

# PEACE **volunteer** CORPS

JULY 1967



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# Prospects for the urban

**T**he further out of the cities the Peace Corps gets, the better off we will be," says Jack Vaughn, discouraged with the experiences of the Peace Corps in the urban areas of Latin America.

In a 1965 field evaluation of a Peace Corps performance, two evaluators had seen enough:

"The urban community development program is lousy. It has been lousy since it started. From all we gather, UCD has been lousy practically everywhere else in the Peace Corps. What kind of Washington leadership could fail to make the solution of this problem one of its top priorities?"

Although their tone is more strident than most, they merely echo what other evaluations have said about urban community development efforts. The dominant impression is that most Volunteers in the urban areas of Latin America are doing very little. The two evaluators wrote:

"The outstanding urban community development Volunteers—the top 20 or 30 per cent—make it, as they do in almost every program. But among the balance we found far too many languishing in varying degrees of idleness, ineffectiveness, make-work or *gringo* projects—and despair."

Few have found this estimate too pessimistic.

The picture of the Volunteers which emerges is unflattering. As a group, they seem less prideful of their work and themselves. Tendencies to shirk job responsibilities, to maintain their homes in disorder and disrepair, to exhibit sloppy personal dress and appearance, and to speak with little respect of both themselves and their host acquaintances, are all more pronounced in urban areas.

Recently a review was made of the record of early terminations in Latin America since Jan. 1, 1963, on the

assumption that attrition-by-termination might also reflect the difficulties of urban community development projects. Whether because of more personal frustrations or because of less satisfactory performance, Volunteers working in urban community development are leaving or are being sent home more often than Volunteers in other kinds of work.

## Grim evidence

The responses of completion of service conference questionnaires, which record the Volunteers' own assessments of their service, fill out the picture still more (the worldwide sample of the following statistics consists of 4,251 Volunteers):

- Volunteers in urban community development groups were less satisfied with their service. Only 25 per cent of them felt "very satisfied . . . in the way things have turned out" (compared with 32 per cent of the worldwide, all-jobs grouping and 33 per cent of the Latin America Volunteers). Only 37 per cent felt they had "given all they could to the whole job of being a Volunteer."

- They had less confidence in having done well. Just 31 per cent (versus 35 per cent and 39 per cent) felt they had done "very well . . . as a Volunteer"; 79 per cent (versus 84 per cent and 85 per cent) felt their work had "made a contribution to the country's economic, cultural or social development."

- They were less satisfied with staff. Sixty-seven per cent (versus 52 per cent and 57 per cent) found "support from Peace Corps officials" a serious or minor problem; 42 per cent (versus only 33 per cent and 32 per cent) felt their ideas were given "little" or "no . . . consideration in forming policies or other decisions by the Peace Corps office."

- More found "housing-living ar-

rangements" to be a "serious" or "minor" problem (29 per cent versus 24 per cent and 23 per cent).

- More found "relationships with other Volunteers" to be a problem (33 per cent versus 25 per cent and 28 per cent).

- More reported their "technical skills for the job" to be a problem (65 per cent versus only 45 per cent and 49 per cent).

Lower job satisfaction, less feeling of success, more displeasure with staff, more discomfort in living arrangements, more inter-Volunteer problems, more unease about job skills. Less pride, less cultural sympathy and understanding, more early terminations and probably more job transfers as well.

The picture is grim. Yet the cities are too important to be abandoned.

In the unhealthy conditions of the densely populated cities removed from the land and the open air, the threats of malnutrition and of disease are great. In the bustling cities, where men are thrust into new rhythms of life and are subject to the new and demanding behavior expectations of strangers, the possibility of alienation is great. In the big cities, the homes of big government, big politics and big business, where men are cut off from the last securities of traditional societies, chances for exploitation are great.

In the cities, the potential for destructive social violence is greatest, and most threatening. The evidence is worldwide, from Calcutta to Watts.

The cities, to look at the other side of the coin, are also the leading sectors of newly developing societies. In the cities, the development dynamic begins. In the cities, the dominant society of tomorrow is molded—one aspect of the development process is the progressive urbanization of the countryside, the spread of the urban

# Peace Corps

culture into the villages and towns. In the cities, the values and attitudes of the societies' decision-makers are molded, and the decisions are taken which will affect the direction and energy of the development process.

The cities are too important to be abandoned.

Yet a continuation of our present efforts is unthinkable in view of their admitted ineffectiveness. We need a new beginning. The first step is to re-evaluate our urban community development experience, to understand the sources of its difficulties. With new understanding, perhaps we can begin to shape a new strategy.

## Seeing the problems

Urban Volunteers all over the world face a more difficult situation than their rural colleagues.

"In Kabul," said an Afghanistan Volunteer, "you are personnel rather than a person in your own right. In the provinces you are unique and the town accepts you as one of its first citizens."

"In a village the Volunteer may not be able to escape the problems that arise and will therefore be forced to meet the issue," says an India Volunteer. "On the other hand, in the city when the going gets rough, it's easy just to get up and 'go down-town.'"

This potential for retreat is only the first of the urban community developer's problems.

Another problem is that *barriada* dwellers do not have the sense of community interdependence which geographic isolation imposes on rural villagers, and they share fewer common traditions and expectations. Not their geographically defined "community," but specialized organizations—businesses and trade unions, clubs and cooperatives, public agencies and political parties—respond to their

specific needs. By telling its urban community development Volunteers to appeal to geographical proximity as a basis for community interest, by saying, "Organize a *junta* or work with the existing *junta* for this one *barriada*," the Peace Corps has committed a serious error.

Another problem, which the UCD Volunteer shares with all who call themselves community developers, is how to answer the question that is asked when he enters the *barriada*: "What are you doing here?"

All too often the Volunteer doesn't know the "what." He may think, "I'm here to encourage democratic organization for self-help" or he may even aim at Frank Mankiewicz' goal of "nothing less than a complete change, reversal—or a revolution if you wish—in the social and economic patterns of the countries to which we are accredited . . . community development is essentially a revolutionary process, consisting of helping these *outsiders* get in. . . ."

There is nothing wrong with social revolution as an aim. The trouble is that knowing one's objective does not necessarily shed light on the means to its attainment. What the community developer lacks is a comfortable role and an understood function through which he can serve his purpose.

The community developer is to deal with the whole class of problems susceptible to attack through community organization. He is to investigate the whole residence-defined society he enters, determining what problems should be attacked by discovering felt needs, then deciding—in continuous interchange with the concerned host nationals—how best to attack them.

The sanction to listen and learn before acting is a sound operating principle in any Peace Corps assignment, but it is not sound to expect young and inexperienced Volunteers to decide on the basis of individual investigation how best to invest their



Photos by Tom Grill

"The urban community development program is lousy."



"The cities are too important to be abandoned."

two years of Peace Corps service. The approach is inefficient: a third to a half of the Volunteers' service time is gone before they can settle into useful roles. It forfeits the opportunity to relate the efforts of a number of Volunteers to a cohesive set of ends. And it does not work: in urban areas 70 to 90 per cent never do find a role in which they can serve effectively.

#### Effective "dropouts"

How do a few urban community development Volunteers succeed when most do not? What has been the experience with non-community development urban projects in Latin America?

I analyzed the special completion of service conference essays that 54 UCD Volunteers wrote in June, 1966. These Volunteers were between 20 and 30, a little over half were men, almost all were generalists. They had an adequate if not inspiring training component in community development and they spent two weeks honing their investigative skills. They are a reasonably representative group.

Twelve of the essays indicate that their authors felt they had been effective. Half of these were women.

They were placed in *barriadas* and told to "do CD," period. Eleven tried. Ten apparently investigated their *barriadas* more intensively than most of their less successful colleagues. By the time they had been in-country a year, nine of the twelve had shed their community developer non-roles. The other three also gave up their

concern with the community development of their *barriadas*. Instead, they focused on the development of a few individuals around them, working with sewing circles, girls' clubs, a literacy project and a recreation program.

The other nine defined new roles for themselves, roles for which their responsibilities and their relationships to their clientele were clearly understood. Most of the less successful 42 also abandoned the effort to "do CD" by themselves, but the roles they took up were less defined and they continued vacillating between jobs.

Eight of the nine roles were specialized, and all nine conferred an authority of knowledge on their players. The co-op educators, for instance, were understood to have special knowledge of cooperative administration and co-op leaders were eager to learn from them. In order to develop the expertise their new roles required, most of these Volunteers undertook intensive individual studies to develop special competence in new fields before actually shifting activities.

All nine Volunteers linked their work with the programs of ongoing institutions: school system, credit union federation, national social assistance agency, etc. As institutional representatives, they acquired an additional base of authority, as well as access to technical support and, occasionally, capital. All of them aimed to pass on their skills to Peruvian employees of the institutions. And all intended to make important

modifications or improvements in the operation of those institutions.

Furthermore, freed from their single *barriada* focus, they increased their potential for stimulating popular development by broadening contacts with popular leaders and organizations.

Soon after each of these nine changed jobs, he entered a stage in which morale improved markedly and he began to see real importance in his efforts. They had a high desire to contribute to host country development. They sought a role which would permit them to contribute to development more effectively. When they found jobs which worked, which served ends to which they were committed, they became excited about their service for the first time, and their efforts redoubled.

Most of the urban community development-trained Volunteers who become successful drop community development as a role in order to become successful. They take up new, limited roles for which they develop special competence, and they turn from their *barriada* "communities" to new, interest-defined clientele.

#### Two exceptions

Among past field evaluations I found two major exceptions to the general record of urban failure.

Primary and secondary education projects comprise the first exception. Despite problems in project conception, a high percentage of Volunteers in one country working in the secondary school project in improvement of

mathematics and science instruction are working effectively. Volunteers working in the public school-based physical education projects in three countries are also performing happily and well.

These programs provide all Volunteers working in them the kind of limited, specialized roles a small percentage of the urban community development-trained Volunteers found for themselves. But they are not just slot-filling; all of them aim to create basic change in present curricula and pedagogy, change which will produce graduates better able to meet the demands of life in the fast-changing world of development.

Credit union promotion is the other exception to the general record of urban failure. The first characteristic which one notes is that credit union projects provide Volunteers with defined, limited roles they can handle. The special competence required is not simple, but generalist Volunteers can learn it, given good training and good staff support. Host agencies involved in co-op promotion are short on funds and on promoters, and they have welcomed the collaboration of Volunteers. As in the education projects, Volunteers in credit union promotion are confident that co-op advancement is important to broader processes of social development; the manifestations of these processes are too visible to miss: more credit unions, more members, more savings and more loans all over the country every month.

The Peace Corps can work effectively in the cities, and it can serve important urban needs. But urban work requires more careful preparation and attention than we have given it until now.

### Looking ahead

The task is to find defined but challenging roles but, in the process, not to abandon the firm sense of purpose which community development has provided. The proper mission of the Peace Corps in Latin America is to serve social justice by developing popular problem-solving dispositions and capabilities, and by encouraging new relations between public agencies and private citizens, between classes, between Indians and mestizos. This remains a revolutionary mission, however unapocalyptic its working out.

We should also retain the "listen and learn" operating principle the

Peace Corps first acquired in practicing community development. At the same time that we impart specialized knowledge and expertise, we should imbue the Volunteers with the idea that they must know their clientele before trying to change it. We should be sure that they understand—as many earlier specialized Volunteers have not—that the interpersonal relations they establish with host nationals and the attitudes and values their behavior communicates are the keys to creating change. They should grasp the community development perception that the real obstacle to development is not lack of mechanical and social technology but lack of faith in its utility, lack of pride and self-reliance in its exercise. And they should remember that the measure of their accomplishment is not only the competence with which they exercise their skills but the competence and commitment with which host nationals come to exercise them.

But, having taken from community development theory that which is good, let us abandon the ideas that have produced a dreary record of failure in the cities.

### Steps to take

First, let's free ourselves from the idea that the population of a *barriada* constitutes a viable target group for Volunteer work. Next, let's accept the fact that urban work requires more structure than rural work. Having accepted the need for structured roles, let's face the fact that there is a terrible waste of time in having each Volunteer find such a role for himself. Programming should be a staff job. There should be no question that the staff, not the Volunteers, has the primary responsibility for analyzing both host needs and the kinds of Volunteer work that can best meet those needs.

This does not mean that the staff should not use Volunteers as sources of information. It does mean an end to the time-wasting process of each Volunteer programming his own job after he arrives in-country.

Suggesting the Volunteer roles which overseas staffs should develop is hazardous. Each situation differs. Nonetheless, a few potential fields for greater urban involvement are worth mentioning.

One of the central requirements of peaceful social change is that men come to believe that their chil-

dren will get a fair chance. One of the findings of developmental psychology is that change in patterns of human behavior is most possible from infancy to mid-adolescence. One of the clearest lessons of Peace Corps experience is that Volunteers can teach well and happily and that teacher-poor host countries appreciate their services. All these factors combine to emphasize the importance and appropriateness of education reform.

If the Peace Corps in one country is able to demonstrate solid success in its primary school project in utilization of educational television, this may well prove an important project elsewhere, as other countries begin to invest in educational television. Initiating instruction in the new

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ON THE COVER: Downtown Lima, Peru, photographed by Paul Conklin. The city photographs illustrating Julien R. Phillips' article on these pages were part of an exhibition held in Brasilia and in Rio de Janeiro by VOLUNTEER correspondent Tom Grill, who teaches photography.

mathematics is another alternative. The introduction and proper use of programmed learning materials could become another. Introducing Head Start concepts of compensatory education through pre-school projects and lower-primary projects is potentially the most revolutionary of all.

Another potential is maternal child-health. Like education, it capitalizes on parents' desires that their children have a better chance than they had. Maternal child-health projects can affect child-rearing practices and attitudes toward human life. When Latin American governments decide to launch family planning programs, the Peace Corps should be ready to help. Maternal child-health projects are the most obvious means to prepare for this effort—they can provide opportunities to establish good relations with host health agencies, to do sample demographic studies, and to learn local attitudes associated with family life and child-rearing.

Still another potential field for urban programming is credit union promotion. Credit unions are among the best institutions for developing social problem-solving capabilities.

A fourth potential for urban programming is that of unemployed, out-of-school youth. This is the most volatile political element in most of the developing countries. Its members are not resigned to living like their parents, but without jobs and with little education, they see little chance of moving ahead.

### Potential with youth

The trouble is, no one knows what—if anything—we can do with this group. In several countries, staffs plan to approach them principally through sports. To date, Volunteer athletic efforts in Latin America have been more successful in the schools than in the *barrios*. Further experimentation is merited, but it should be small-scale.

Volunteers in Service to Puerto Rico, Associated (VESPRI) claims very impressive results from a more direct approach. Through peer discussions, youths discuss their problems, bare their attitudes, and discover how the attitudes relate to the problems. A good many of those who go through this process become voluntary leaders, organizing new discussion groups as well as participating in their own. The most capable and committed are

trained to serve as full-time Volunteer leaders.

Projects in the preceding fields could use a high proportion of non-professional Volunteers. There are two other fields worth exploring which require professionally trained Volunteers.

The first of these is municipal government. Professionally trained Volunteers in public administration, finance and engineering would develop capabilities of local governments, help institutionalize managerial-technical criteria of decision-making and create the preconditions for national governmental decentralization.

The other field for professionals is small-industry assistance. A group of entrepreneurs, capitalizing on new economic opportunities, is a central element in economic development. It is an important element in social development as well, for the prospering small-business men of a newly growing economy are generally among the first to elbow into the elite-dominated politics of the cities. That they challenge the traditional elites is important; more important yet, they open the way for other groups to follow.

In the long run, families and school systems are the social institutions which shape the entrepreneurial spirit. But in the short run, the challenge is to improve the capabilities and performance of those who already have demonstrated enterprise and ambition.

We need a more experimental and more empirical approach than we have favored previously. We should assign Volunteers within a project in several different sets of circumstances, so the relative potential of each set can be gauged. And we should prepare to measure and evaluate results more carefully than we have until now.

Above all, we should initiate new projects under the best circumstances we can provide, not the average or the worst. We have to prove to ourselves and to host nationals that we can do the job.

*Julien R. Phillips was an urban community developer in Peru from 1964 to 1966 and is currently engaged in research projects for the Peace Corps in Latin America. This article was adapted from a study he made for the Office of Evaluation and Research.*

## A helpful idea

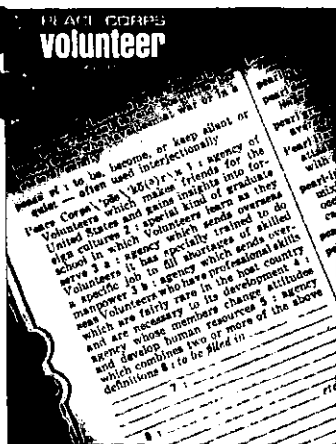
### TO THE VOLUNTEER:

Congratulations on David Ellio's fine article. Understanding the Peace Corps' function as basically an educational one is certainly a helpful idea. There is no reason, however, to adopt such an understanding because it allows evaluation in a "more generalized and subjective fashion."

To allow educational activities to be judged by any other criteria than those reserved for the Peace Corps' technical projects is to permit the possibility of the kind of sloppiness that used to characterize communist development work. This latter was considered to be generally subjective; hard rules and criteria didn't apply. As a result, there has been a turning away from what was fuzzily referred to as communist development in a search for more professional roles.

One of these roles has been the educational one, particularly the development of various kinds of leadership training courses. And certain education and community development are related; before the latter phrase became modish, United Nations pamphlets referred to that kind of work as "basic education."

An important feature of understanding the Peace Corps as an educational agency is that it permits a Volunteer to adopt a more professional attitude toward his work. He can begin to develop the educational methods and techniques that he uses to motivate his community. He can begin to clear up his obscure relationship with his agency. And he will not be content to be judged on any standard but a



# Defining the Peace Corps

essional one.

Therefore, if the Peace Corps chooses an educational role, it must expect to be judged by tangible results, too.

ROBERT C. ALEXANDER

La Máquina, Guatemala

## Free agents

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I disagree strongly with most of what is stated in the article by David Elliott. First of all, just what is this Peace Corps that various authors speak of in their articles? Seldom can I relate myself to what they are saying. What's more, I'm not so sure that I want to. The whole idea of defining Peace Corps goals and the Volunteer is impossible if emphasis is supposed to be on the individual. The Volunteer should be a "free agent" in a foreign country operating for the betterment of that country using means that may be distinctly his own in order to meet an end or goal that probably changes from day to day (and can't possibly be defined during training).

So you see that it is impossible and I think wrong on several counts, to tell a new Volunteer, "Here's your goal, now have at it." A person that attempts to fit a definition or is restricted to filling a definition is, in effect, chained down; he is not free. Also, if a Volunteer feels he must satisfy that definition, he may run into psychological difficulties when he finds that his goal is unattainable or, for example, when he finds that everybody doesn't "love" him. Indeed, I couldn't even attempt being successful at my job with the malaria eradication project if I had to worry all

the time about me and the U.S.A. being loved.

The author keeps mentioning the criticalness of the lack of a Peace Corps identity. I have the feeling that it's the staff that worries about identity and not so much the Volunteer, mainly because after a while at one's assignment one has an identity whether one likes it or not and indeed he may be a little perplexed that the Peace Corps staff has tried so damn hard to create an identity for him to step into and it just ain't there.

About constituencies, I realize the necessity of having to explain what the Peace Corps is trying to do so that funds can be obtained, but I hope you don't think I, for one, agree with Congress on its reasoning for financing the Peace Corps. The whole idea of constituency pressure, the organization, etc. turns me off and I don't want to be tied to something I don't agree with. You staff guys can run around all you want, trying to find your identity and my identity, but that doesn't erase the fact that I and probably most Volunteers don't fit the nice little definitions drawn up by those who run around drawing up definitions.

I think the Peace Corps should try to arrive at an understanding with the host countries that we will try to supply the manpower they ask for, but that many of the Volunteers they receive have much to offer other than doing some technical task and that the host country may be able to benefit greatly by listening to the Volunteers' unselfish suggestions. Of course, it's the prerogative of the host countries to set definitions if they want to. The important thing is that the Peace Corps shouldn't attempt to tie down the Volunteer with a definition that he may never be able to fulfill or

doesn't want to and that the Peace Corps doesn't encourage the host countries to set really strict definitions; limitations if you will.

ROB ROBERTSON

Phra Nakorn Si Ayuthaya,  
Thailand

## Evaluate later

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I sympathize with Mr. Elliott's dislike of the use of projects, first as Peace Corps goals and later measurements of Peace Corps effectiveness. However, I question for what purpose the educators are motivating, catalyzing, training and teaching the host country people. It seems to me that they are doing it to make improvements in the economic and cultural environment. Therefore, maybe it is not the use of projects that is wrong, but the time span of evaluation. Maybe the Peace Corps should use second generation projects for goals and measurements. These would be the projects done by the host country without direct assistance from a Volunteer, but previously motivated by him.

FRED LAZARUS

Panama City, Panama

## On to action

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

David Elliott's essay is a mature mind's product. I hope that there are similar minds on your operational staff to cope with his essay, converting the mind as a library full of good ideas into something functioning and useful in human affairs.

ISIDORE H. REITER

Brooklyn, New York

**"P**rofessionalism" is a favorite word in the Peace Corps. It comes up in recruiting and one hears it all through training. One feels a need for "professionalism" while he is working overseas, and when service is completed one is asked why it was missing and how it could have been achieved.

So what is professionalism?

This question came up in our termination conference here. After the word had been bandied about for some time we were asked to define our terms. It was not easy. The 36 Volunteers at the conference included English teachers, social workers and rural community development workers. But, surprisingly, the question of professionalism came to have equal importance to all three groups simply because they all shared a place in that well known mass of Peace Corps Volunteers known as the A.B. generalists.

At first, someone submitted that the word "professional" referred to a mature person who had found his life's work and had already achieved a certain proficiency in his field. He had experience and direction in addition to raw ability and good will. But that really had no relevance to us as A.B. generalists. After all, this was a problem for recruiting to cope with. If Peace Corps were strictly a form of foreign aid and nothing else, then wouldn't it be more desirable for it to recruit professionals who would take time out from their careers to work abroad for two years? A great idea, but what about all those A.B. generalists? What is professionalism for them? Training cannot possibly be expected to do, in two months, what it takes a real professional five or ten years to accomplish.

One person suggested the word

"bluffing"—and this came closer to the meaning of professionalism than anything we had said. He elaborated: "You have to be able to give the impression of being competent, of acting as though you know your work and are capable of doing it even while you are in the midst of learning how to do it." (Bluffing is not to be confused with outright lying—claiming to be able to do something you are unable to do.)

Thus, professionalism for us did not mean *being* a professional in the narrower sense, but rather being primarily interested in performing a task to which one is assigned and worrying about "being the nice guy," "the man of the people," "the professional friend," afterward. In this sense professionalism becomes the opposite of what has come to be known as image.

For a teacher in the field, working in a highly structured situation, this professionalism is clearly defined. We draw upon this highly structured teaching situation to arrive at a general rule which applies to less structured situations such as social work and health work in bush villages.

A teacher is told not to smile until Christmas and nobody has yet denied the necessity of starting off as strictly as possible and easing up as the term progresses. To accomplish this the teacher must be reserved. One Volunteer from a bush *Cour Complimentaire* proudly informed the conference that he did not let one pupil visit him at home for the first six months. He claimed that partly because of this initial reserve he was a well-liked and *respected* member of his community. For the teacher, professionalism clearly means professional reserve.

Another Volunteer openly stated

that in her two years as a social worker she had made many friends—that from the moment of her arrival she had gone out of her way to make friends and "get into the community." As a result she had many friends but had accomplished nothing else in her two years of service: the consequences of no professional reserve.

We must remember that the Peace Corps is a form of foreign aid. As such, it has a responsibility to supply the host country with the aid it claims to be supplying. We cannot use the entire world as a maturing ground for American young people without first offering the host country a substantial assistance, and proof that though the Peace Corps experience may be personally useful and important to the individual Volunteer, it will definitely be useful to the host country and will fulfill a felt need.

Thus the Volunteer, relatively untrained and inexperienced, must think first of his job and must act as efficiently, as professionally as possible. No amount of effusiveness is going to compensate for a job well done. It may provide interesting public relations pictures, but it won't mean a thing for the host country, and insofar as a Volunteer's service does not benefit his host country to that extent the Volunteer and the Peace Corps have failed.

It is thus more important for the Volunteer to hold back at first in personal relationships and achieve strictly professional relationships with the people around him before he attempts to "make friends." The friends will follow naturally, for what is a more solid basis for friendship than mutual respect?

The implications for training are obvious. It must provide the Volunteer not with the professionalism of a man who has done a job for many years and knows it inside out—an impossible task—but instead provide him with the tools and enough precise knowledge of the system into which he is being placed to allow him to give the impression of being able to do a job which he is capable of doing—rather than having everyone think of him as a nice, smiling, friendly, but ineffective American.

Gary Engelberg recently completed two years as a teacher trainer. He has been a correspondent for THE VOLUNTEER, and has edited the Senegal newsletter, The Baobab.

## Professionalism vs. image

By GARY ENGELBERG

Dakar, Senegal



# WANTED!

## PEACE CORPS TEACHING IN AFRICA

- Full-time program.
- Progressive lessons needed.
- Chance for role development, including understanding of and involvement in country's culture on daily basis in classroom.
- Living conditions mostly comfortable but less than adequate housing available.

The Peace Corps is experiencing another of its self-evaluating seizures. The worry is that perhaps the Peace Corps rushed too quickly into expatriate teaching assignments; put energetic Volunteers into colonial-influenced schools and thus placed a restraining hand on their creative potential, their ability to develop completely as Volunteers.

Peace Corps countries with predominantly education programs are therefore looking for new areas of involvement at, if necessary, the expense and development of the teaching role. They are searching, they say, because of several reasons:

- Teaching Volunteers frequently lead expatriate lives and lose the opportunity to be involved in the community.
- They meet only a limited number of host nationals: the educated elite and their own students. They are confined to the compound or the campus and miss the cross section of community life.
- They are educating an academic elite not required in the current African need for technicians.

- Volunteers have felt cheated because teaching abroad is very much like teaching at home—there are no new challenges.

There is and has always been a segment of the Peace Corps that is convinced that teaching Volunteers don't contribute dramatically to the development of a country, that they are in the second line of progress and only indirectly affect the growth of their host country. These people who narrowly view the Volunteer only in community development roles do the Peace Corps a disservice. Teaching Volunteers are very much a part of their community. The assignment by definition requires an understanding of and involvement in a country's culture.

This involvement is not something which can only manifest itself in community projects. Community de-

velopment means simply a changing of expectations. I would suspect more horizons are broadened within a classroom than without. The continual striving to enlarge a student's world is the more difficult, but most basic, of country development ventures.

In addition, Volunteer teachers cannot be successful unless they gain an understanding of the emotional sense of their students. This understanding is achieved through direct confrontation. Volunteers daily have this cultural encounter which has in some countries meant conflict, strikes by students and occasionally distrust and dislike. But the teachers and the taught alike—for better or worse—have come to *know* each other. In the beautifully done film, *Give Me A Riddle*, the Nigerian teacher asks for this encounter, this possible friction with Volunteers so that they may know each other.

It is not completely true that teaching Volunteers, because of their assignment, have limited contact with a village or town. A Volunteer need not feel trapped on the compound or campus; he is as free as anyone to go into town, and his friendship with educated Africans or students may allow him to attain a closer knowledge of a particular town or family, when he comes visiting as their guest.

Volunteers also need not be disappointed when they find Africa "comfortable." This is not the fault of the job, but of training. Training is geared to prepare Volunteers for roughing it and therefore does not correctly establish the expectations of the 60 to 70 per cent of the trainees whose living conditions overseas are more than adequate. Disappointment stems from false impressions gained in training, not from the "easy" life which follows. Physical hardships are for most Volunteers the least worry in the new culture. The difficulty of life abroad—in the cities, bush, compounds and campuses—is personal adjustment to the loneliness, boredom and unfamiliar surroundings.

There is also no reason to be fearful of expanding a "useless" educated elite. The Peace Corps can initiate the development of comprehensive schools by supplying badly needed, hard to obtain, industrial arts teachers; and Volunteers teaching academic subjects to junior secondary students are actually helping these students move on to special schools for the technical training valuable to their country.

By JOHN COYNE

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

Throughout much of Africa, there are the same existing colonial school systems which, using the traditional teaching methods, produce the limited amount of graduates needed to staff the government offices. If Africa is to develop a wider based and more progressive school system, it needs Volunteers to teach progressive lessons.

New mathematics, for example, will be introduced extensively in the junior and secondary schools of Ethiopia this coming fall, after having been tried experimentally by Volunteers at several locations during the last three years. The presence of American-trained Volunteers familiar with "new mathematics" will allow the program to be an important part of the curriculum throughout the empire.

For those Volunteers seeking challenge in Africa, there is plenty to be found within the classrooms. Teachers in America have an inherent knowledge of their students. Students' responses are familiar responses. In African classrooms nothing can be taken for granted. Volunteers teach and learn simultaneously. Only now are we able to give to training a background of information which allows a Volunteer to anticipate some student reactions, to know where to begin when he first faces a class.

But the greatest service that Volunteers do in teaching in Africa is their approach to learning. From the first, they have resisted the undue emphasis on leaving examinations and struggled to make students aware of the value of an education beyond the test results. They have struggled to bring to the African classrooms deductive reasoning in place of rote learning.

Now is not the time to pull out or hold back on teaching programs. It is time to build. What the first teaching Volunteers have achieved can only be undone with abandonment. Peace Corps teachers in most countries are taking hold, finding their own voice, their own way of instruction. They are gaining an understanding of the complete emotional sense of their students. There is plenty of reason to stay in the classrooms and continue the subtle, but significant, teaching for the process of knowledge, as well as the product.

*For the past two years John Coyne has been an associate director in Ethiopia, where he was previously a Volunteer.*

## NOT WANTED!

### PEACE CORPS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA

- Present model unattainable and irrelevant in highly traditional areas.
- Individual initiative and interest of people lacking, chieftaincy strong.
- Outsiders at disadvantage.
- Technical advisers needed first.

**F**or the first six months of our Peace Corps tour in Africa, my wife and I lived in a small, isolated village in central Sierra Leone.

Our experience there gave us certain insights into the problems of Peace Corps' attempting community development work in highly traditional areas. Our conclusion was that "community development" is an unattainable and irrelevant ideal at this stage in the development of most areas of Africa.

At first I feared these opinions were too subjective and based upon a limited experience. However, last month I was called upon to lecture on community development at Fourah Bay College, where more recently I have been teaching political science. In subsequent discussion sessions the students, many of whom come from villages where Peace Corps Volunteers are working, were given an opportunity to challenge or substantiate my views.

An experienced community development official in Ghana has defined the concept of CD as "a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation and on the initiative of

the community." The initiative of the community is the key term here. In Peace Corps parlance, this idea is expressed by the notion of "self-help." Theoretically, a Peace Corps Volunteer's role is to act as a catalyst who motivates the villagers to realize that building a road or a health center will directly benefit their personal interests. The Volunteer is not expected to take charge of the project himself; rather, he should subtly inspire the villagers to come together, discuss their problems, and organize as a community to solve them.

Community development may be possible in Latin America, but in Africa I think the attempt is futile. "Community development" is a highly democratic notion. It calls for initiative and interest on the part of the individual inhabitants of the area who are expected to come together and make decisions on the basis of rational discussion. Africa, I submit, is not ripe for such an arrangement. Traditional chiefs still wield extensive power in most areas of the continent and as long as they do so, villagers will look to the chief for decisions.

The chief may decide that a road should be built and accordingly may

induce his subjects—usually through one means of coercion or other—to carry through on the project. The road may be built, but since the people do not really understand why they have constructed it, the community development multiplier effect which expects the initiative of one undertaking to carry the people on to ever more ambitious projects after the Volunteer has left, will not go into operation. One reason chieftaincy remains strong, of course, is that modernism has not reached many of these areas. The revolution of rising expectations has not penetrated to them to the same extent as it has in Latin America. Therefore, even if the chief's hold were not so strong, it would be folly to expect the villagers to put in long hours of toil in constructing a health center when they are not convinced that modern medicine is any more effective than the native healer.

How did the students react to my ideas? Almost without exception there was agreement that chiefs fully control the villages. Most were quick to assert, however, that the majority of chiefs are "progressive"—more progressive than their people. One fellow told how the chief had forced the people of his village, against their will, to move all their dwellings seven miles to a new site on a main road. This shift opened the village to commerce (they were able to open a store that attracted travelers) and improved the material life of the population.

If the chief is progressive, well and good. But the fact that modernism is more comprehensible to an educated chief than to his followers does not weaken my argument. Change still comes about through his influence and coercion rather than through "self-help" initiative. Such progress in the long run may change the entire situation, but for the present, community development theory will not work. (Of course, not all chiefs are progressive. Bloody riots in Sierra Leone in 1955 were a reaction by village people in certain areas who were forced to labor to construct mansions for these leaders.)

The students cited numerous instances of spontaneous "traditional" communal cooperation. Villagers willingly cleared bush paths, rotated the harvesting of farm crops in groups, etc. Admittedly there was no direct compulsion involved in these exam-

ples, but this work was motivated by custom and tradition. The people unthinkingly cleared paths because their fathers had always done so before them. The students indicated that whenever communal action was shifted to larger projects calling for large outputs of time and energy, the villagers would back away. Traditional communal spirit could only be extended through the employment of fines and other forms of pressure. Not one student could come up with a valid "self-help" example.

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By **MICHAEL A. REBELL**

*Freetown, Sierra Leone*

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To what extent do villagers understand modernism and desire change? The students said that modernism has penetrated to the villages. The best proof was that young people—including some in the class—from the remotest areas had been induced to come to the cities to better themselves. But the students noted a difference in degree of penetration. The women in the patriarchal society seemed hardly affected. Old people would like to have superficial benefits like radios and canned foods, but they are not prepared to change their fundamental habits. Those who feel strongly about change tend to leave or be subtly exiled from the village. Most development projects, they said, are carried on by young boys, forced to labor without interest in or understanding of them, since the men in their twenties and thirties have migrated to the city. The fundamental aspect of modernism for community development purposes is an ability to project your thinking into the future, to invest present labor for future rewards. Most students thought that few Africans, even among those residents in the cities, accept this outlook. Farmers, they pointed out, see the purchase of fertilizer as an unnecessary expense since it brings no immediate results.

It might follow from the points raised here that urban areas would be more fertile soil for community development work in Africa. The students disagreed. They said people in the cities are too much "out for themselves." They have no permanent roots or attachment to the city

and they think that because of high taxes and easy money, the government can afford to pay for what it wants done.

Finally, I asked whether the Peace Corps Volunteer can be effective in community development. There was a consensus that the presence of a Volunteer tends to work against the self-help ideal. The Volunteers are highly regarded and Africans are especially impressed with their willingness to dirty their hands in manual labor. But the fact remains that a white man is wealthy or has access to wealth. When a Volunteer comes, the people expect outside material aid to follow (usually it does). Furthermore, they said, no outsider can fully gain the people's confidence in the way you speak of, not even an African from another village. Their final point was that the Volunteer is eager to get a project completed during the length of his tour; he tends to put on pressure in order to speed up work. The students thought Volunteers should be placed mainly in teaching assignments. Almost all could cite favorable and stimulating experiences with Peace Corps teachers in secondary schools.

The common conclusion reached by these students and myself was that community development is a pointless approach for the Peace Corps in Africa. I would not agree, however, that development work in rural areas should be abandoned. Volunteers are needed to work with the chiefs as technical advisers on the construction of roads, bridges, etc. which will open up the hinterland and begin the process that may allow community development to be successfully attempted at some time in the future. For these people to be effective, however, their training should emphasize technical proficiency rather than meaningless theories of self-help; they should be told to work with the progressive chiefs as advisers and supervisors and not fruitlessly dissipate their two years attempting to be "catalysts." Effective rural development at this stage can only be sidetracked by adherence to the irrelevant community development model.

*The writer and his wife, Susan, both teach at Fourah Bay College, and have been in Sierra Leone since January, 1966. He holds an honors degree in government from Harvard University.*

# Lawyers have a

In countries where 95 per cent of the population is illiterate, where the land is still cultivated as it was in the time of Mohammed and where malaria is rampant, lawyers may seem about as essential to national development as color television and dietetic soda pop. Yet almost since its beginning, the Peace Corps has been sending lawyers to Africa to work as law teachers, administrators, legislative draftsmen and legal advisers.

The education of the American lawyer has trained him primarily to serve American business; he has little or no knowledge of African legal systems and customs. What, then, can he possibly contribute to Africa? Has he a role as a Volunteer? Some Peace Corps officials seem to think not and even doubt that *any* professional properly belongs in the Peace Corps. Just as it was once fashionable to worry about the "bland" Volunteer, perhaps we will soon be agonizing over the professional and calling him the "bourgeois" Volunteer.

Two years ago, a minister of an African government gave the following advice to a group of students who were to be his area's first law graduates: "I hope that when you have finished your course, you will all return to your villages and become farmers." Absorbed in the basic problems of food production, the minister could not see how the newly-acquired skills of those students would contribute to the development of their country. The lawyer, as he is known in Europe and America, is alien to the traditional society of most of Africa. To conservative, tradition-minded Africans, the lawyer has often seemed a political troublemaker, an officious meddler who seeks only to disrupt the established way of life. On the other hand, to Africans anxious

for a new era, he may seem a defender of the status quo, an obstructionist in the path of change.

Although the importance of the traditional *role* of the wigged and robed lawyer may be questioned in certain instances, the *skills* of the lawyer are as necessary to development in Africa as are the skills of the agricultural worker or the public health specialist. Development means more than bigger harvests, better houses and increased literacy. It also means an efficient and responsive government administration, an honest and just system of courts and a fair and effective economic organization. It is the creation and execution of wise policies concerning land, taxation, urbanization, credit, foreign investment, cooperatives and labor. Law is one of the important tools used in achieving these things. It helps to create the framework for national unity and economic and social development. It is the means by which policy is expressed.

No one who is acquainted with the failure of constitutions in certain African countries would claim that law will solve all problems. It will not, in and of itself, wipe out tribalism, corruption, political strife, disease or famine. It is simply an important tool of development to be used with the other developmental tools of education, science, technology and capital. To achieve their national goals, Africans with legal skills have to wield that tool effectively, whether they are writing the constitution of a country or the rules of a rural cooperative, whether they sit as judges on the nation's supreme court or as members of a village tribunal, whether they are collecting taxes for the government or arguing cases for private clients.



The job of the Peace Corps lawyer is to help develop these legal, and in some cases, administrative skills. He is not, and ought not be, a policy maker. Whether he works on a law faculty, in a ministry or with local government, the Peace Corps lawyer has essentially a teaching function, and in this respect he is no different from other Volunteers. That a lawyer may be required to dress differently from an agricultural worker, that his contact with villagers is more limited, that he spends more time in libraries are differences of form rather than substance.

Until a few years ago, no lawyer south of the Sahara and north of the Limpopo had received his legal education in Africa. English-speaking Africans went to Britain to study and be admitted to one of the inns of court. They learned English law as it



# Volunteer role

was applied in England to solve English problems. Today, most African countries have established their own law schools to teach African law to men and women whose skills will one day be used to solve African problems. It is in these schools that most Peace Corps lawyers have worked.

Teaching law anywhere—but especially in Africa—is not simply expounding a long list of legal principles. Like everything else in Africa, law is in a state of flux. Many, if not most, of the statutes now in force were enacted during colonial times to serve colonial purposes. Equipped with the tools of legal analysis and criticism gained from his own legal education, the Volunteer law teacher must not only teach what the law is, but he must also lead his law students, whose secondary education has usually given them too great a veneration for the written word, to inquire into what the law should be, to probe the reasons for existing law, to question the wisdom of a particular statute, to challenge the logic of a particular judicial decision, to recognize new problems and to find modern solutions for old ones.

If the Volunteer law teacher's students are the administrators, lay judges, court registrars and policemen for whom African governments often conduct training programs, he must remain firmly in the world of fact, in the realm of concrete example. Most of these students have had little, if any, secondary education. For these

students, the question is not "What is the rule?"; but rather, "What do I do?" In this kind of situation, law teaching is intimately connected with the ordinary day-to-day life of the country. From these students, the teacher gains new insights into old problems—the frustration of the low-level administrator, the political and tribal pressures on a native court judge, the temptations of policemen.

Outside the classroom, the law teacher may further assist in the development of legal skills by organizing and supervising legal writing programs, moot court competitions, student publications, discussion groups, visits to courts, research projects, and other activities which will enrich the experience of his students, sharpen their awareness and bring them into closer contact with the actual legal and judicial life of their country. And he can also attempt to interest judges and practicing lawyers in the law school by inviting them to sit as judges on moot court cases, to give special lectures, and to attend conferences and other activities so that they may give both faculty and students the benefits of their practical experience.

There are other, less direct ways in which a Volunteer can exercise the teaching function and help develop legal skills in Africa. He can assist in reporting judicial decisions, organizing legal aid programs, working in programs to increase the skills of practicing lawyers, gathering information on unwritten customary law, establishing cooperatives, prepar-

ing teaching materials, building up law libraries, engaging in research projects, and editing law journals. Some of these things have already been done by Volunteers; others have yet to be explored.

Like any other Peace Corps project, the need for a particular law program must first be discovered and defined. Government ministries, law schools, training institutions, judges and members of the bar must be approached. But the method of approach should not simply be, "Can you use an American lawyer?" Sometimes, as with law schools, this approach will work. But to find other areas in which Peace Corps lawyers' skills may be used effectively, research into the host country's legal needs must first be done so that in its discussions with the governments, the law schools, and the judiciary, the Peace Corps will be prepared to suggest possible projects. One of the reasons that a few Volunteer lawyers were not used effectively in Nigeria was that the Peace Corps did not engage in this type of approach. With imagination and a knowledge of the legal conditions of a country, useful projects can be developed. The need for them does exist.

If a project is to succeed, its participants must first have adequate training. Like any other Volunteer, the lawyer must have some knowledge of the culture, history, language and customs of the host country. But he must also know something about its legal culture—its sources of law, its system of courts, the essential features of its constitution, the nature of customary law, the techniques of finding the law, the important legal problems.

The lack of such training would

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By JESWALD W. SALACUSE

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tend to hobble the Peace Corps lawyer and to reduce his effectiveness in the host country, at least during the early months of his tour. For he must then spend valuable time learning what he could have learned in the U.S. The Peace Corps should consider training in African law to be as important to the Peace Corps lawyer as training in tropical farming methods is to the agricultural worker. It should attempt to give trainees exposure to African law, at least to the extent of providing them with relevant texts, articles and statutes, and of arranging informal meetings with African graduate law students, returned Volunteer lawyers, and other persons who have had legal experience in Africa.

Once in Africa, the Volunteer must spend long hours studying statutes, cases and legal texts, and he must also get to know the society which that law is intended to govern. Law is experience, and unless the Peace Corps lawyer becomes acquainted with the people of the host country, their beliefs, aspirations, problems and way of life, he cannot fully understand the existing law and cannot begin to think of what the law should be. But the lawyer, and probably any professional, faces a problem in gaining this knowledge, for the surroundings in which he works may tend to limit his contact with the everyday life of the host country. This problem is not insurmountable. With effort and ingenuity on the part of the Volunteer, it can be solved.

Too often, among professionals both in the United States and Africa, one finds elitism—the feeling that education and position somehow make them superior and entitle them to special status and favor. It is not elitism which should motivate the Peace Corps lawyer, doctor, or teacher; it is professionalism. Guided by his own profession's ideals of service, responsibility, and excellence, which are after all not so very different from those of the Peace Corps itself, the professional can be a Volunteer who is neither "bland" nor "bourgeois".

*The author is associate director of the African Law Center at Columbia University. As a Volunteer, he taught law at Ahmadu Bello University in Nigeria from 1963 to 1965. He is a co-author of a text titled Nigerian Family Law, published recently in London.*

# The quiet death of a training concept

Unstructured training has died quietly in Puerto Rico. It was a little more than a year old. Conservative pressure, the skeptics and the doubters finally killed a challenging idea. I want to show why this should not have been allowed to happen.

The program was designed by Richard Hopkins, then director of Peace Corps training in Puerto Rico, and a staff made up mostly of returned Volunteers. They wanted to get away from traditional Peace Corps training methods which they believed did not do an effective job. They wanted to throw trainees into a completely new living and working situation, which would show them the salient facts of a Peace Corps Volunteer's life in the field. It was to be a shock situation, full of the ambiguity and frustration the Volunteers are up against in the field. Trainees would have to rely completely on their own resources to survive and get something out of the program, much as they would in the field. And they would have the chance to learn the community development skills they would need in the field by actually doing community development in camp.

This meant throwing out the traditional training model for Peace Corps Volunteers. It meant that the trainees—nearly all university students or graduates—would not have a university-like educational situation to fall back on.

Many trainees figured they were in camp to absorb as much information as possible about their host country and future job in the shortest possible time. They were not concerned with method. They wanted facts. So when they saw that facts—that which came to be called the "content" of training—would not be fed to them, some decided the program was worthless. Apparently several Peace Corps training administrators thought so too.

But there was another aspect to unstructured training. That was the process—as opposed to content—of training. The staff in Puerto Rico who were for the new program felt that the facts were no more important than how the trainees got those facts. They knew that facts easily learned are just as easily forgotten. They wanted the trainees to work for the facts, to feel they had accomplished something by obtaining those facts. But this wasn't all. The content-process di-

By STEVE LAWRENCE  
Samana, Dominican Republic

chotomy has a direct parallel to Peace Corps community development work.

The difference between community development projects and public works projects is in the process. Public works consists of building roads and bridges, canals and schools. Community development may do this too, but it does so in a very specific way: The crucial part is not that a school is built, but *how* it is built. In other words, projects are educational tools used to develop unity in the community. The training program was designed to force this idea upon the trainees, in a way university-type training could not.

#### Learn by doing

Peace Corps Volunteer community developers are placed in their communities and, in effect, told to do something with them. Trainees in Puerto Rico were confronted with this problem when they got to camp. They were told what resources were available (much as a Peace Corps Volunteer is told what resources are available to him in his host country) and then told to do something—in this case, get trained. They do not have to do this in conventional university-type training programs. Thus

university trained Volunteers miss out on a whole level of preparation which those in Puerto Rico gained.

As training proceeded, the trainees spent a lot of time analyzing how they were developing their camp community. They found, if they worked at it, that what they faced in camp was in many ways quite similar to what they would face in the field. They learned the problems of community development by actually doing community development. They gained experience that they could not possibly have obtained listening to community development lectures and reading social change books.

They found that developing a community of college graduates is in many ways similar to developing a community of farmers or urban workers overseas. In their communities Volunteers often find apathy; no one wants to put himself out, everyone feels safer working alone. There is a problem of finding good leaders. And when they are found there is the problem of getting a community to be active and not let the leaders do all the work. Or there is a problem with a leader who wants to do all the work (usually, he says, for the sake of efficiency) and hasn't any con-

fidence in his neighbor's ability to get things done. There is the problem of how to give a whole community a sense of participation in a project; how to make the community feel that it can accomplish something, that its ideas and problems will be heard and acted upon.

The Peace Corps trainees found they had to overcome all of these problems to varying degrees before they could set up what they felt was an efficient program. They failed before they succeeded. But analyzing the failures (as in "real" community development) was as valuable as reviewing the successes.

The most often heard complaint about the unstructured program was its lack of content. Specifically, some trainees felt they did not get enough technical studies. They believed that in order to be community developers they had to be carpenters, masons, or pig, chicken or crop experts. They felt that too much time was wasted on process. Instead of analyzing what they were doing, some felt, they should be learning skills.

What this amounts to is a belief that learning about the process of community development is not as important as becoming a mason in

Puerto Rico trainees discuss small-town economic problems. "They gained experience that they could not possibly have obtained listening to community development lectures and reading social change books," says author.



Photo by Paul Reed

# Where goes the Peace Corps in 1968?

three months. And what this notion overlooks is that the way training was set up it was quite possible to do both. There was plenty of time. While a university-type program from the beginning sacrifices the whole process concept, unstructured training gives the trainee the process and the time to get the technical studies too, if he will.

That is a crucial point because a Peace Corps community developer is his own boss for the most part. He must decide what he has to do, how he will do it and then get himself out of his house and go do it. Trainees in Puerto Rico were confronted with the same problem. They had to move to get something out of the program. They had to make decisions and they had to follow through. This wasn't easy for many. But it was better to confront this problem during training rather than later, in the host country.

## Learning to lead

If trainees didn't get the technical studies they wanted, it was not the fault of the training program. Some trainees complained that there weren't trained technical personnel in camp. But they were told at the beginning of training that any number of experts on almost any subject trainees wanted to know could be brought up to camp, if the trainees would just ask. Besides, indispensable skills can be scheduled into the program—as Spanish was for all trainees and as co-op studies were for the co-op groups. This was done without sacrificing the basic unstructured training model.

But for general community developers the value of technical studies is greatly exaggerated, because community development Volunteers are not building contractors. They are not put into villages simply to get schools built. They are there to build communities and this means developing people. It is giving a community the sense that it can do something on its own. Community development is not making a community dependent on the Peace Corps Volunteer. Rather it is making communities self-dependent.

This means a Volunteer must do his job so that his community realizes what it can do when people work together. He must stay in the background of each project. But to do this he must have a great deal of skill in what has come to be called “non-directive” leadership.

Learning to use non-directive leadership is far more important for a community developer than learning to be a carpenter. In fact, practicing non-directive leadership in the field may very well be dependent on his *not* learning anything like carpentry or masonry. The Volunteer with these skills will most certainly want to use them. He will want to build the school instead of letting his community do it. If he knows nothing about building, he will be forced back on his organizational skills, which will enable him to show people what *they* can do, not what *he* can do.

Unstructured training provided the opportunity to develop this method and outlook—what a staff member called “the skill and art” of community development—by practicing it. And the trainee at the same time could learn a bit about himself by doing something wholly new to him. There was an openness, a spontaneity about the training that was appealing. It was not just a matter of “staying alive” through the program, as some Peace Corps Volunteers have characterized their university training. Rather, the trainees felt a part of the program. They lived it and developed it and developed with it.

It's easier to run a university-type program. This is partly because the university educational model is so familiar; everyone falls into it quickly. But it's also easier because it requires less originality from the staff and the trainees. The university staff doesn't have to fool around with all the frustrating realities of community development. Unstructured training in Puerto Rico was a tough exercise in non-directive leadership for the staff as well as for the trainees. The staff thought they had found a way to turn out a more efficient community developer. They did find a way to *show* trainees how to do community development instead of merely *telling* them how.

Some 600 trainees had a crack at the program. There has not been time enough to assess the program's effect on those 600. No one has tried very hard to develop a valid study. Unstructured training has not been given a fair hearing.

*Steve Lawrence is a 1966 graduate of the unstructured Puerto Rico training camp. He has been a community developer in the Dominican Republic for a year.*



There is a Peace Corps Volunteer somewhere who turned to his work this morning conscious of an elusive discontent which has been his companion for many weeks.

He is well, physically. Also, he knows his way around. He has been on the job long enough to separate friends from acquaintances, and he is on speaking terms with the language. He is no longer a stranger.

Nor is he troubled by the way things are going. In fact, the job most likely is moving along at a reasonable pace. The school is being built; or the students are taking an interest; or the clinic is cleaner, better staffed, and above all, used; organizations he has fostered are beginning to flourish.

Even that things seem to be going

right, irritates. Below the surface, there is a prodding disquiet—a mood of searching not rare in people of good intentions. In this instance, it is a probing for relevance.

To such a Volunteer, the issue of Peace Corps service no longer is whether “it works,” but rather, whether “it matters.” Where does his work fit into the scheme of things—and if it fits, still is the scheme relevant? Does it, and does he, go deep enough?

For such a Volunteer, success cannot be measured by what he builds, but by what he sets in motion, with a chance to stay in motion. For him, achievement probably will remain just a tantalizing doubt beyond reach.

Yet this Volunteer—and his number is legion—is key to whatever is pro-

foundly dynamic in the Peace Corps. For his doubts become demands, underscoring our own resolve to make of Peace Corps service more than a series of successful encounters with the surface of needs abroad.

As this Volunteer becomes more certain, more articulate in his discontent, he matures in his understanding of what is relevant overseas. As his number multiplies, the Peace Corps grows up.

Fiscal Year 1968 is dedicated to him.

Of this we are certain: he is going to have company. On April 1, 1967, 28,189 Americans were serving or had served in the Peace Corps. A handful six years ago, now the Peace Corps is the nation's largest single “employer” of new college graduates. We are oversubscribed—with women as with men—despite new, more stringent selection standards adopted this year.

Growth is built into our request for funds.

This year, we are asking the Congress for \$118.7 million to operate the Peace Corps—\$8.7 million more than last year. Such an appropriation will maintain a Peace Corps of 17,750 Volunteers and trainees by Aug. 31, 1968—2,350 more than this year. Volunteers will serve in at least 56 countries—four more than last year.

Our responsibility to any Volunteer, however, is not merely that the Peace Corps be more than last year—but also that his own work be more important, in any year. That responsibility puts us squarely in the vanguard of our Volunteer's search for the meaningful, the creative as well as the successful in overseas service.

#### Defining success

For the Peace Corps, success has had a variety of implications—all of them difficult to measure. Right now, however, we are as concerned with the definition of success as we are with its measurement. This is not simple, for success in the Peace Corps can never be static. It has had to evolve, and with good fortune it will continue to evolve as we pinpoint with increasing accuracy “what matters” in contrast to “what works.” Behind the implications of success lies the growing recognition that the two are not always the same.

Success in performance has been gratifying. As the President reported

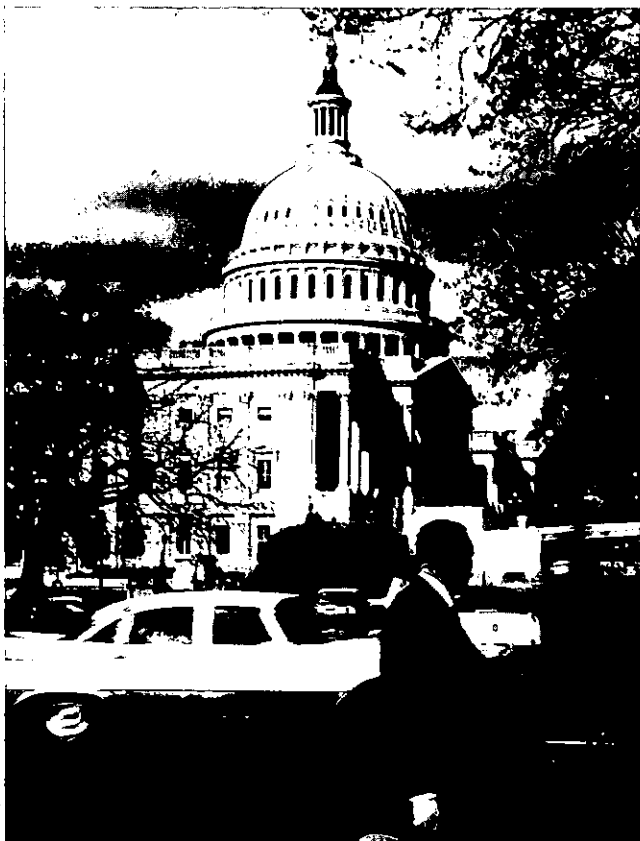


Photo by Paul Reed

Director Jack Vaughn told the Congress: “The Peace Corps is young—but six years is long enough for us to affirm what we stand for and declare what we are doing to implement our beliefs.” Here is a portion of the agency's congressional presentation for 1968.

in his letter to Congress of March 6, 1967:

"In 1968 Peace Corps Volunteers will:

"Assist more than 400,000 farmers in their struggle against hunger.

"Help educate more than 700,000 school children.

"Help train 55,000 teachers.

"Provide health services to more than 200,000 persons.

"Help 75,000 men and women help themselves through private enterprise.

"Bring greater opportunity to thousands of people through community development."

Optimism about the Peace Corps is understandable and, we think, justified. With encouraging fortune, the idea behind it commands even greater conviction than it did six years ago. Moreover, it has captured the imagination of young people at home and in other lands: 54 countries now have some form of voluntary service, 18 of them devoted to service overseas. "Peace Corps" has acquired the character of a favorable adjective as well as a uniquely American noun.

As with our pensive Volunteer however, knowing that things are going well is only one small part of being relevant. Assuring that we matter means more. However, what matters in progress overseas usually depends upon the point of view from which progress is perceived. Theories about what is relevant to progress presumably are as abundant as academicians—or officials—or Peace Corps Volunteers. Situations and experiences overseas vary radically. Choosing the right point of view for the Peace Corps, however, requires that we unravel a number of conceptions about Peace Corps service, including several of our own.

### Encountering attitudes

Not the least of these has required that we disentangle the *form* of a Volunteer's work overseas from his ultimate service. Volunteers have been sent abroad "to teach" or "to be public health workers" or "to help develop credit cooperatives." Projects tend to be conceived and shaped in the minds of an officialdom whose attention is focused on modern specialties. And Peace Corps applicants like to be told what they are "going to do" overseas.

The various forms of Peace Corps service are as familiar as the appeal-

ing photographs. Volunteers do teach; they are public health workers; they do develop cooperatives. And they engage in a host of other activities familiar to people throughout the world.

Rarely, however, do the vague impressions—and hardly ever, do the photographs—convey what is at once the most sensitive and dynamic attribute of Peace Corps service: the encounter with attitudes.

No aspect of Peace Corps service has altered quite so radically. At the outset, change of attitude was perceived as a valuable dividend of progress. Seen Volunteer-close, however, attitude change becomes not merely a dividend, but a new imperative in overseas service. Lasting results can begin only when people perceive, as in some mirror, "the best that is within them to become." The ultimate service of a Peace Corps Volunteer, regardless of the form in which he serves, is to help generate that sense of self-recognition.

Understandably, we have been absorbed with the *form* of Peace Corps service, and with all that form entails: We are wedded to measurable results because we need to plan effectively. Our Volunteers need the human satisfaction of seeing a job done well; officials abroad and at home need the confidence "results" convey. And the fact that new things "work" is one solid thread with which attitudes are woven.

But our business is people. And attitudes do not evolve from the pages of a country plan—nor is their trend measurable in fiscal years. Any system of administration which distorts the Peace Corps' focus in this regard courts the risk of well-run failure.

Our Volunteer's dilemma is, in microcosm, the hazard we face as an agency and as an idea as the Peace Corps becomes seasoned, attaining, not popularity, but responsibility; not sympathy, but effectiveness. On both sides of the ocean, the Peace Corps' context has been neatly labeled "development." But development, in the sense with which it has been applied to us, is a word loaded with meanings we Americans have created and conveyed to others. It is colored with the optimism of our own nation's good fortune. It suggests a linear sense of building, of making things fit together, of getting bigger and better.

Born in this setting, we are compelled to create and assess our values

in its terms. But when we assess where we fit in, we find ourselves measuring form, not function.

No display of numbers, however encouraging, should dissuade us from the elusive and hardly measurable substance of Peace Corps work. Chained to principles other than the unique spirit which gave it birth, the Peace Corps would be less than strategic. It would become a tactical device, useful for its shiny surface, praised for its "contribution," ignored for its leadership, uncertain of its meaning from year to year.

Precisely that vagueness of meaning invokes the restlessness of the maturing Volunteer.

### Effecting change

A strategy for the Peace Corps rightly suggests a restoration of the word "develop" to its prime dictionary condition: "1. to lay open by degrees or in detail: to disclose; reveal. 2. to unfold more completely; to evolve the possibilities of; to make active something latent." And then only: "advance, further; to promote the growth of . . ."

Such a definition puts first things first. It suggests that self-discovery for people is at least as intimate to progress as is the building process which thereafter ensues. It offers little in the way of spectacular triumphs, however. Rather, it suggests that development involves patience, living with problems, searching for footholds.

"What matters," on such terms, is that people quicken to a sense of the possible, and respond with action.

In Panama last year, people who with Volunteer help had learned the possibilities of cooperation by banding together to construct long-needed wells and latrines, also discovered they had the temerity to demand police protection in their neighborhood.

In response to a disastrous flood in Honduras, Volunteers organized groups of up to 3,000 workers to repair damaged roads, schools, and irrigation systems. The work was useful in itself—but it also triggered enactment of a national community development agency.

The Chilean town of Trolvhué flooded every winter after a 1960 earthquake sank the earth beneath it. People finally gave up waiting for "someone to do something" after newly arrived Volunteers induced



"But our business is people. And attitudes do not evolve from the pages of a country plan..."

them to discover how much they could do for themselves. Galvanized to action, they attracted attention from others. *Then*, outside help emerged, and a proud townspeople are now building their own new town at a higher elevation.

In such instances—and there have been a host of them since the Peace Corps began—it was the receptive attitude of people which led the way.

Success in such cases is not merely a measure of what is built, but of the force which sets building in motion and persists when the job is done.

For the remainder of this century and well into the next, in nations where Peace Corps Volunteers serve, people's attitudes will continue to be at least as important as the visible signs of advancement. No aspect of free development is more elusive;

none is more essential. Some of history's most spectacular monuments entailed the work of slaves. Development for free people, on the other hand, requires a critical meeting in history, where self-discovery and opportunity encounter each other.

In the developing nations, such promising encounters have been few, usually sporadic, often irrelevant. Properly placed, Peace Corps Volun-

teers can see to it that there are many more such encounters. Properly prepared, they can see to it that they matter.

It is precisely the restless, probing Volunteer who presses us hardest for a chance to do the job right. It is through him that we—and others who know the Peace Corps—have become conscious of the value of the Volunteer as leverage in the critical process of human self-discovery.

In just six years these capable, committed young people have moved the Peace Corps to recognize its highest potential as an instrument of development.

Long-range plans for the Peace Corps are now devised with this recognition in mind. During the last year, Peace Corps programs and commitments overseas underwent fresh analysis and revision. Programs which have been devised with a technician's certainty, now are being restudied for what they allow in human qualities as well. Regional and country programs are being examined in terms of the leverage Volunteers afford.

In Africa, for example, the needs of rural development are enormous. Moreover, work in food production permits people in remote areas to see and feel desperately needed results. The impact of Volunteer leverage consequently is quite high.

Accordingly, the next five years in Africa will see a major redeployment of Volunteers, the proportion in education declining from nearly three-quarters, at present, to less than a third. At the same time, health and community development programs will account for twice their present share of Volunteers by the end of the same period.

#### PPBS adjustments

In Latin America, where rural development programs have played an important role from the outset, the emphasis in community development will be continued. Programs in education in Latin America also show promise, especially in teacher training and mass media (educational broadcasting) programs. Consequently, the proportion of education Volunteers in Latin America will grow.

With few exceptions, programs planned and administered through national agencies in Latin America fare better and are more stable than local projects of limited duration. Program plans in Latin America,

accordingly, will tend to follow national lines.

Country programs in the North Africa, Near East and South Asia region traditionally have been as widely varied in nature as are the nations within the region. However, we note the same trend in Peace Corps programs in that region as in African countries: programs in food production (e.g., India) will claim the largest and fastest growing share of Volunteers. At the same time, the growth in education programs will be relatively small. In NANESA, also, increasing concern is anticipated during the foreseeable future with programs in family planning.

In East Asia, new vantage was per-

ceived in public health programs, using Volunteers as an entering wedge to break the cycle of high population, low productivity and perennial disease. A program on the Korean island of Cheju-do leads the way. Also, most education programs will be continued. Volunteers in East Asia have been heavily engaged in teaching English, science and math. English is regarded throughout the region as a useful tool for national development and both science and math are presently relevant to the careers of enough young people to make the effort worthwhile.

Long-range planning entails new disciplines to which we are slowly becoming accustomed. The PPBS

## An oldster speaks out

By **BLANCH EVERARD** *Curicó, Chile*

I was especially interested in the article "Making better use of older Volunteers" (February). I am an older Volunteer who had the good fortune of being properly placed, so I would like to speak up in defense of Peace Corps.

I was past 65 years old when accepted for training. I am a weaver of some ten years' experience. Since Camp Crozier, Puerto Rico, was spoken of as an unstructured training program, I settled in my own mind that for me "unstructured" meant to do whatever I felt I was physically able to do and let the rest go by the board. If I had to be de-selected because I didn't rappel off the dam, so be it. I agree with Harris Wofford that "to live well we must be prepared to die," but after all I wasn't about to go out and defy death when I knew that my coordination wasn't what it used to be.

In the rock climbing program I went to the practice site and successfully completed it, but I never showed up for the rest of that program. Also, in the athletic program, I went the first time onto the concrete slab trying to do push-ups as well as other exercises. Again I didn't show the second time. I couldn't do one push-

up if my very life depended on it, and with a 65-year-old body I just didn't feel inclined to try. In the drown-proofing I didn't get to first base although I know how to swim and have spent a lot of time in the lakes of Montana. And I didn't go on the three-day survival trek through the woods.

Now you would naturally think that all of this would add up to de-selection, so I was resigned to it and thought I'd get all I could out of the training, than thank Uncle Sam for that much and go home to Montana. But the staff, bless them, felt differently. Instead of the survival hike, the staff approved my request to spend the three days in a Puerto Rican craft area. The greater part of my time, outside of unsuccessfully trying to learn Spanish, was spent in the weaving shack. I thoroughly enjoyed the crude looms there which we were told would be like the ones we would encounter in South America. This statement wasn't exactly correct as the accompanying picture proves. The looms are held together with a great deal of cord, yet the young Chilean students are learning to produce some very good articles on them. If our

system of planning and cost effectiveness is our best tool, although it will have to be adjusted to fit the job of the Peace Corps. We will not resign our mission to follow another purpose more readily reduced to numbers. It will be up to us instead to devise planning and measuring systems by which we can learn our own way in this most uncertain corridor of development, where there are no easy measurements, where the variables are human, and success is as elusive as a mood.

### The Volunteer leads

At the heart of our strategy remains the element around which all Peace

Corps planning has revolved since the outset: the American college graduate. He has proved himself a remarkable, versatile instrument. Skepticism abroad of his ability to convey new skills is now on the decline. Moreover, where planners persist in demanding technicians—we shall persist in our faith in the Volunteers to do, *now*, what may have to wait a generation, until specialists can be found. We will stand behind the young graduate—not merely because he is our prime resource, but because his optimism, persistence, imagination and enthusiasm already have paid off in concrete results, touching just the sources from which lasting human development derives.

And in the long run, it will be the Volunteer who charts the course and commits us to action. The Volunteer who went to work restless this morning will end the day no more certain. It is he who will sense the failures, and he who will spot what is relevant. The strategy of development to which we commit him is studded neither with signposts nor landmarks. As he learns, we learn—in an unfolding, a revealing, a self-discovery as natural to the Peace Corps as the idea of development we adhere to abroad.

In that idea, as in the Peace Corps itself, the Volunteer leads, and we follow—learning what can never be taught.



The author and Chilean student work loom.

patience doesn't wear out before the cord does, we're all right.

I have just finished my first year working with the Chilean Instituto de Educación Rural, in their Vista Hermosa School in Curicó. I have tremendously enjoyed working with these girls as well as with their regular weaving teacher, and feel more than adequately repaid in their success in learning a few new designs as well as in their affection shown to me. Their first request was for variations of the two-harness weave, and we have gone on from that into designs other than twills which have been almost

exclusively used for four-harness looms. My pet project is to get better looms into the institute schools.

I have lived more or less comfortably in a cell-sized room of a pension. It is middle class, cold-water living with otherwise adequate bathroom facilities. There have certainly been frustrating periods of time, but with a little ingenuity there's always been a way through. I live far better than many of the younger people who are in isolated situations. I would appreciate better living conditions, certainly when it comes to entertaining various people who have been kind

to me and to whom I am indebted, but that is not financially possible when we are expected to live within the Peace Corps allowance.

I liked your ideas about training the oldsters but would like to add a few of my own thoughts. I feel we should not attempt to compete, either scholastically or athletically, with the 22-year-old fresh out of college, and yet I would have missed a great deal if I had not trained with that age group. So I wouldn't segregate the oldsters into a program for just their own age group. I have also felt at times that I would like to be stationed with an older person who would have similar interests. Yet there again, the great probability would be that I wouldn't have the very congenial relationships with the younger people which I enjoy if I spent time with someone my own age. These young people are a super breed; Peace Corps is lucky in having them and I am lucky in their consideration of me as an oldster.

All things taken into consideration, I feel very fortunate and I appreciate the opportunity of giving two years of service. Whom am I kidding? Actually I am not giving anything compared to the benefits coming my way. So far as my poor Spanish is concerned, there are many other ways to communicate, and I've been fortunate that mine is a demonstration craft. I hope oldsters, both men and women, will continue to volunteer and that Peace Corps will learn how best to make use of their skills.

*Mrs. Everard, a widow from Missoula, Mont., celebrated her 66th birthday in June.*

# LETTERS TO THE VOLUNTEER

## Money matters

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

The readjustment allowance should be raised considering that \$75 a month was established six years ago. It should be automatically raised in proportion to the rise in the cost of living. If it is raised, it will still not help those of us who are soon to terminate. I suggest a clothing allowance be made immediately effective for those who are terminating. Although we received \$50 in the middle

of our tour for clothes, this did not go far. We can buy African kongas cheaply here so that we can return in style, but how professional will we look?

Before we left the States we were given complete dental care. On our return it is even more important that we receive it again—gratis the U.S. government. Although we receive dental care here, it is not very effective. The fillings just don't stay in.

KATHRYN I. FOGG

Iringa, Tanzania

Do the host countries need people who can contribute to their development, or don't they? If they do, let's try recruiting the ones who can contribute, and forget the potential but "late bloomer." And if they don't—well, we'd better answer honestly the question that's being asked in many countries: "Just why is the Peace Corps here?" There is a growing percentage of Volunteers, in my opinion, who enjoy the scenery and don't really have anything to add.

REGINA LAHTINE

Narayaygadh, Nepal

## Transculturated kudos

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

Mr. Maurice Sill's contribution to our training program and to other Volunteers has been great and I hope he will be available to other training programs in the future. Having discussions in training about "transculturation" helps greatly toward future work in the field.

STEPHEN M. PATTON

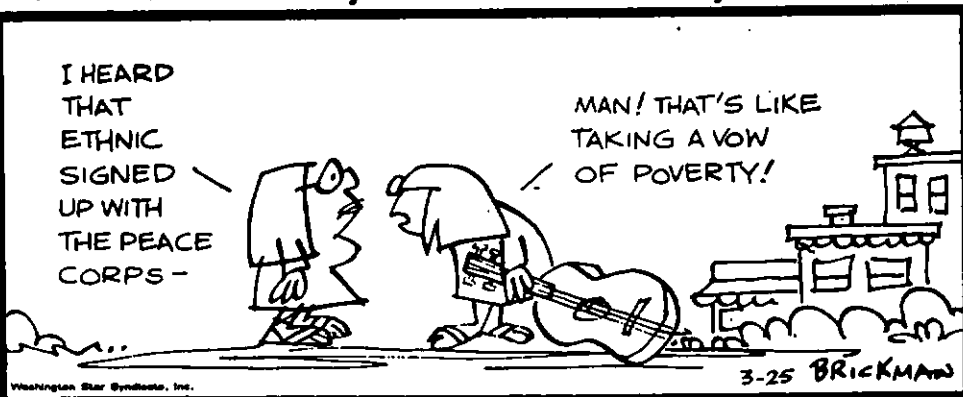
Morena, Madhya Pradesh, India

## the small society

by Brickman

I HEARD  
THAT  
ETHNIC  
SIGNED  
UP WITH  
THE PEACE  
CORPS—

MAN! THAT'S LIKE  
TAKING A VOW  
OF POVERTY!



Courtesy Washington Star Syndicate, Inc.

## Tired of complaints

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I for one am getting just a little tired of reading letters from Volunteers who complain about reductions of their living allowances and fringe benefits, and the inadequacy of the readjustment allowance. Supposedly we are all "volunteers," the idea being that our service is, for all practical purposes, free.

I don't know what kind of readjustment those who lament the inadequacy of the readjustment allowance have in mind, or think they're entitled to, but it seems to me that any increase would simply be a rationalized means of perverting the "voluntary" base of the Peace Corps. (I do object to the fact that we are required to pay federal income tax on this money while the government has interest-free use of it.) Even less can I understand why any Volunteer should be receiving

a living allowance which enables him to accumulate fairly substantial savings. And the complaining about cuts in such cases is rather pathetic. What on earth did they expect when they volunteered?

There is undoubtedly merit in the idea of creating a reasonably paid technical assistance corps, but I don't believe its proper place is within the structure or philosophy of the Peace Corps.

JON CLARK

Castro, Chiloé, Chile

## Dislikes new ads

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I object strongly to the tone of the new recruiting advertisements. The idea of the Peace Corps as a two-year excuse to put off any career decisions is a noxious one. Does the Peace Corps have work to do, or doesn't it?

## ... and brickbats

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

I would like to single out some of the ideas and presuppositions in Mr. Maurice Sill's "transculturation" article (February).

1) Mr. Sill favors a "realistic" approach to Peace Corps service. An idealistic approach leads to big, impractical fantasies, and big frustrations, costly to the Peace Corps effort.

2) For Volunteers to be working at maximum effectiveness, "roles" are important.

3) In finding these "roles," Volunteers need help from the outside—Peace Corps Washington, former Volunteers, sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists . . .

4) To make the appropriate role concrete, the Volunteer makes himself aware of where he should be on the Peace Corps master grid for a given month in his two-year service.

5) Volunteer service generally consists of a four-month questioning period, after which the Volunteer solves his problems, resolves his questions, and begins to really do his job.

6) Volunteers encounter problems during their service and problems can be solved.

My responses to the above statements are:

1) Realism can often be a euphemism for fatalism. Idealism emphasizes the individual and his ability to control and make meaningful a relatively malleable external world. One of the dangers Mr. Sill cites is that a Volunteer might "expect too much" from his new situation. Isn't that a pretty good definition of progress—going beyond the expected?

2) The realist thinks he has found hard, objective, common reality and wants people (Volunteers) to fit into the roles which best come to terms with this reality. But these two terms, idealism and realism, sound very much like labels for "being a well-intentioned but unsuccessful Volunteer" (idealism) and "being an effective Volunteer" (realism). The point is that a Volunteer has ventured into a new reality in which he has to combine his own values and outlook with the values and world-view of his new environment. The synthesis should not and cannot be forecast for all Volunteers. The individual must find in the new reality his own challenges and expectations.

3) Advice from the old to the young about what one *can* be and what one *may* do seems like pretty archaic language in light of the possibilities which are being realized today. Agreed, there is a void into which a Volunteer falls when he begins his service, but the Peace Corps is founded on the premise that people can fill these voids themselves with personally meaningful actions and goals.

4, 5, 6) The idea of a master grid which shows Volunteers what is the appropriate role for a given time in their service is simplistic. It seems as if Mr. Sill is saying a Volunteer has one "dark night of the soul" and from then on in, he can better participate in his role because he has "put away childish things"; "joined the human race."

The two-year struggle of a Volunteer is to take his new country's conditions out of the realm of abstract problems and begin to experience them himself. How can I balance a belief in progress and technical change with an awareness of the strength and security that tradition provides? How can I continually recreate my idea of friendship so that I can respond more completely to my new neighbors? How can I live "in another country"

## Memorandum

TO : The field  
FROM : The editors  
SUBJECT: Peace Corps history

DATE: July, 1967

**Commentary on turnover:** The first and only edition of "Who's Who in Peace Corps Washington" in 1962 carried 60 biographies. Only 4 of the 60 are still with the agency: Jack Vaughn, Charles Peters, Ross Pritchard and Dorothy M. Jacobsen.

□ □ □

**Draft notes:** Fewer Volunteers are writing their draft boards for deferment these days . . . Marthanne Parker, Special Problems Branch chief, requests that Volunteers keep her apprised of any problems or changes in their Selective Service or reserve status.

□ □ □

**A headquarters visitor defined "the Peace Corps mystique" as "a hyper-thyroid theory of virtue."**

□ □ □

The *Kriopolitan* newsletter reports a novel farewell gift. George P. Taylor, retiring Peace Corps director in Sierra Leone, received a pair of gold cuff links in the shape of aralen tablets from his Volunteers.

□ □ □

Country director Warren Fuller reported what he believed to be a Peace Corps "first"—twins born to Brazil Volunteers Wendy and Don Boyd.

*See South America for  
only \$750 a day!*



Well, it might be a first and then again it might not be. . . . The Office of Volunteer Support has a record of twins born to Margaret and James O'Hara in Tanzania in 1963. Volunteer Statistics has no verification of this except a letter from one of the O'Haras' parents asking "Was it a boy and a girl?" Someone remembers another set of twins but no records can be found. Oh well, let's award the "first" to the Boyd twins—they were the first to be *documented* by the agency.

□ □ □

**Making travel plans?** Check out the advertisement at left; it appeared recently in *JumpUp*, the Venezuela newsletter.

*The SKY is The LIMIT with The DIESEL SET!!*

and still be a responsible person? These are not problems which are solved in four months. They cannot be capped off and taken home as souvenirs. These continuing experiences are dilemmas which cause doubt, "dark nights," and "wasted" emotional energy.

The Peace Corps, if anything, can open Volunteers to an awareness of the human dilemmas which they face.

I find the thrust of Mr. Sill's article to be the opposite—stratifying, codifying, producing Volunteers to fit into still another bureaucracy—the Peace Corps come of age.

MICHAEL D. PREWITT  
Debre Marcos, Ethiopia

## Femininity forgotten

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

After I read your article entitled "The Peace Corps Volunteer as social enemy number one" (January), I thought you might be interested in this excerpt from a letter I recently received from an Ecuador Volunteer, Rosalie Le Count:

"The new Volunteers have remarked to me a number of times how unfeminine the girls in the Peace Corps are, not necessarily in their physical appearance, but in the way they behave. I am inclined to agree with this observation; such behavior is many times only the natural reaction to living alone and having to take care of yourself. We get so used to ordering our own meals, flagging our own taxis, carrying our own bags, and all the other little details of living that are usually handled by male escorts, that it is almost impossible to restrain such behavior when we are not alone.

"Also, most of the male Volunteers I know tend to treat me as one of the guys and not like a feminine girl, so naturally I don't act fragile and helpless like one. Then there is the language problem. I speak better Spanish than most of the Volunteers

here because now we are the senior group in the country and some of them have only been here a few months. So naturally it is easier for me to argue with the taxi driver or a vendor. This doesn't go over so big, as you can imagine.

"Believe me, I try to control my behavior and let people open doors and all the rest, but it is very hard sometimes. Please take into account the strains that we all face and don't be too hard on the female Volunteers you meet if they are a little less than lady-like. The only advice I can offer is to go on treating girls as if they were indeed unable to take care of themselves. Most of them will appreciate it. I'm a girl; I know. Besides, other female Volunteers have told me the same thing."

DAVID B. CHARLES

Bangalore,  
Mysore, India

## On pioneering

TO THE VOLUNTEER:

Another mother getting into the act:

Last July I visited my Volunteer daughter and her housemates; slept well on a rope bed; ate their food; met their wonderful friends, co-workers and many of their friendly and appreciative native associates. Since then I've been happy knowing that these unselfish young persons, raised with the comforts and softness of our way of life, can face reality and the basic problems of daily living in another culture with courage, concern and convictions.

No doubt most Volunteers are from pioneer stock, who know a little rough going is more exciting than smooth sailing, and they are enjoying an adventure in living and giving which will enrich their lives beyond measure.

Born too soon, I can envy them their opportunities.

MRS. JAMES LISON  
Green Bay, Wisconsin

## Peace Corps cookbook

The long-awaited Peace Corps cookbook has found a publisher, and recipes are being sought for it. Volunteers may submit recipes or anecdotal material concerning food and eating customs abroad to David Scott, Trade Publishing Division, Rand McNally, 4600 Chase Avenue, Lincolnwood, Ill. 60645. Editor Scott is a former Volunteer.

## Fiji, Tonga to get PCVs

The island groups of Fiji and Tonga in the South Pacific have requested Peace Corps programs. Fiji, with an estimated 460,000 people living on 106 of its 322 islands, is a self-ruling British colony northeast of Australia. The government has asked for 70 teachers and agricultural workers. The Kingdom of Tonga, a British protectorate situated east of Australia with 90,000 people, has asked for Volunteers to work in health, education and agricultural programs.

## Volunteer dies

Susan Robertson, 27, died in Washington, D. C., June 2 of complications from head injuries received in an automobile accident in Venezuela on May 14.

Miss Robertson, a physical therapist in Zulia, was flown to the Veterans Hospital in Washington for treatment after the accident.

Slightly injured in the head-on collision was Molly Ann Schmitthener, 29.

The accident occurred while the women were en route to Caracas to receive anti-rabies treatment; both had been bitten by a stray dog in Maracaibo.

Miss Robertson is survived by her parents, Mr. and Mrs. Donald L. Robertson of Minneapolis, and a brother. A memorial service was held in Minneapolis on June 5.

### CHANGE OF ADDRESS

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