non-Peace Corps municipalities. Within the Peace Corps municipalities—scattered from northern Luzon to southern Mindanao—117 communities of two types were surveyed: the barrio, or village, and the poblacion, or municipal capital. Since the study aimed to ascertain the impact a program had already had, the selection of communities was limited to places where at least one Volunteer had served a full term, but where other Volunteers were neither assigned nor about to be assigned.

The survey team, made up of Filipinos, had no detailed knowledge of Volunteer activity in the experimental municipalities. That one or more Volunteers had been there and had left—this the team knew and nothing more: no names, no knowledge of which communities the Volunteers had lived and worked in, no clues as to age, sex, skin color, civil status or individual assignment. All of these...
details were to be learned from the interviews.

The "typical" Filipino among the 2,248 interviewed was male, married, a Roman Catholic, lived in a poblacion, was between 40 and 44 years old and had about six years of schooling. In addition, he spoke any one of 39 mother tongues and was from the lower socio-economic class. The Survey sought, as the authors put it, to measure the Peace Corps through the "eyes of the little people."

An evaluation of the Volunteers who served in the communities visited produced an equivalent profile of the "typical" Volunteer in the Philippines. There was an equal chance that the Volunteer would be male or female and, in general, the picture was the same as that of Volunteers all over the world—the young college graduate, white, single and with no teaching experience.

The two differences most readily apparent between the Filipinos and the Volunteers they worked with were potential stumbling blocks for the whole "Educational Aide" program. One difference was that the average Filipino was some 20 years older than the average Volunteer. The second difference, closely correlated to the first, was that the average Filipino counterpart had 15 to 20 years of teaching experience while the Volunteer who was supposed to be assisting him to improve his teaching had had no experience other than that provided in Peace Corps training.

One of The Survey's most disappointing findings is closely related to these two factors. The Survey revealed that the Peace Corps had no significant positive effect on the English competence of principals and teachers and that contact with Volunteers had apparently brought about no change in their attitudes toward their profession.

A returned Volunteer who was in one of the groups included in the study has read The Philippines Survey and reacted thusly: "Even though we were educational aides, many of us did teach and our greatest influence was upon the students. I object to the fact that no sample of students was included.

"The Survey indicates that Volunteers had no positive effect on either English competence or attitudes of principals and teachers in their schools. If you look at the median age of the respondents, you'll see that most of these people were past the age at which their attitudes and English were likely to be influenced. I think we influenced the younger teachers more, those just out of normal school, but the sample was weighted in favor of the older, elite members of the community.

"Filipinos say they want a high level of skills, yet they like younger Volunteers. Perhaps they feel more comfortable with the younger Volunteer who does not have the experience to contradict what they believe to be true about teaching."

Because of the ill-defined project goals set down in the Peace Corps project description, Volunteers stepped into a job that had not previously existed. When asked what a "teacher's aide" was or did, the only sure answer the Volunteers could give was to explain what a teacher's aide was not. They were not teachers. Only half-jokingly, it was suggested that the Volunteers would do such things as erase blackboards and hold maps and charts; Lawrence Fuchs, the first Peace Corps director in the Philippines, noted the inability of many Volunteers to find sufficient challenge, stimulation or satisfaction in the teacher's aide role, and called upon Volunteers to take a "creative approach" to defining and working into their jobs.

Apparently most Volunteers were successful in expanding their spheres of operation enough to keep them satisfied with what they were doing. Volunteer Leonard Giesecke, in a paper entitled "What is an Educational Aide?", remarked that "the answer to the question has almost as many answers as the question 'Why did you join the Peace Corps?'" Most Volunteers found their roles, Giesecke noted, by mating the teacher's aide role with the concept of being "participating members of the communities in which we live."

Phillip B. Olsen, present Philippines operations officer, notes the problem of timing. "By the time the results were available," Olsen says, "We had already reached many of the same conclusions The Survey announced. We used a 'gut approach' instead of the scientific approach employed by The Survey."

Olsen also referred to several specific measures which have been put into effect to bring Philippines programming more into line with the recommendations The Survey made. Chiefly these are:

- Greater emphasis on dialects to enable Volunteers to go beyond the minimum level of communication and integration.
- Site assignments in educational centers to make Volunteers more effective and to place them in contact with the planners and changers.
- More emphasis on professionalism and teacher training.
- A new title—"Cteacher"—for the Volunteers' job, with participation in lesson planning, classroom presentations, critiques, curriculum development and community involvement.
- Program descriptions which state not only the goals but how they are to be accomplished.
- Continuing research on a yearly basis, featuring short-term studies.

Dave Roy, of the Office of Evaluation and Research, sees one of the most meaningful recommendations of the study as the maxim: "State your goals explicitly." If nothing else, Roy says, the study demonstrates how difficult it is to answer the question posed. "If you don't know what you're doing, you're going to have a hard time finding out if you did it."
An anthology of the Peace Corps as an old frontier

By TOM NEWMAN

THE PEACE CORPS READER, Peace Corps Office of Public Information, 119 pages.

There are a variety of points of view from which one may look at the Peace Corps: as an administrator, a Volunteer, an academician, an historian, an insider or an outsider. The 1967 Peace Corps Reader is a mixed bag of articles and discussion representing these various viewpoints. Some things are good, some interesting, some excellent, and some just terrible. Overall, I am left with mixed feelings.

There are four sections: The Past; The Present: Observations and Reportage; The Present: To and From Volunteers; and The Future.

The first section is an attempt to place not only the Peace Corps but the entire notion of voluntary service in historical perspective. A piece by Sargent Shriver ("Five Years with the Peace Corps") is probably the best article in the section. It is essentially an old soldier's tale, tracing the agency's development from infancy through the initial storm of criticism to its present esteemed position. Things move so fast that it is easy to forget our history. Shriver gives a valuable, firsthand account of the past, which adds a certain wisdom and tempers one's impatience.

As an example of early opposition to the Peace Corps, excerpts from a resolution by the Daughters of the American Revolution are also included. Countering each point in the resolution is a sample of the Peace Corps rhetoric which finally won the battle. The result is a lively dialogue, but one which is unfortunately outdated. As history it may be interesting, but the issues raised (example: Will the Peace Corps not be infiltrated by Communists?) are scarcely relevant to the Peace Corps of 1967. More pertinent would be a discussion of whether the Peace Corps is an "establishment" organization, a tool of American foreign policy.

The same criticism applies to the inclusion of Arnold Toynbee's "America's New Lay Army." Toynbee sees the Peace Corps as a hair-shirt outfit which will change America's PX-tainted image abroad and win friends for Uncle Sam. Aside from the fact that this has not worked (witness the Dominican Republic)—it would be a sad day if this were really the most relevant aspect of our work. It may have been the rhetoric which sold the idea in 1961, but it is hardly what is most appealing in 1967.

Much better is Frank Mankiewicz's paper, "A Revolutionary Force." This comes in the second section which has articles by Peace Corps staff and outside reporters. The Mankiewicz paper is good because, as a statement of our aims in Latin America community development programs, it shows a sensitive awareness of the complexities of the problem, the issues involved, and the role of the Volunteer in relation to them. It educates us about Latin America as well as the Peace Corps.

The rest of the section, however, is less informative, though perhaps interesting in other ways. David Riesman ("A Mixture of Motives") points out the broader educational benefits to the Volunteer, and ultimately the U.S., of Peace Corps service. "The Human Quotient," excerpted from the Peace Corps Annual Report, is a fascinating account of the Dominican rebellion and the Peace Corps' position in it. Frank Mahoney ("Everything Went Wrong") tells of the early administrative problems and fiascoes of getting a project started in a tough African country.

These first two parts are either outsider's views, or views from inside as with Shriver and Mankiewicz. They inform us about the nature and operations of the agency at a macro level—its size, its projects, its stated goals.

There is a great gap, however, in information about the nitty-gritty as-

Book on Nigerian law

Jeswald Salacuse, a former Volunteer lawyer, and Alfred Kasunmu, a Nigerian lecturer in law at the University of Ife, collaborated on a textbook titled Nigerian Family Law, which was recently published in London. Salacuse, who taught law at Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria from 1963 to 1965, is now associate director of the African Law Center at Columbia University in New York. The 303-page volume grew out of research done by the authors during their preparation of lectures for Nigerian law students.
pects of operations at the final stage of implementation, the Volunteer’s actual job. Here we find a great tendency to romanticize and, at times, some plain inaccuracies. Paul Lancaster’s article from The Wall Street Journal (“What’s a Nice Liberal Arts Graduate Like You Doing in a Place Like This?”) is the worst in this regard. Super Vols carrying modern technology to African savages, bringing light into darkness, and all that rot. This kind of thing not only mis-represents the Peace Corps, but misunderstands the problems of under-development and the richness of the cultures in which many Volunteers work.

Bridging the gap

Part of the communications gap is filled by the next section, The Present: To and From Volunteers. By far the best piece here is David Schickele’s “When the Right Hand Washes the Left.” Schickele shows genuine insight and sympathetic understanding of Nigeria and what is happening to the young Africans who were his students and friends. His honest and perceptive report gives more meaning to the Peace Corps experience, and a better sense of its potentialities, than any other article in The Reader. Also good is “Thrown Onto the Edge of Asia” by an anonymous Volunteer who resigned in mid-service. One certainly gets a realistic picture (in the grubby sense) of a new Volunteer’s cultural confrontation. Very touching, especially for those of us who were overseas at the time of Kennedy’s death, is “Tu Presidente Exid Muerto” by Nancy Norton.

The final section, The Future, is composed mainly of an article by former Associate Director Harris Wofford. He raises the question of what we will look like in 1970 and proceed to explore various directions of possible change. Integration of the Peace Corps with the Agency for International Development, closer ties with higher education, “Peace Corps degrees,” and exchange Peace Corps programs are a few of the proposals discussed. More generally, Wofford raises the question of a “quantum jump” in size, arguing that to have significant effect on the problems of development and international understanding, the Peace Corps must continue to grow. As he himself points out, to Volunteers in the field this sounds like the “numbers game” which they abhor.

Wofford also speaks to the question of a jump in quality (a question which concerns most Volunteers), suggesting that we face a crisis of skills—a need for high as well as middle-level manpower in our programs. I find this an inadequate diagnosis of the problem. While certain African countries may, in fact, badly lack technicians, this is hardly the case in countries like India, the Philippines, and most of Latin America. There the problem is more one of “culture lag,” where cultural and social changes must be made to accommodate modern institutions and technology. The question of Peace Corps quality is not a crisis of skills so much as a crisis of role definition. Our most immediate challenge is not one of growth in size, but growth in understanding of the problems of development and our potential role in relation to them.

It’s too bad The Reader doesn’t close with Wofford’s provocative article, because the next (and final) one is, without doubt, the worst in the book (William Lederer’s “Three Things to Remember”). You would have thought Lederer could sense when someone (a host national) was telling him what he wanted to hear. Yes, it is nice to have something by the author of The Ugly American, but surely he could have come up with something less superficial, romantic and plain inaccurate.

Mixed feelings

In conclusion, there are certainly some things in The Reader which are worth one’s time, as well as quite a few which are not. As a returned Volunteer, I know I am probably more difficult to please than, for instance, my grandmother. Yet, I feel a bit disappointed with the book as a whole. I was looking for something which would enlighten me more on the rich, complex and altogether stimulating experience of the Volunteer as he confronts India, Africa or Peru. Schickele does this, but there are too few Schickeles. As that author puts it:

“This to me is the meaning of the Peace Corps as new frontier. It is the call to go, not where man has never been before, but where he has lived differently; the call to experience firsthand the intricacies of a different culture; to understand from the inside rather than the outside; and to test the limits of one’s own way of life against another in the same manner as the original pioneer tested the limits of his endurance against the elements.”

Somehow The Reader does not reflect Schickele’s notion of the Peace Corps as a new frontier. In the 1968 edition, I would hope for readings which indicate we had learned something from our cultural confrontation, both about others and about ourselves, and that this learning had taken us a step beyond our initial ideas to a more meaningful engagement overseas.

Tom Newman, who served as a Volunteer in the Philippines, has recently become deputy director of the Peace Corps training camp at Arecibo, Puerto Rico.

Research authors wanted

The offices of training and research are seeking authors to write original texts about the Peace Corps for the use of trainees.

“One of our most severe training problems is the lack of good texts designed to identify and illumine the cross-cultural work problems encountered by Peace Corps Volunteers in their host countries,” says Charles Peters, director of Evaluation and Research. Peters seeks books for specific projects in specific countries. An example: Teaching in Ethiopia, which has already been commissioned. He also seeks help in finding authors of such books and in locating materials for their preparation.

Evaluation and Research prefers as writers former Volunteers who have personally experienced problems the books should treat. The work would be done on a three-to-six-month contract with the Peace Corps, at an amount ranging between $2,500 and $7,500 per book. The author could engage expert assistance if he so desired.

Helpful material would include information on particular skills and host countries, and training and project materials that have been developed overseas but which have not come to the attention of Washington. Potential authors and sources of materials should be referred to Peters at the Peace Corps, Washington, D.C. 20525.
Off the compound

To The Volunteer:

Many Volunteers in Nigeria appear to be caught between their role as teachers, which keeps them on the school compound, and their role as Volunteers, which would take them into the villages.

I feel almost naive to admit it, but I am glad I was in the Peace Corps. When people ask me how I liked it, I tell them that it was worthwhile. It would be a lot more fashionable (if Berkeley is in fashion) to tell them that the organization stinks, that the bureaucrats in Washington just don't understand. But I liked it.

A year ago I did not feel this way. There was a lot of gnashing of teeth and pounding of fists in palms around our place, where I was posted with another Volunteer. We had the compound syndrome in a big way.

When we arrived in Uganda, we had a lot of spare time before the school opened and we spent it playing rugby with a local European club and becoming quietly contemptuous of the Peace Corps. What was all this noise about "adjustment" and "hardship?" We were there to do a job. Other expatriates were there doing the same job. Why shouldn't we live like they did?

My school life was not very satisfying for a long time. I grooped in the classroom (having never taught before), was humiliated on the playing field (the students made us look sick at soccer, our only sport for two terms), and was totally bewildered by the eccentric headmaster. I could accept eccentricities, like his loin cloth, but I could not understand why he communicated with us by note. I could not stomach his brutal tongue-lashings of schoolboys for imaginary crimes. Finally, at a kind of Through-the-Looking Glass inquest, we were accused of trying to usurp power through such devious means as sitting in the headmaster's chair when he was not present.

We were inside a kind of sealed chamber. Any incident produced vibrations, and these vibrations had nowhere to go except back and forth inside the compound. So we began nearly every meal with the declaration that "If he does that once more, I'll..."

Why didn't we find some outlet in our community? I can hear the guffaws from Nigeria. But I'll list the standard answers:

We were too busy at our schools. Teaching, particularly at a boarding school, is a full-time job.

We could not really communicate with the people around us. We were trained in Swahili, which was not spoken in our area. We tried to learn the vernacular, but could not find an adequate teacher. Most important, we did not have much time to study a language, and we did not have any chance to use it in our daily work.

Even if we had time to get off the compound, we did not see any need for our services in the village. The people seemed capable of digging their own latrines. Some of us tried to teach weekly extramural classes, but attendance was poor. We did not find any outlet there.

We were frustrated, and we took a lot of our frustrations out on the Peace Corps. We felt that they did not understand the situation that we were in. They wanted us to be like the Volunteers in South America, and that was impossible. There was no reason why we should not have cars. We were teachers. Other teachers had cars. Everyone expected teachers to have cars. We were expected to fit an image that had no relation to what we were doing.

I still feel the same about cars, but I feel differently about the Peace Corps. I have adopted a Catch 22 philosophy—in any organization, people are bound to get screwed—the vehicle issue, the living allowance issue, the hostel issue and the rest are part of this. But despite the catches, I think the Peace Corps can be a satisfying experience.

I can hear those voices from Nigeria asking, "What has enabled this character to be so sanguine? Of course, he has left Africa. We still have to put up with the nonsense."

Well, the change came for me with an extracurricular project. Actually the fact that we did this project was not an attempt at salvation. Three groups of us were stationed within 30 miles of each other, and we all had the equivalent of the loin-clothed headmaster. Two girls were on a cloistered mission compound, and were concerned that the missionaries opened the student mail and persecuted those who did not appear to be on paths of righteousness. At another site, a Volunteer was involved in a very tense situation with a fellow Volunteer, who was headmaster of his school.

We all felt better when we had a chance to get together. We did not solve any problems for each other, but we had a chance to bitch. Away from our schools, our problems seemed a lot less important.

We wanted more of this, but had a transportation problem. The bus system was inadequate.

We knew that we could obtain a vehicle from the Peace Corps if we had a project which required it. So
we dreamed up one: a series of weekend courses in various villages. We appointed ourselves as experts on international affairs, wangled a generator and a projector, and collected at the appointed site one weekend each month.

The project soon became more than an excuse to get together. First of all, we had to get off the compounds and work with people to set up the course. We had to obtain use of the community center, find someone to collate the course. We had to obtain use of the site and work with people to set up the site. The project soon became more than an excuse to get together. First of all, we had to get off the compounds and work with people to set up the course. We had to obtain use of the community center, find someone to collate the course. We had to obtain use of the site and work with people to set up the site.

There was a social vacuum in most of the villages, and people raved about the big dance for weeks afterward. We did not build any permanent institutions. We informed a few people about some international problems, we learned to dance to Congolese music and we had a good time. It was not very important. But it changed our whole attitude toward the Peace Corps.

Partly I suppose this was because we had a chance to get away from our schools for a weekend each month, even though it meant staying up late to correct compositions the following week. Partly it was because the people who attended our courses appreciated them. As far as I know, schoolboys never thank you for anything. Most important, this project gave us a chance to feel that we were really Peace Corps Volunteers. We were doing something that other expatriate teachers just would not do. Perhaps it was not vital, but I think that it was useful. We provided the people with some information, and let them know that "Europeans" are not all anti-social.

At our termination conference, we found ourselves out of step with some of our fellow Volunteers. Some of them were quite upset about administrative inefficiency, the futility of training boys for jobs that will not exist and the awful no-car rule.

Our sextet could not deny that the Peace Corps administration was sometimes less than efficient, that many of our pupils would not find white collar jobs and that the car rule was inappropriate. But we felt that our Peace Corps experience had been valuable. We felt that it was worth teaching our students something, even if they did not all end up in some government ministry.

I do not know if the honked-off individuals in Nigeria will understand this. But maybe they can let that stack of compositions wait for a few more days, and find something to do off the compound some weekend, even if they feel a bit foolish about it. It is not what contract teachers do. But it might be worthwhile.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

DEE MCGUIRE

Define the goals

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

Perhaps in the past the points of difference between Nigeria Volunteers and the administration would have become known in the course of normal communication. But correcting the lack of communication is not in itself going to resolve those differences. In my opinion Jack Vaughn's visit did little in the way of facing those issues squarely or in resolving them. The Peace Corps certainly does need and should not need scapegoats; but if something is wrong, simple logic dictates that there must be responsibility somewhere, and to shun it off as only a result of poor communication is too inadequate a way out.

First of all, I think the Volunteers and the staff have to be honest with each other. When we were told both by Mr. Vaughn and the in-country director that there was never any intention of lowering the Nigeria living allowance, that the question of what the living allowance should be was due for review only, I found it hard to accept that things were as straightforward as they were billed. I found it hard to accept this because not four weeks before, a Peace Corps staff member told me blankly that Washington had decided that the Nigeria living allowance should and would be cut.
Much was said during the meetings with Vaughn about the Peace Corps idea itself—what a volunteer is and should be. Much was said about it, but little was defined. Granted, the Peace Corps is and should remain flexible—but is this to say that the basic idea cannot be defined in concrete terms? "Agents of change?" What, for God's sake, is an agent of change? "I have never made a decision that was responsive to convenience, a prerequisite in achieving the "Peace Corps idea"? Can a comfort never be an attribute toward the job to be done? Why shouldn't volunteers settle into a pattern? None of these overworked and meaningless clichés has ever been adequately explained. They need to be; their interpretation is the basic friction point here in Nigeria.

I don't think there's a sincere volunteer in Nigeria who would protest a living allowance cut if it were made clear to him how this would be the best step in furthering Peace Corps goals; but is it really uncalled for that the volunteers would first like those goals defined a little more plainly? I don't think that's asking too much, I don't think volunteers in Nigeria feel cheated at not finding themselves in a "mud hut." Frankly, who wants to live in a "mud hut" anywhere? This is following the same line as saying that comforts per se are detrimental to Peace Corps goals. What is true is that in living in comparatively modern accommodations volunteers again would like to have a clearer idea as to their basic role. And again, I think the responsibility for this rests squarely on training and the administration. The definition of the volunteer's basic role has too often been shunned and substituted (largely by the volunteer) with trappings and incidentals—pictures of the "mud hut"—which just aren't based on fact with regard to Nigeria.

I am trying to hint at a general sort of protest which is more important than living allowance or Hondas or even communication. It concerns the understanding of the very Peace Corps idea itself, and I don't think it is something confined only to Nigeria or only to a protesting few, as has been suggested by many administrative people. There will always be problems, but more importantly there will always be needless problems until the "Peace Corps" is defined in more concrete and meaningful terms. This definition need not inhibit or hinder the freedom or individuality of any volunteer. But if this is any organization at all, it should aid and abet it. It needs to start at the very head of the Peace Corps in Washington, illustrated in its publications and, most importantly, made known to every volunteer before he goes overseas. There is no unity, no driving sense of purpose, no concept of goals, no solidarity of role or purpose in the Peace Corps at present. I don't think I need to say that this is bad. Communication is only one step, I don't know that there have been any indications of any others.

Eke, Eastern Nigeria

Robert J. Attaway

An establishment?

To the Volunteer:

The Peace Corps has become an establishment. That's what is really upsetting Nigeria volunteers. It even has an official press. Just because ex-volunteers are on the staff doesn't make it any less an institution. Peace Corps volunteers that are sent overseas are supposedly creative adults but are treated instead like wayward children. Soon the handbook will be only a rule book. There is no communication because Peace Corps Washington has already decided the issues.

Peace Corps should pull out of secondary school teaching in Eastern Nigeria. Preparing an unnecessary elite for whom no jobs are available is a waste. The volunteers know this. Yet a new group of teachers will be trained in September. Is this "how we can help Nigeria more?"

These are the primary issues here in Nigeria. Mr. Vaughn in his concern for his definition of Peace Corps should not forget there are more than 700 volunteers here with ideas of their own that cannot be written off as easily as the volunteer tried.

Judy Smith

Warri, Nigeria

On shillings and escudos

To the Volunteer:

The December volunteer left us awe-struck. So Nigeria volunteers expect—and receive—a "living allowance" that covers Hondas, servants and savings. How nice.

Chile volunteers receive 425 "escudos"—about $85—per month. This sum is slightly more than half the Nigeria stipend. In urban areas this sum hardly covers food, rent and an occasional movie. Saving a little money for comfortable travel or souvenirs is practically out of the question.

We could take the financial difficulties in stride—even in good cheer—if there were some equality of conditions. (After all, insofar as a Peace Corps "image" exists, one of its precepts is living on a reasonable par with the nationals the volunteer works with.)

But knowing other volunteers are living so much better while doing the same work leads one to the brink of bitterness. Surely some overall policy concerning peace corps "living allowances" is clearly needed.

George and Lisa Gardner
Valparaiso, Chile

A continental itch

To the Volunteer:

Well, what d'ya know! My shirts are growing hair! As a "suffering" volunteer in rural Guatemala, I was intrigued by a remark in Awdrey's and Brown's article in the December volunteer. Just what are the stories "about hair shirt" volunteers in Latin America?" Gee, are we something special?

More seriously, do Volunteers in different regions of the world present...
substantially different images? How do they differ?  

C. B. FOSTER  
El Petén, Guatemala

Editor's Note: Our research department has discovered that the term hair shirt was used as far back as the fourth century in the Latin Vulgate version of the Bible. The hair shirt, a garment made of coarse animal hair (usually goat's hair) and worn next to the skin, was worn by ascetics and penitents in order to resist temptations of the flesh. The hair shirt, often worn beneath rich robes, was considered symbolic flagellation. It is still used by a few religious sects.

As to regional images, one Peace Corps official who has observed Volunteers for several years suggests that they tend to acquire the attitudes and philosophies of the areas in which they serve. For example, he notes, Volunteers from Latin America are inclined to be belligerent and rebellious; those from Africa are likely to possess a good sense of humor; and Volunteers from Asia tend to return serene and patient. A generalization to end all generalizations.

A smug Peace Corps

To The Volunteer:

I completed service in Nigeria in 1965. Since going overseas I have been profoundly disturbed by the attitude of the Peace Corps administration in Washington. The article in the December VOLUNTEER confirms my fears that Washington does more harm than good.

The fundamental error is the administration thinking that America in general and the Peace Corps in particular hold the key to development. This is reflected in divergent expectations between the host country—which in Nigeria, for instance, has asked the Volunteer to perform a specific job, teaching—and the Peace Corps, which views the ideal Volunteer as one who goes beyond his teaching assignment.

Since time is limited and outside activities will to some extent detract from a Volunteer's effectiveness in the classroom, the tacit assumption is that the Peace Corps feels it is prepared to tell a country how it should develop. It is not the Nigerian government

Memorandum

TO : The field  
FROM : The editors  
SUBJECT: The Mommas and the Poppas

Paternalism revisited: John Gunther raves about the Peace Corps in his latest book, Inside Latin America. Everything was okay for us until we came to this gem: “Peace Corps boys and girls are conspicuous near Cuzco . . . these American boys and girls will, most people assured me, be much better citizens when they return home.” And this Guntherism has us wondering: “Not only is the Peace Corps doing something to South America, but South America is doing something to the Peace Corps.”

I Remember Mama: A Volunteer at a completion of service conference in Malawi rendered this judgment: “The Peace Corps is a mother, but it is a mother easily ignored.” And another definition, from a Volunteer in Brazil: “Peace Corps is a psychedelic . . . ‘mind-manifesting’ trip.”

A rumor keeps popping up in Washington that VISTA, “the domestic Peace Corps,” and the Peace Corps, “the international VISTA,” will merge. Somebody suggested the combined outfit should be elevated to cabinet level as the Department Of Volunteer Endeavor. That’s DOVE.

What’s that again? The authors of The Philippines Survey, reported elsewhere in this issue, say it was all done by “ex post facto quasi-experimental design.”

Trainee Rhoda Teplow found a typo in a questionnaire distributed to her group. The question came out: “Are you in favor of our setting up a plan whereby the trainees would only French during the day or at least whenever it is feasible?”

For the record: the weekly Volunteer Forum at Peace Corps headquarters is now called the Peace Corps Forum. More democratic that way . . . and from the records office a staffer reports what happened recently when he put a pile of IBM cards in the sorting machine and set it to divide the cards by the sex of the Volunteer named thereon: the cards came out in five stacks.

The Peace Corps is a family affair at the Carl Trocki household in Erie, Pa. First, Carl Jr., 26, went off to Malaysia in December, 1964 to teach English; then David, 25, (for whom his older brother wrote a reference), went to Thailand last August to work in malaria eradication. Then in November, Karen, 22, went to Tunisia to work in public health. When Carl Jr. extended recently, he captured a Peace Corps first for the Trockis: three children in the same family serving as Volunteers overseas at the same time. Meanwhile, Recruiting keeps its eye on Erie: there are five more Trocki children who are potential Volunteers.
which demands that Volunteers establish ties with Nigerians; it is the Peace Corps administration. The only demand, a legitimate one, made by the host country government is that Volunteers do a good job at their assigned posts. Mr. Vaughn was quoted, "Everything I do as director is to make it difficult for Volunteers to settle into old patterns." It does not seem to have occurred to the director that old patterns may be sound, that continuity is an important part of teaching, that repeated changes can lead to confusion.

The Peace Corps administration, because it chooses to impose its own conception of what the Volunteer should be doing, rather than accepting the directive of the host government, implements measures which may harm the Volunteer in his job although they will further Washington's aim of having the Volunteer operate outside the classroom.

No one really knows exactly how development takes place. Some emphasize capital and some emphasize human resources. No one, including the Peace Corps administration, knows what changes should be taking place. Admitting our paucity of knowledge, the wisest course would be to accept the evaluation of the host country as to what they need. If Nigeria requests teachers, send teachers. Do not try to impose on the Volunteer other tasks which the Nigerian government has not sanctioned. The Peace Corps has always maintained that it only goes where it is wanted; let it also adopt a policy of doing what is asked.

STEPHEN D. KRASNER
Former Volunteer
New York City

Three Volunteers die

Dennis L. Pearson and his wife, Marcia, died of exposure after they became lost in blizzard while on a vacation in Western Turkey. They had been Volunteers in that country since July, 1965.

Bad weather hampered air and ground search efforts and the couple was not discovered until Jan. 31, four days after they were reported missing from a ski resort near Bursa. Pearson died shortly after he and the body of his wife were found by a ski patrol.

The Pearsons, both 25, were rural community developers at Aksaray-Nigde, in South Central Turkey, where they were assigned after their initial village site was partially leveled by an earthquake last August.

A memorial service for the couple was held Feb. 5 in their hometown of Minneapolis, Minn. Dennis is survived by his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Richard L. Pearson, and a brother; Marcia is survived by her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Norman M. Bjorklund, and a sister.

Another Volunteer, Rose Anne Crimmins, 25, died in Tehran, Iran, where she was enroute home after completing service in Hyderabad, India. Miss Crimmins was found dead in her hotel room Feb. 1, asphyxiated by fumes from a kerosene space heater. The funeral was held in New York City Feb. 8, with burial in Hawthorne, N.Y. She is survived by her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph B. Crimmins, two sisters and two brothers.

Radio communication

The International Mission Radio Association wants to contact Volunteers who are interested in amateur radio and its possible use, in their sites. The association seeks to provide a voluntary, non-commercial communication service for persons working abroad. Information may be obtained from Tom Aquinas Cox, OFM Capuchin, Glenclyffe, Garrison, N.Y. 10524.

N.Y. job conference

The State of New York will conduct a Job Opportunities Conference for returned Volunteers April 21-23 in New York City. Representatives from schools, colleges, state government and private organizations will participate with the express purpose of hiring former Volunteers. Some 60 of them were hired at a similar conference last fall.

The sponsor will provide room and board at the conference. Interested persons should contact Paul Miwa, Director of Peace Corps Affairs, State Department of Education, Albany, N.Y. 12224.

RPCVs form Chile group

A group of former Volunteers who served in Chile has helped start a foundation designed to promote training in middle level skills for Chileans. It is called C.H.I.L.E., Inc., an acronym for Chile's Hope Is Leadership Education.

The organization states that "Peace Corps Volunteers return home after two years overseas wishing they could have done a great deal more for the people they tried to help. Volunteers who served in Chile have not escaped these feelings of regret, of frustration at not being able to accomplish much of what might have been done, of not finding suitably trained Chileans to take over some of the work."

The foundation will raise funds in the United States to finance study grants and loans to Chileans. Recipients will be selected by a board composed of three former Volunteers now living in Chile and five host nationals. Further information may be obtained from the foundation president, Walter M. Langford, 1315 Otsego St., South Bend, Ind. 46617.