

MODERNIZATION
Its Impact in the Philippines

edited by
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IPC PAPERS, NO. 4

INSTITUTE OF PHILIPPINE CULTURE

Ateneo de Manila University
Quezon City, Metro-Manila
1982

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The Philippines Peace Corps Survey Final Report *

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The purpose of this study was to find some answers to that recurring question about Peace Corps operations—what results, planned and unplanned, has a program produced? In this case the question was being asked about the first three years (1961-64) of the Peace Corps education project in the Philippines.

The answers provided by the study concern intended results, unintended results, and conditions for success. Answers of the first category, about *intended* results, are presented after an enumeration of the general goals stated in the Peace Corps Act, and the more specific ones outlined in the Philippine project description (P.C. Form 104). The answers given are to the broad question, To what extent did Volunteers achieve those goals the Peace Corps had set for them? More concretely: Did the PCVs upgrade the English competence of the students and their co-teachers? Did they improve their co-teachers' mastery of English and of English teaching skills? Did Volunteers have a similar effect on the teaching of science and mathematics? Did the Volunteers spread a knowledge and understanding of America? Did the PCVs themselves learn about Filipinos?

* The document summarized here is *The Philippines Peace Corps Survey: Final Report* (Honolulu: International Programs and Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii, 1966; pp. vii, 688). The authors are Frank Lynch, S. J., Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila; Thomas W. Maretzki, Department of Anthropology, University of Hawaii; Alfred B. Bennett, Jr., and Susan M. Bennett, both of the Social Science Research Institute, University of Hawaii; and Linda D. Nelson, Institute of Advanced Projects, East-West Center, University of Hawaii. Chief Consultant of the study was Eugene L. Hartley, City College of the City University of New York. The Philippines Peace Corps Survey was sponsored by the United States Peace Corps, with the University of Hawaii as sole contractor (PC-[W]-395).

Answers of the second category were to questions about *unintended* effects. For instance, Did association with Volunteers lead Filipinos to an increased awareness of and openness to the outside world of new things, new ways, and new people? Did it lead to changes in the Filipino teacher's attitudes towards teaching and related educational subjects? Did it lead to an opinion of Volunteers more favorable than that recorded in communities where PCVs had not served?

Answers of the third category included descriptions of the "ideal Volunteer," on the one hand, and of those characteristics (of Volunteers, respondents, and communities) which seem significantly linked to high ratings for the Program and for the Volunteers.

Plan of the Survey

Since this was not a before-after study, but one made only after the fact of Volunteer operations, a key problem had to be solved. This was the selection of control municipalities that had been, in the days before Peace Corps arrived (pre-1961), very similar to those municipalities to which Volunteers were later assigned (in 1961). Pairing municipalities in this manner would make it possible to isolate changes due to the Volunteers.

A list was made of all Philippine municipalities that met these criteria: served by Peace Corps Volunteer *teachers*, at least one of whom served his full term (20 months) there, with Volunteers no longer present nor expected during the survey's duration. Mountain Province municipalities were also eliminated. Out of the 159 municipalities meeting these criteria (served by Peace Corps Groups I-IV and VII-IX), 48 were randomly selected for study and 27 of these were further chosen by chance to be provided with a matching control. The matching was in terms of criteria related to openness to change, but later scrutiny of the comparison and Peace Corps communities (on site, and by 1960 Census data) showed that the settlements and their residents had been very similar to one another in pre-Peace Corps days, at least in those characteristics related to the survey.

The 75 municipalities chosen for study were scattered from northernmost mainland Luzon to the island of Jolo in the south. Within every Peace Corps municipality, respondents were sought out in any community (poblacion or barrio) where a Volunteer had lived and/or taught school; in comparison municipalities, matching communities were studied. Interviewing was done in English, Tagalog, or the local language, by pairs of Filipinos trained at length for this survey; in the average month or more they stayed in each municipality the team interviewed 30 respondents chosen according to a uniform sampling procedure.

The survey lasted a total of 23 months, from July 1964 to May 1966. Of those months four were spent in preparing for the field, about six in actual field work, and the remaining 13 in the analysis and interpretation of the data that had been collected. These various activities took place in two locales: most of the preparations and (of course) all the field work were accomplished in the Philippines; the task of analysis, begun in the Philippines, was continued in Honolulu after the project leaders transferred there late in June 1965. In the course of the Philippine phase of the survey, the regular salaried staff rose to as high as 74 in number. All but five were Filipinos.

Until the transfer was made to Honolulu, the operation was publicly known as the University of Hawaii Philippines Project and not as an evaluation of Peace Corps/Philippines. This was done to cut off one source of the courtesy bias that inclines respondents to answer in a manner calculated to please the interviewer. The ostensible purpose of the project was better understanding of how Filipinos feel about "outsiders" of any kind, whether fellow Filipinos or non-Filipinos.

Characteristics of the Respondent Sample

The people interviewed in the survey numbered 2,248.¹ They lived in a total of 61 poblaciones and 119 barrios and represented the following four distinct segments of their municipal populations:

¹ The number should have been 2,250 (75 times 30) but in two municipalities the researchers were unable to complete their interview quotas.

Sampling group	Number	Per Cent
Government officials	361	16.0
Municipal and national level	222	9.8
Barrio level	139	6.2
School personnel	495	22.1
Principals	173	7.7
Classroom teachers	322	14.4
"Special people"	254	11.3
Municipal religious leaders	135	6.0
PCV-linked respondents (neighbors, hosts, friends, etc.)	119	5.3
Community-at-large	1,138	50.6
TOTAL	2,248	100.0

Several characteristics of this sample are important for a better understanding of the findings.

1. By and large, experimental and control portions of the sample are well matched.

2. The majority of the sample are married men and women over 40 years of age, with at least an elementary school education. By Philippine norms they represent the more mature and respected members of their communities.

3. Teachers, the group in most direct contact with the PCVs, are predominantly female, married, and in their forties. While the experimental and control teachers are well matched for the most part, several minor differences suggest that teachers in the experimental sample are slightly more professionally oriented.²

4. The "municipal elite," made up of government officials, school personnel, and religious leaders, is purposely over-represented.³

² Teachers in experimental communities, compared with controls, slightly more often teach in complete elementary schools, teach higher grades and teach the subject matter with which Volunteers were particularly concerned; namely, English, Science, and Mathematics.

³ This was because of the study's interest in Volunteers' impact on those with whom they dealt most (*op. cit.*, p. 21). This municipal elite, which represents about five per cent of the average municipal population, accounts for about 44 per cent of the study sample.

5. In terms of educational attainment, occupations, income stratum, and upward social mobility, the "municipal elite" sample (minus barrio level government officials, however) is significantly more advanced than the rest of the sample.

6. Use of English in the interview differed greatly by sampling group: six per cent of the community-at-large and 82 per cent of school personnel chose this language. In general, the municipal elite prefers to use English in a formal interview.

7. In summary, the respondent sample is representative of the mature and respected members of the populations, both elite and ordinary. The elite, deliberately over-represented, differs from the ordinary population in many important ways.

Findings

Impact on Principals and Teachers. Principals and teachers, having been in closest association with Volunteers and the only group, aside from students, that the Volunteers were to have had a planned impact upon, received special attention in the analysis.

English Competence. It was thought that principals and teachers who had associated with PCVs would be more likely to use English during the interview than those who had had no contact with a Volunteer. Presumably their choice of English would be influenced by the facility and confidence gained through association with the Volunteer. However, there was no significant difference between teachers in experimental and control communities in their choice of English for the interview.

Teachers in both experimental and control communities were also asked to write an essay, in English, which was then checked for errors. For both samples, over half of the teachers made less than 10 errors per 100 words. Despite the presence of PCVs in the experimental communities, teachers there scored somewhat more poorly than those in communities where PCVs had not lived.

These two findings taken together suggest that the Peace Corps had no significant positive effect on the English competence of teachers and principals.

Teachers' Attitudes. When principals and teachers in experimental communities are compared with those in comparison communities, there are no significant differences in their attitudes toward teaching as a profession, toward the preparation of non-academic school entertainments, or toward passing and failing pupils. About 85 per cent of both groups have positive feelings about teaching as a career. Teachers in both the Peace Corps and comparison communities are equally in favor of devoting large portions of class time to special projects. When asked their attitude toward passing or failing pupils at the end of the school year, principals and teachers from both groups responded in the same way. About 88 per cent of the regular teachers from both groups said they favored selectivity as against a policy of passing pupils regardless of their attainment. Seventy-eight per cent of the principals favored selectivity. Peace Corps-affected principals showed a tendency to be *less* strict in this regard than those in the control communities.

Contact with the Volunteers apparently brought about no attitude change in these three areas.

Perceived Impact. While the Volunteers made no measurable impact upon the English competence and professional attitudes of their co-workers, these co-workers are nevertheless in general agreement that the Volunteers did in fact have an effect upon them.

In response to the question "How were you affected by the PCV?" 23 per cent indicated that their English speaking ability had been improved. Thirty-six per cent indicated that the Volunteers had introduced changes in their teaching technique. Another 23 per cent, however, felt that the Volunteers had not affected them at all.

Teachers were asked if they thought the PCVs had affected their principals, and the principals were asked if the Volunteers had had an effect upon the teachers. Three out of five teachers indicated that there had been an impact on the principals. Women teachers, however, were much less convinced than were the men of the Volunteers' impact.

Eighty-seven per cent of the principals felt that the Volunteers had had an impact on the teachers. Close to 50 per cent

mentioned new techniques of teaching and another 20 per cent said that the teachers had improved their English competence.

Significantly, principals and teachers did not see themselves as mere recipients of Peace Corps aid or as passive subjects of the Volunteers' influence. About 70 per cent said that they in turn had affected the Volunteers. They mentioned teaching Volunteers about the Filipino way of life, instructing them in the art of teaching and dealing with Filipino children, and influencing the Volunteers in a number of other subtle ways.

Principals and teachers were asked two additional questions. Referring to all the PCVs assigned to their schools, did they think the PCVs had affected the schools in some way, and did they think that any of these effects had lasted? About 92 per cent of the respondents said that the schools had definitely been changed as a result of the work of the PCVs. Among the effects that they mentioned were improved English competence of both pupils and teachers (21 per cent), introduction of new books, equipment, and other facilities (14 per cent), and the introduction of new and more effective teaching techniques (15 per cent)

Referring to impact, 90 per cent of the respondents said that the improvements were of a lasting nature. Books and other physical contributions were the most frequently mentioned (45 per cent), followed by higher standards of English speech (11 per cent) and new teaching techniques (10 per cent).

Evaluation of Volunteers. Although the Volunteers who worked in the school system were primarily college graduates without prior teaching experience, they were viewed as trying to do a good teaching job, diligent (40 per cent said that Volunteers spent 25 hours or more per week in the schools and another 48 per cent said the Volunteers spent 5-25 hours per week there), interested in objective standards for rating pupils, and favoring teaching techniques that permitted maximum participation of their pupils.

When asked to rate the Volunteers they knew best on a ten-point scale (10 corresponding to the best possible Volunteer) half of the principals and teachers placed him in the ninth or tenth category. Although men tend to rank the Volunteer they

know best somewhat lower than women do (8 versus 9), the average Volunteer was relatively close to the respondent's ideal.

Contact. To evaluate their perceptions of the Volunteers' impact, it will help to know how much contact the teachers and principals had with Volunteers. Slightly more than one half of the respondents associated with Volunteers continually for more than a year, usually for between one and three and one-half hours each week. Of those respondents who worked with a Volunteer, only three out of five did so because of an official assignment. The other 40 per cent became associates of the PCVs on a completely spontaneous and voluntary basis.

Impressions and Knowledge of the Peace Corps Program

Speaking now for all respondents, and not just school personnel, what do the members of Philippine communities know about the Peace Corps and how do they assess the program?

Exposure. Overall two out of three Filipinos interviewed had heard of the Peace Corps and the Volunteers. Considerably more people knew about the program in the experimental communities than they did in the controls (88 against 43 per cent). In both the Peace Corps-affected communities and those where no Volunteer had worked or lived, ordinary citizens were the least aware of the Peace Corps and the Volunteers. Seventy-six per cent of these individuals in the Peace Corps communities knew about the Peace Corps, compared to only 19 per cent in the non-Peace Corps communities. In the non-Peace Corps communities barrio officials were also relatively unaware of the Peace Corps, but they were very aware of it in the Peace Corps communities.

Almost all members of the better educated groups (the municipal elite) knew about the Peace Corps in the Peace Corps communities, and 80 per cent of the elite were aware of it even in the controls.

Evaluation of Volunteers. Seventy per cent of all respondents who knew about the Peace Corps program thought of the Volunteers as young Americans who enjoyed the job they were doing.

Principals and teachers, with whom the PCVs worked most closely, and who are presumably the most realistic judges, expressed the least positive view, one only slightly less positive than that of the average respondent.

As seen through the eyes of the majority of these Filipinos, Volunteers are task-oriented individuals who spend most of their working hours in or around the schools or engaged in community projects.

Volunteer motivation. The motivations of the volunteers as perceived by people in both Peace Corps and comparison communities were a desire to express friendship and good will toward the Philippines and Filipinos (25 per cent), a desire to successfully complete an official assignment given by the American government (38 per cent), and a desire to teach (18 per cent) or to serve the Filipinos (6 per cent). Five per cent saw the Volunteer as wanting to influence people's ideas, and ten per cent thought the desire for adventure and travel was his main reason for coming to the Philippines.

Purpose of program. Respondents view the purpose of the Peace Corps program as the education of the Filipinos (44 per cent), expressing friendship and good will toward Filipinos (34 per cent) and learning about Filipinos (10 per cent). It should be noted that these perceptions of the program run almost parallel to the three purposes expressed in the Peace Corps Act.

All in all, the reaction to both the Peace Corps program and the Volunteers has been extremely positive. While the municipal elite is much more aware of Peace Corps than others, and is somewhat less enthusiastic than the ordinary citizen, still the elite in Peace Corps communities rates the Volunteers higher than do its controls.

The Volunteers' Overall Impact

There are numerous ways in which Volunteers *might* affect the Filipinos with whom they associate. For example, it was thought that people from Peace Corps communities would show the following characteristics as a result of their association with Volunteers: (1) greater awareness of the different kinds of people,

Filipino and non-Filipino, who live in the Philippines; (2) greater openness to outsiders, as manifested in the willingness to accept people born elsewhere as genuine members of the community; (3) greater personal knowledge of and a more favorable attitude toward Americans, both Negro and white; (4) greater interest in new, as contrasted with traditional, ways of doing things; and (5) a higher regard for the Volunteers. Finally, these communities should show the impact of the Volunteers' activities there.

There are few significant differences between Peace Corps and non-Peace Corps communities in these six characteristics, but the following findings are of general interest.

1. While Filipinos tend to classify other Filipinos in terms of the language they speak, and male respondents are more "out-group" and "other-group" conscious than female, the great majority of ordinary household heads can recall the names of fewer than five groups, whether Filipino or non-Filipino.

2. When asked what it is that makes an individual a "true resident" of a community, most respondents think first of birth, family roots, or long residence in the same place. However, males in Peace Corps communities (and to a lesser extent, females) show themselves significantly more ready than those in controls to say that involvement in the affairs of the community can make one a "true resident."

Furthermore, when respondents are asked to describe someone "not really from here, but *like* someone who is really from here," permanent residence or marriage into the community is usually mentioned. The balance of the requirements are ones that PCVs could fill, i.e., speaking the language, involvement in community affairs, following the local customs and traditions. There is no difference between experimental and control respondents in this regard.

3. Using a special social distance scale, 12 groups were rated for their acceptability to the respondent in five different roles. Among the groups inquired about were the respondent's own language group, American whites, and American Negroes.*

* Filipinos tend to grade individuals on the basis of skin color. Consequently, those with darker skins, be they Filipino or American, are generally accorded a lower social status in this regard.

When respondents' replies regarding all five roles are averaged, the rating is as follows: own group first, then American whites, then Negroes.

By another measure of preference, that is, positive or negative word-response to the name of each group, the order was American whites first, then own group, then Negroes. It should be added, however, that respondents in Peace Corps communities are more positive toward their own group than are their controls.

In communities served by at least one Negro PCV, the average social distance rating for American Negroes is significantly more favorable than it is in places not served by a Negro PCV.

In Peace Corps-affected communities one out of three ordinary citizens personally knows an American white and one out of eight knows a Negro. In control communities the figures are one out of five acquainted with an American white and one out of 16 with a Negro.

4. People in both Peace Corps and comparison communities prefer new ways (58 per cent) to the traditional (16 per cent), while 25 per cent favor a combination of the two.

5. Asked to rate the Volunteers they knew, or knew about, on a 10-point scale with ten indicating the "best possible" Volunteer, one out of five people gave these Volunteers the highest rating, two out of five rated them 8 or 9, the remainder giving lower ratings. More men in the experimental communities gave high ratings to the Volunteers they knew than did men in the control communities.

Using the percentage of respondents giving Volunteers ratings of 8-10 as an indication of general high esteem, it is possible to rank the various sampling groups according to how they feel about the Volunteers. Community members at large are the most positive, 71 per cent placing the Volunteers in these categories, followed by teachers, 64 per cent of whom give the Volunteers high ratings. Hardest on the Volunteers are the municipal and national level officials (50 per cent) and the religious leaders (41 per cent). For these last two groups, however, those who were

in the Peace Corps communities were more favorable than those in the controls.

6. Researchers looked for evidence of Peace Corps impact in their communities. They found that in 92 per cent of the Peace Corps communities, educational facilities and new teaching techniques had been introduced. In 53 per cent of these places scholarships had been instituted and material aid given; in 51 per cent, community development projects had been started; in 42 per cent, voluntary organizations of various kinds had been formed; and in 38 per cent, recreational facilities had been built.

An important unplanned effect on the respondents who lived in Peace Corps communities was their exposure to mass media. Especially among school personnel and ordinary people, the difference between the experimental and control samples is highly significant. It was found that the percentage of experimental respondents of these groups who had listened to a radio or read a newspaper on 16 or more days in the month before their interview was *double* that of their controls. It is very likely that this difference was due to the presence of Peace Corps Volunteers.

The Ideal Volunteer

What do Filipinos value in a PCV? What is the Filipino idea of the best possible Volunteer? What differences, if any, distinguish the Volunteer a Filipino likes best from the one he likes least?

One answer to the first question was obtained by asking respondents to give their personal conception of the "best" and "worst" possible Volunteer. Almost nine out of ten respondents mentioned the ability to get along with other people (in Tagalog, *pakikisama*). For more than six out of ten respondents, in fact, this is the only quality used to describe the best possible Volunteer.

Only one out of ten respondents thinks primarily of skills and training when he thinks of the ideal Volunteer. However, principals and teachers in Peace Corps communities show significantly greater interest in professional preparation of the ideal Volunteer than do their counterparts in comparison communities.

To summarize, one part of the answer is that the best possible Volunteer is a pleasant person and the worst possible one is not. For principals and teachers who have been exposed to Volunteers, his professional preparation becomes an important secondary consideration.

Respondents were also asked to describe their ideal Volunteer by a series of seven characteristics. In the opinion of most Filipinos the ideal Volunteer is 20-29 years old, single, with brown or white skin color, and is at least fairly competent in both Tagalog and the dominant language of the locality. While male and female Volunteers are equally acceptable, only the ideal male may smoke. Neither men or women should drink. In the case of women, this prohibition should be interpreted as a social ban on public drinking; for men, as an expression of a cultural ideal not sanctioned in practice.

However, an important finding is that in Peace Corps communities the use of the "Doesn't Matter" alternative to answer these seven forced-choice questions is significantly more common than it is in those places where the Volunteers have not served. This could be due to the fact that people in contact with Volunteers lose their rigidly held definitions of a good Volunteer, and come to realize that Volunteers represent a wide range of types.

A comparison of what individual respondents said about the Volunteer they liked best and the one they liked least provides another understanding of the difference between the two kinds of PCV, and of what Filipinos value in a Volunteer. Volunteers with whom respondents *worked* are much more likely to be best liked than those Volunteers whom they knew only socially. Again, the best liked Volunteer was much more likely to be thought of as one who liked the Philippines enough to want to return and who was in fact writing regularly to someone in the community.

Additional but *less* important differences between the best and least liked Volunteers were (1) the kind of name respondents used to address them (first name or nickname for the best liked PCVs, "Sir" and "Mr." for the least liked); (2) the religion respondents thought the Volunteers professed (same as respondent's for best liked, a different one for the least liked); (3) the level

of competence in the local language attributed to the Volunteer (fair to fluent for the best liked, no competence at all or poor for the least liked); (4) the qualities best remembered about the Volunteers (qualities other than personal characteristics for the best liked, personal characteristics for the least liked).

In sum, the Volunteer most likely to be highly acceptable to the kind of Filipino we interviewed is one who likes the Philippines and Filipinos. He will tend to be called by an informal name and be thought to profess the same religion as the Filipino who likes him. He will be considered to be at least a fairly good speaker of the local language and will be remembered for the things he accomplished in the community he served.

Conditions for Volunteer Success

What characteristics of a Volunteer, of the community he served, and of the respondents who knew and rated him, show a significant relation with the Volunteer's being given a highly favorable rating? What are, in other words, some conditions for success if the criterion of this success is taken as a high average rating by Filipinos on the 1-10 ladder scale?

Volunteer characteristics. A Volunteer with the following characteristics tends to receive higher ratings than do Volunteers who lack these qualities: (1) teaching experience before joining the Peace Corps; (2) residence on a farm sometime prior to joining the Peace Corps; (3) a high score from his Filipino language instructors during Peace Corps training; (4) assigned either alone or as one of only two PCVs in a municipality; (5) assigned to work in a poblacion, or in a poblacion and a barrio, rather than exclusively in a barrio or barrios; (6) seen as having liked the Filipino way of life and desiring to return to the Philippines; (7) remembered for accomplishments, not for personal characteristics or for nothing at all; (8) seen as having influenced the teaching methods of Filipino teachers; (9) assigned to a municipality where PCVs were thought to have engaged in community development projects.

Worthy of note is the fact that evaluations of American Peace Corps staff, whether in the training period or after the Volunteer was in the field, show no significant relation to the

ratings given by Filipino respondents. The only pre-Philippine rating that showed such a relation was the rating given by the Volunteer's Filipino language instructors.

Community characteristics. Respondents interviewed in barrios tend to give more favorable ladder ratings to Volunteers than do those interviewed in poblaciones. Conversely, the more complex the community (in terms of population, services, and a number of other qualities), the *lower* the ladder ratings given by respondents interviewed there.

Respondent characteristics (school personnel only). The study finds no characteristics of school personnel linked with a high average rating for all PCVs they knew. However, those principals and teachers who thought their closest Volunteer co-worker had previous teaching experience or study in education tended to give him medium and high ratings more frequently than those who worked with PCVs they thought lacked this experience.

Respondent characteristics (excluding school personnel). Higher average ladder ratings are significantly associated with respondents' (1) lower educational attainment; (2) less frequent mass-media exposure; (3) current residence in a less complex community; (4) residence in a less complex community most of their lives; (5) more favorable social distance ratings for American whites and Negroes.

Conditions for Program Success Ratings

What characteristics of a respondent show a significant association with that respondent's rating the Peace Corps program a success? Those who give PCVs a medium or high rating on the ladder scale tend to rate the program a success. However, those who know only of the program—who are not, in other words, acquainted with any Volunteers—rate the program a success more often than do those who also know some PCVs. Filipino school personnel rate the program a success more frequently if they are teaching at schools where at least one Volunteer had previous teaching experience or study in education.

In summary, if his goal is favorable ratings by Filipinos, then among the PCV's best assets (beyond his being a decent human being—manifesting *pakikisama*) will be previous teaching ex-

perience or the study of educational subjects. This will help him meet the relatively more stringent demands of the well educated members of the municipal elite. Beyond this, as was revealed in the findings regarding the best liked and least liked Volunteer, he must show a positive liking for the Philippines and Filipinos. His crowning glory, entitling him to the fourth and final degree of acceptability, is competence in the local language.

It will be sobering for the Volunteer to remember that people who have never met a Volunteer already have a high regard for the Peace Corps program. When they do meet their first Volunteer, they will adjust that initial impression which they had, based on hearsay. Unfortunately, the adjustment will tend to be downward.

Conclusions

Certain general conclusions can be drawn from this evaluation of the first three years (1961-64) of the Peace Corps education program in the Philippines.

1. *Volunteers of groups I-IV and VII-IX were more successful as young Americans than they were as young American teachers.* While the evidence makes it clear that the Volunteers had significant person-to-person influence and accomplished a number of important, but unintended effects, proof of their having accomplished the *specific educational goals* of the project is lacking.

2. *As a group, Volunteers were seen by many Filipino principals and teachers as less than adequately prepared for the role of teacher.* This criticism is not surprising, when one contrasts (a) the average age and experience of the Filipino co-teacher (40 years old; 15 years teaching) with that of the PCV (22 years, no experience), (b) the importance Filipino school personnel place on professional competence with the Volunteers' lack of professional preparation, and (c) a work role which called for Volunteers to be educational *aides* with another role, also the PCVs' of upgrading the teaching skills of experienced teachers.

3. *What the Volunteer needs to be acceptable to the Filipino depends on two criteria: the level of acceptability envisioned and the sophistication of the Filipino whose acceptance is sought.* The

findings suggest that at least four levels of acceptability should be distinguished. To pass the fundamental test, the Volunteer must be an individual capable of dealing in courteous, friendly fashion with all kinds of people, but especially superiors and peers. For the well educated, the PCV must also have sufficient training and experience in his profession to produce visible and tangible results. Further, the Volunteer must show genuine liking for the Philippines and its people. Finally, he should have a good speaking knowledge of the local language.

4. *Professionalism in a Volunteer, far from detracting from his acceptability in the Philippines, enhances it.* While this conclusion is implicit in the previous two, it needs restatement since many PCVs fear a practical contradiction between doing a professional job (related to the first goal of the Peace Corps) and being close to the people (the second and third goals). Filipino respondents do not share this apprehension. The most highly valued American teacher will be one who joins professional competence to human dignity and decency.

5. *Competence in the national language is needed less for purposes of communication or acceptability at the local level than it is as a token of cooperation with a Philippine government plan to spread knowledge of the language throughout the Philippines.*

6. *The importance of knowing the local language fairly well will be great or not depending on two factors: the particular assignment of the Volunteer, and the usefulness and desirability attached to going beyond the minimum level of communication and integration.* It is possible to get by in the classroom and in the school environment speaking only English. However, if the Volunteer wants to communicate well with the average community member, he must know how to speak the local language. For complete acceptance by the people, this knowledge seems imperative.

Recommendations

A. *Impact*

1. Goals contained in project descriptions should be reduced to practical terms that will enable Volunteers to know what to do, and to permit more precise evaluation of program attainment.

2. This evaluation should be undertaken regularly, and feedback to operations provided routinely.

B. *Training, testing, and selection*

1. Because of professional and status requirements in the Philippines' educational system, only college graduates should be assigned as teachers.
2. For Volunteers destined for educational assignments in the Philippines a professional attitude should be encouraged and practice teaching should be mandatory.

C. *Field assignments*

1. If Peace Corps is concerned about how the community will rate the Volunteers, it should remember that the less sophisticated and residents of barrios tend to be less critical than the better educated and people who live in larger, more complex communities, such as poblaciones and provincial capitals.
2. Although Negroes are neither well known nor highly esteemed by Filipinos, Negro PCVs will tend to raise the esteem for Negroes in the communities where they are assigned provided they are mature individuals with a good sense of humor. The negative stereotype, in other words, is not so fixed that it cannot be modified.

Great care was taken to execute all phases of the study in a manner that would maximize the chances of discovering just how well or poorly Peace Corps had done its job. The task was planned and the findings interpreted primarily by social scientists well acquainted with the Philippines. However, their knowledge of the environment and the people provided no insurance against differences of opinion, and their being social scientists made it merely less likely, not impossible, that they might be betrayed into straying beyond the evidence.

Additional limitations of the study are many, not least of them the fact that it reports on Peace Corps/Philippines of yesterday, not today. Many of the inadequacies mentioned by respondents had in fact been corrected by Peace Corps before the complaint was mentioned to a survey interviewer. But the report is faithful to the respondents' words, because their words picture the Peace Corps as they knew it in the years 1961 to 1964.

Adventure, opportunity, friendly gesture, and young America—the Peace Corps in the Philippines was, and is, all these things and more. It is a source of comfort that its ultimate judges will not be masters of the poll and graph, but some elderly American reflecting on his years as a Volunteer, and the middle-aged Filipino who visits or writes him, as Filipinos do their childhood teachers.