

KAU NGĀUE OFA (PEACE CORPS):
IN THE KINGDOM OF TONGA, 1967-1971

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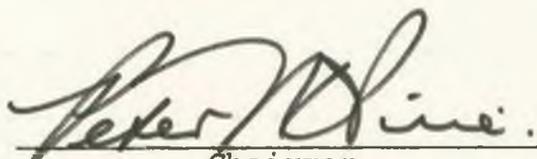
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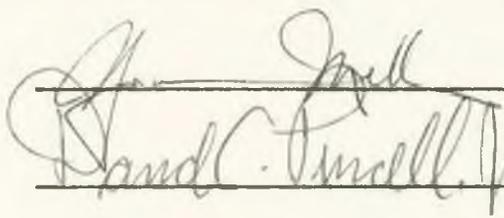

David C. Small

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PREFACE

This is a study of the Peace Corps in the Kingdom of Tonga from 1967 through 1971. During this period eight groups of volunteers were trained in Hawaii and sent to the Kingdom of Tonga. In 1970, the Peace Corps, under the direction of Joseph Blatchford, reevaluated many of its policies and procedures which had been in effect since 1961. The results were that modifications were made so that the emphasis was placed on attracting volunteers with specialized occupational skills. This in turn meant that the style of training the specialized volunteer also changed to meet his needs. To a considerable extent, the Tonga training projects reflected these changes emanating from Washington. In addition, the Peace Corps attempted, where possible, to accommodate the needs of the Government of Tonga. Because 1971 was when the type of job the volunteer was doing became specialized and training of volunteers in Hawaii had been abandoned in favor of training in Tonga, it is an appropriate date to end this essay. Since this study limits itself to the period of 1967-1971 it should not imply that the Peace Corps has finished its work in Tonga. The Peace Corps continues to work there, but according to a modified format from that of the original Peace Corps philosophy.

Three sources of information were utilized for this study. These are documents from the Government of Tonga which include the 1965-1970 Development Plan, as well as Annual Reports from the Agriculture, Education, Finance and Medical Departments. The author was also able to examine records made available by the University of Hawaii at Hilo and the Center for Cross-Cultural Training and Research; such as the syllabi and final reports of all eight Tonga training projects from 1967-1971, correspondence files, midservice conference transcripts, and independent studies made by people who observed volunteers in Tonga. Finally, there are a number of books and articles. The third category consists of general references dealing with the Peace Corps.

It should also be mentioned that the author was personally involved with the Peace Corps in Tonga. In 1967 he was a Peace Corps trainee on the island of Molokai, and served in Tonga from January, 1968 to December, 1969. At various times he worked as a clerk in the office of the Governor of Ha'apai, taught geography in two Wesleyan High Schools, participated in community development projects such as teacher training, family planning clinics, and served as an advisor to a handicraft co-op. From 1970 through 1971 he was the Project Training Coordinator for two Tonga Peace Corps training projects.

The United States Peace Corps was an active agent of change in Tonga and a positive influence in such areas as education, agriculture and health. The Peace Corps served as a basis for interaction between Tonga and the United States by providing an opportunity for Tongans and Americans to work and socialize together. Moreover, Peace Corps learned from Tonga because it modified its training procedures and methods to improve the quality of volunteers who went there.

There are various interpretations of the role which Peace Corps should and has played. The United States Congress in the Peace Corps Act (PL 87-293) of 1961, specified that the Peace Corps had three broad objectives: (1) to help the countries inviting Peace Corps Volunteers to meet their needs for trained manpower; (2) to promote a better understanding of Americans and American Society abroad; and (3) to promote a broader understanding of other peoples in America. (Hapgood and Bennett 1968: 8)

On the other hand, Marshall Windmiller suggests that, "In a sense the Peace Corps is the advance guard of the military, for it can go into countries where there is not yet an American military presence and do the work which may make military involvement unnecessary." (Windmiller 1970: 93) Taken from its original context, he is referring to the United States involvement in Thailand and then applies the situation to the Peace Corps in general.

Windmiller further suggests that the Peace Corps serves as an agent of Macualayism by helping to create a civil servant class, particularly in the Western Pacific and Micronesia, such as the British did in India. While this may well be the case for Micronesia, it would not be true for the Kingdom of Tonga. The civil service pattern for Tonga had been set prior to the arrival of Peace Corps. The Macualay system may well be a part of Tonga's civil service pattern where the eventual goal is to place a national in a position as soon as someone is trained, and qualified to fill it. In the case of Tonga, the government acts as the force to promote the system and the Peace Corps personnel fill the position until a host-Country national (HCN) can replace them. The Peace Corps has not created a new system of civil service. It is helping maintain the program which was functioning before they arrived.

Robert B. Textor describes the role of the Peace Corps Volunteer by saying that "he lives at a relatively low socio-economic level; he carries out a middle-level job assignment; and his performance is expected to be of a high level of cultural and linguistic proficiency." (Textor 1966: 9) He further describes the Peace Corps' membership, including staff and volunteers, by pointing out the following characteristics, "They are, by and large, dedicated to social service, and to crossing national and linguistic boundaries in quest of opportunities to serve meaningfully. Members of

the Peace Corps--staff and Volunteers alike--are actionists. They crave a direct, personal involvement in developmental activities in the economically less fortunate nations. This direct involvement, they believe, should be as 'non-bureaucratic' as possible. The ideal they seek is 'people-to-people' contact with the ordinary citizens--not just the elite--of the countries in the developing world."

(Textor 1966: 6)

Such interpretations when applied to the Peace Corps experience in Tonga, with the exception of the Peace Corps being the advance guard of the American military, describes the various roles filled by the Peace Corps and its volunteers in Tonga. Specific goals of each of the programs will be discussed as they are presented. It should also be mentioned, as the following pre-Peace Corps history shows, that the Peace Corps is the most recent in the long line of foreigners whose presence has been felt in Tonga. The main difference found with the Peace Corps is that they came to Tonga by invitation.

In summary, it should be said that the white man has been an influence upon Tonga's history in a variety of ways. First, there were the explorers seeking new sources of trade or simple adventure followed by the missionaries and merchants. The education and knowledge which they brought forced the Tongans to come to grips with the outside world and to establish priorities when working to improve the

general welfare of the populace. The Peace Corps came as an invited guest to participate in Tonga's development in the hope that by doing so the country could realize her goals for progress. The work was to be done within the framework of Tongan society and at a rate where transition would be made without disturbing the traditional political and social system to any great extent.

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CHAPTER I

PREDECESSORS TO THE PEACE CORPS

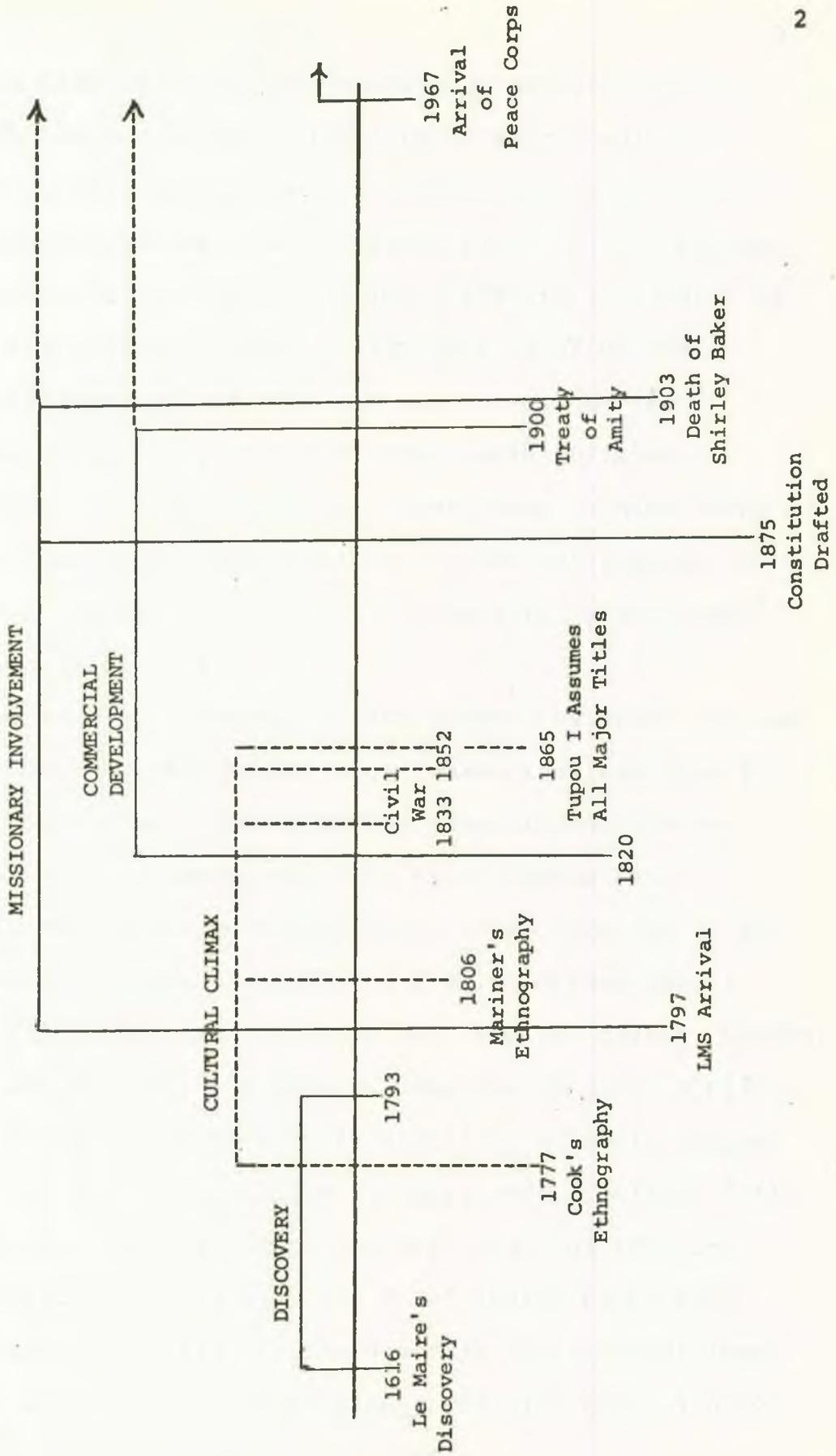
In order to place the activities of the Peace Corps in Tonga in their proper perspective it is necessary to describe the role of foreigners there prior to the arrival of the Peace Corps. Four distinct waves of foreigners (papalangi) reached the shores of Tonga beginning in 1616 when the first explorer (Le Maire) arrived. The first wave of Dutch, French, and English explorers lasted for a period of 175 years. During this period of Tonga's discovery by the western world, numerous expeditions of both commercial and scientific nature arrived on her shores.

By the end of the eighteenth century Tonga had been mapped, charted, and added to the world map. Information gathered by the early explorers provided the preface of ethnographical material about the Kingdom. While this information was received with great anticipation for potential trade opportunities, it also made the Europeans aware of the limited resources that the agrarian island society could supply. Consequently, Tonga would be spared the onslaught by the majority of profit motivated Europeans, for she had nothing worthy of serious exploitation; rather, only coconuts, bananas, pigs, and water.

As Table 1 shows the second wave of papalangi to arrive was comprised of Wesleyan and Catholic missionaries. Their

TABLE I

PERIODS OF WESTERN INFLUENCE IN TONGA



arrival in 1797 was somewhat tempestuous because it coincided with the beginning of [what could be called] a "cultural, political, and social crisis" in Tonga. Upon their arrival, the missionaries found safety in the person of the high chief, Tukuaho (Appointed 1797, Died 1799). He, however, was murdered in April 1799 shortly after their arrival and three of the missionaries who sought the protection of his ally, the Tu'i Tonga were murdered on May 10, 1799. (Morrell 1960: 35) Taufa'ahau, a high chief of the Ha'apai group, was battling for the unification of the kingdom. Through a series of civil wars he succeeded in his efforts in 1852.

These events, however, did not dampen the spirit of the missionaries. As they would later learn, they had come at just the right time. Oliver defines the situation most accurately when he commented, "the first earnest but unsuitable Methodists to tackle Tonga would have had rough going indeed had they arrived at a less opportune moment. Previous white visitors, Schouten and LeMaire, Tasman, Wallis, and Cook had tarried long enough among the Tongans to plant seeds of doubt about the indestructibility of their Tongan universe and the infallibility of their gods." (Oliver 1961: 181) The civil unrest during the first half of the nineteenth century combined with the doubt instilled by the early explorers resulted in the downfall of the traditional religious system. The new papalangi religion conveniently filled the void that had been created.

The missionaries exerted considerable influence on Tonga's history after 1850. Unquestionably the most influential of the missionaries was Shirley Baker, who did not confine his efforts to the task of converting the heathen. Although extremely controversial, Baker advised and aided King Tupou I (Appointed 1845, Died 1893) (Taufa'ahau's title upon the unification of Tonga) on many of the decisions that are presently in effect today, such as:

Constitution--which has been the basis of Tongan political structure since its adoption and celebrates its 100th anniversary this year.

The unique reorganization of the social stratification --reduced the power of the majority of the chief and placed them in theory on the same social level as commoners.

Land Tenure--that provided 8-1/4 acres of land for each adult male.

At the time of his death in 1903 Baker had held the positions of Prime Minister, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of Land Court, Agent-General, and Medical Attendant to the King. These titles of course are limited to his work in government only and do not reveal the numerous positions that he held within the Wesleyan church.

A handful of Europeans represented the third wave of papalangi to reach Tonga. Despite the bleak reports of the early explorers, merchants came in the 1820's to try their luck at various commercial ventures in Tonga, and received a substantial boost from the missionaries who had preceded them. For it was the missionaries who had created the

profit motive and generated the need for money to fill their collection plates. Most of the commercial endeavors in the kingdom were promoted through the efforts of Shirley Baker and the German firm of J. C. Godeffroy and Son, who were strange bedfellows.

By the 1860's Great Britain and Germany were struggling for exclusive control of commerce in Tonga. In 1875, Godeffroy, with aid from Baker, enjoyed the exclusive trade treaty with Tonga that made them the sole agents for marketing Tongan copra. This was too much for the British traders to endure. They felt they had been sold out to the Germans by Baker, who was an Englishman. Consequently, they instigated a visit by the British High Commissioner for the Western Pacific, who attempted to gain preferential treatment for the British.

The merchants soon became the object of some of the more dramatic legislation that Tupou I secured under his new Constitution. The King had been keeping Godeffroy's financial interests in Samoa under close scrutiny, and saw the problems created by the Europeans owning property there.* The land had been turned into coconut plantations

*During 1871-1872 agents for the Central Polynesian Land and Commercial Company had acquired in Samoa, land estimated at more than 300,000 acres, an area almost half of the entire group of islands. By the 1890's the total of all acreages represented by European claims brought before the international land commission was approximately 1.7 million acres--or 2-1/2 times the entire area of Samoa. (Gilson 1970: 276, 340)

and in some cases farmed by imported labor with the profits reverting to the company and no revenue was realized by the Samoan government. Tupou I decided that this would not be the case in Tonga. In the framing of his Constitution in 1875 a section was included that prohibited the sale of land to foreigners. Tongan land could be leased to a foreigner with the approval of the government, but never sold. In another section of the constitution he changed the traditional land tenure system to enable all Tongans, commoners included, to own real estate rather than just the high chiefs.

Equally important as the legislation concerning land, was Tupou's decision to enter into the Treaty of Amity with Great Britain in May of 1900. Under the terms of this treaty the British were responsible for Tonga's foreign affairs and defense while the Tongan Government had jurisdiction over internal affairs. This arrangement allowed Tonga to maintain her independence and control the degree to which she was westernized.

After the deaths of Tupou I in 1893 and Shirley Baker in 1903, Tonga enjoyed a rather calm and relatively uneventful period. With the accession of Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo (1918-1965) to the throne in 1918, as the hereditary Tu'i Kanokupolu, and its newly established title of Tupou III, a new and dynamic era of development began. The young queen was anxious for her country to develop along western lines

while maintaining the traditions of the past. Thus, while introducing western ideas and technology in the areas of health, education and agriculture, she was careful to preserve the political and social fabric of traditional Tongan society.

Socialized medicine was introduced with the intention of providing free medical care to the entire population. By 1941 the medical program sponsored by the government of Tonga had improved health conditions in general, expanded sources of water supply, and reduced the infant mortality rate to the lowest in the Pacific. (Mander 1954: 369)

Under the terms of the Education Act of 1927 education became compulsory for all Tongans between the ages of six and fourteen. This act also resulted in the establishment of a government college for boys, and in 1940 the government sponsored the first training center for Tongan teachers. However, the Methodists, Catholics, and Anglicans as well as various other church-related groups, continued to provide the majority of educational opportunities beyond the primary level.

Considerable emphasis was also placed on the development of agriculture subsequent to World War I. Copra continued as Tonga's primary export, but its quality improved with the introduction of Malay kiln dryer in 1932. Bananas were previously introduced and rose to the number two item of export by 1932. In 1940, the Agricultural Organization

Act was passed, establishing the Banana Board and the Copra Board, which were responsible for controlling the quality of exports and improving farming techniques through the development of local producer's associations. An experimental farm was also established to test new crops, distribute new types of seeds, and to participate in agricultural education. (Mander 1954: 366-70)

In 1965, a renewed emphasis was placed on improving health, education and agriculture with the promulgation of the 1965-70 Development Plan for the Kingdom of Tonga. The central objectives of the Development Plan of 1965-70 as stated by the Premier of Tonga, His Royal Highness Prince Tu'ipelehake were "to stimulate economic production through systematic rehabilitation of the coconut industry* and the reorganization and modernization of the agricultural services. At the same time, emphasis will be placed on expanding and improving social services in harmony with population growth." (Development Plan 1965: 5) The more specific objectives of the 1965-70 Development Plan are listed in Appendix A.

It is in this context that the United States Peace Corps was invited to Tonga. Queen Salote had set the course

*Rehabilitation of the coconut industry refers to the damage that had been caused by a hurricane that devastated the country in 1961. (Development Plan 1965: 5)

of development for the kingdom and now the son of Queen Salote, King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV (1965-) continued her program. As the 1965-70 Development Plan suggests, the primary reason for inviting the Peace Corps was that, "The country is very short of professional expertise in all fields of activity and it will continue to rely for some years on external sources for most of its needs. Because of the smallness of the country and its limited financial resources, specialists will, in most cases, be engaged for limited periods in consultative and advisory capacities, as and when specific needs arise." (Development Plan 1965: 24) The Peace Corps was one answer to Tonga's limited manpower.

CHAPTER II

GOALS OF THE 1965 DEVELOPMENT PLAN

Health Services

The 1965-70 Development Plan called for the establishment of modern hospital facilities and services on Tongatapu and Ha'apai, with emphasis on improving maternity and child welfare services. (Development Plan 1965: 20) As Appendix A shows, Tonga Peace Corps programs I, II, IV, and VII provided a total of 58 volunteers who participated in health service programs between 1967 and 1971. Subsequent to Tonga I volunteers were required to assist in programs designed to reduce, control and eradicate tuberculosis, filariasis (elephantiasis), diarrhoetic diseases, intestinal parasites, communicable and childhood diseases including diphtheria, pertusis (whooping cough), tetanus, and typhoid. Therefore, volunteers had to be familiar with such things as reporting, record keeping, patient interviewing, health survey techniques, and also had to have some knowledge about immunization procedures.

There were two types of Peace Corps Volunteers (PCVs) who worked in the area of Health Services: Public Health Aides and Sanitarian Aides. The Public Health Aide assisted the district nurse, a Tongan national, in such areas as maternal and child health, the diagnosis, control and eradication of diseases, and with immunization programs.

In addition, the Public Health Aide participated in health education programs in schools, villages, and clinics. The Sanitarian Aide was responsible for assisting the district health inspector and nurse with environmental sanitation and health education. Specific activities involved maintaining a safe water supply, disposing of excreta in an appropriate manner, and providing health education. (Tonga I Training Syllabus 1967: 10-11)

In December of 1967, a training seminar was held in Tonga on Maternal and child health and Family Planning under the auspices of the South Pacific Commission. As a result of this seminar a decision was made to expand Tonga's public health program to include family planning. The Tongan Medical Department hoped to reduce Tonga's birth rate from 35 per thousand in 1971 to 20 per thousand by 1975 by providing family planning services to at least half of the married, child-bearing females in the five year period between 1971-1975. According to the Tonga VII Syllabus 40 percent of the medical budget was to be spent on Maternal Child Health Clinics and family planning. (1971: 6) Peace Corps was assigned a major role in this new program. Consequently, while family planning techniques had always been part of Peace Corps training for Public Health Aides going to Tonga, such training was now required of all volunteers beginning with project IV. Training projects IV and VII were modified to meet this request. It was at

this point that the Public Health Aide was assigned a new title: Maternal Child Health Nurse (MCH). This program utilized both the Tongan and Peace Corps MCH nurses to meet the new objectives. (Tonga VII Training Syllabus 1971: 6) This new priority however, was not set until 1971 and cannot apply to all of this particular study but it does show the importance the Tongan Medical Department placed on family planning.

Education

The Peace Corps' most extensive effort was in the area of Education. Teachers comprised over half of the total number of volunteers in the Tonga programs from 1967-1971. As Appendix A indicates, five of the eight Peace Corps programs included volunteers to serve as teachers in the primary and secondary schools. In the former, volunteers taught science, new math, and English as a second language (TESL) using the Tate system (Oral English reinforced with reading lessons using endemic Pacific situations). At the secondary level they taught math, science, social studies, and in some cases, English. It was expected that Peace Corps Volunteers (PCVs) would assist in improving the quality of education particularly at the village level, and could also help increase the number of primary and secondary teachers passing the annual salary increment examination.

The overall objective of the 1965-70 Development Plan was to expand educational facilities. This included the

establishment of artisan training courses. Another objective was to increase the number of students meeting the entrance qualifications for higher education. (Tonga Development Plan 1965-70 1965: 20) The Education Department also attempted to upgrade educational standards and improve teaching techniques so that increasing numbers of Tongan students might be prepared for advanced education either within the kingdom or abroad. This was related to another government objective; namely, to increase the number of professionally qualified personnel available to participate in all areas of Tonga's development. (Kennedy Memo, Tonga VI Closed Project File 1970: 2-4)

Table II indicates the institutional framework in which the PCV teachers worked. In 1970, some 82 government primary schools had a total enrollment of 11,421 pupils and 46 church-supported primary schools served 6,444 students. Thus, the Department of Education was responsible for approximately 65 percent of the educational services at the primary level. On the other hand, the two government secondary schools had an enrollment of 1,051 while the 19 church-related secondary schools had an enrollment of 8,922, or approximately 90 percent of the students at the secondary level. Peace Corps teachers were assigned to government primary schools and to both church and government secondary

TABLE II
SCHOOLS AND STUDENT ENROLLMENTS
IN TONGA FOR 1970

Government of Tonga:	82 primary schools; enrollment	11,421
	2 secondary schools; enrollment	1,051
Free Wesleyan Church	28 primary schools; enrollment	3,494
	7 secondary schools; enrollment	2,571
	23 intermediate schools; enrollment	1,179
Roman Catholic Church	14 primary schools; enrollment	2,756
	4 secondary schools; enrollment	1,028
Free Church of Tonga	1 primary school; enrollment	55
	4 secondary schools; enrollment	1,561
Latter Day Saints	11 intermediate schools; enrollment	905
	1 secondary school; enrollment	929
Seventh Day Adventist	3 primary schools; enrollment	139
	1 secondary school; enrollment	347
Anglican Church	1 secondary school; enrollment	464

Source:

"Report of the Minister of Education 1970," p. 2.

and intermediate* schools. Table III shows the distribution of the volunteers in the secondary schools in 1970.**

While church-operated secondary and intermediate schools function independently from the Department of Education, both financially and in respect to curriculum, they use the same exit examination (Tonga Higher Leaving Examination) as the Department of Education. In other words, the objectives of the church-sponsored secondary schools are the same as those of government-sponsored secondary schools, but the curriculum and teaching methods can vary from institution to institution. Since the church-related schools provide 90 percent of the education available at the secondary level, volunteers were placed in all secondary schools rather than being concentrated only in the two government schools. In addition, both systems, government and church-related set optional exit examinations for high school level students that are used in New Zealand and Australia.

Agriculture

The objectives of the 1965-70 Development Plan for agriculture were "the replanting and the reorganization,

*Intermediate schools are church-operated secondary schools, but do not give leaving certificates or the complete curriculum offered by the regular secondary schools.

**Tables II and III are provided by the Annual Report of the Minister of Education for 1970 and do not give the breakdown for PCVs teaching at the primary level as it does for the secondary level.

TABLE III

TEACHERS IN THE TONGAN EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR 1970

() denotes married women

Primary School Teachers N.Z.S.C. = New Zealand School Certificate
 a. by Academic Level T.H.L.C. = Tonga Higher Leaving Certificate (local)
 T.L.L.C. = Tonga Lower Leaving Certificate (local)
 Pr. = Primary education only

Controlling Body	N.Z.S.C.		T.H.L.C.		T.L.L.C.		T	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	T
Government	-	3 (2)	75	76 (29)	151 (29)	167	70 (49)	237 (49)
Free Wesleyan Church	-	-	10	12 (3)	22 (3)	58	44 (5)	102 (5)
Roman Catholic Church	1	11	8	27 (2)	35 (2)	10	12 (2)	22 (2)
Seventh Day Adventists	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	6
Free Church of Tonga	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	3
TOTALS	1	14 (2)	94	115 (34)	209 (34)	238	132 (56)	370 (56)

Controlling Body	Pr.		TOTALS	
	M	F	M	T
Government	25	2 (1)	267	151 (81)
Free Wesleyan Church	9	3 (1)	77	59 (9)
Roman Catholic Church	3	21	22	71 (4)
Seventh Day Adventists	-	-	3	3
Free Church of Tonga	-	1	1	4
TOTALS	37	27 (2)	370	288 (94)

TABLE III (continued) TEACHERS IN THE TONGAN EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR 1970
by. by Professional Qualification

Controlling Body	TRAINED TEACHERS						TOTALS					
	O.T.			T.T.			O.T.			T.T.		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Government	--	5 (3)	5 (3)	214	133 (74)	377 (74)	244	138 (77)	382 (77)			
Free Wesleyan Church	--	-	-	11	1 (1)	12 (1)	11	1 (1)	12 (1)			
Roman Catholic Church	--	13	13	10	7	17	10	20	30			
Seventh Day Adventists	--	-	-	3	3	6	3	3	6			
Free Church of Tonga	--	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1			
TOTALS	--	18 (3)	18 (3)	269	144 (75)	413 (75)	269	162 (78)	431 (78)			

Controlling Body	UNTRAINED TEACHERS						TOTALS					
	O.T.			T.T.			O.T.			T.T.		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
Government	23	13 (4)	36 (4)	267	151 (81)	418 (81)						
Free Wesleyan Church	66	58 (8)	124 (8)	77	59 (9)	136 (9)						
Roman Catholic Church	12	51 (5)	63 (4)	22	71 (4)	93 (4)						
Seventh Day Adventists	--	--	--	3	3	6						
Free Church of Tonga	--	4	4	1	4	5						
TOTALS	101	126 (16)	227 (16)	370	288 (94)	658 (94)						

TABLE III (continued) TEACHERS IN THE TONGAN EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR 1970

Intermediate School Teachers

	F.W.C. (23 schools)		L.D.S. (11 schools)		Total		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	T
A. GRADUATES							
(a) with post-graduate certificate or credits in Education	1 (1)	2 (2)	1	1	2 (1)	3 (2)	5 (3)
(b) degree only	1 (1)	1 (1)	2	5	3 (1)	6 (1)	9 (2)
Total graduates	2 (2)	3 (3)	3	6	5 (2)	9 (3)	14 (5)
B. SECONDARY EDUCATION							
(a) overseas trained		1 (1)	2	-	2	1 (1)	3 (1)
(b) locally trained	9	2	16	6	25	8	33
(c) secondary education only	23	9	9	8	32	17	49
Total Secondary	32	12 (1)	27	14	59	26 (1)	85 (1)
TOTAL A & B	34 (2)	15 (4)	30	20	64 (2)	35 (4)	99 (6)

NOTES

- i. There are only 14 graduate teachers and 5 of them are volunteers
- ii. The majority of the intermediate school teachers have secondary education only and less than half of these have training.
- iii. The break-down of the 6 volunteers is--
 - 3 P.C.V. - trained graduates in P.W.C. schools
 - 2 P.C.V. - graduates only, in P.W.C. schools
 - 1 V.S.A. - secondary trained.

TABLE III (continued) TEACHERS IN THE TONGAN EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR 1970

Secondary Teachers

() denotes P.C.V./V.S.A. teacher

	Govt. (2 schools)		Churches (19 schools)		Total (21 schools)		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	T
	(A.) GRADUATES						
(a) with a post-graduate diploma or credits in education	10	2	26 (3)	15 (5)	36 (3)	17 (5)	53 (8)
(b) degree only	2 (1)	3 (2)	6 (3)	3 (2)	8 (4)	6 (4)	14 (8)
Total graduates	12 (1)	5 (2)	32 (6)	18 (7)	44 (7)	23 (9)	67 (16)
(B) SECONDARY EDUCATION							
(a) overseas trained	6	6	10	11 (2)	16	17 (2)	33 (2)
(b) locally trained	11	-	27	29	38	29	67
(c) secondary education only	2	-	77 (6)	72 (6)	79 (6)	72 (6)	151 (12)
Total secondary	19	6	114 (6)	112 (8)	133 (6)	118 (8)	251 (14)
TOTAL A & B	31 (1)	11 (2)	146 (12)	130 (15)	177 (13)	141 (17)	318 (30)

NOTES

- i. The 12 trained graduates in the Government sector have their degrees and training mostly from New Zealand.
- ii. The break-down of the 41 trained graduates in the Church sector is:
 - 20 are U.S.A. graduates with credits in Education-L.D.S. church
 - 5 are P.C.V. teachers with degree and credits in education
 - 3 are V.S.A. graduates with P.G.C.E. from New Zealand.
 - 13 are "regular" teachers with degrees and P.G.C.E. from New Zealand/Australia/U.K.
- iii. The break-down of the 30 volunteers is as follows:
 - 5 P.C.V. with degree and credits in Education
 - 8 P.C.V. with degree only
 - 3 V.S.A. with degree and post-graduate diploma
 - 2 V.S.A. with secondary education and overseas training
 - 12 V.S.A. with secondary education only.

TABLE III (continued) TEACHERS IN THE TONGAN EDUCATION SYSTEM FOR 1970

Teacher Training College Staff

	M	F	Totals
<u>GRADUATES</u>			
(a) With post-graduate certificate or credits in education.	1	1(1)	2(1)
(b) Degree only	1(1)	1(1)	2(2)
Total graduates	2(1)	2(2)	4(3)
<u>SECONDARY EDUCATION</u>			
(a) Overseas trained	1	4(1)	5(1)
(b) Locally trained	2	-	2
Total secondary	3	4(1)	7(1)
Total A & B	5(1)	6(3)	11(4)

() denotes No. of V.S.A/P.C.V.

Notes

- i. The break-down of the GRADUATE teachers was:
 - 1 B.A. from U.S.A. with credit in Education
 - 1 B.A. from U.S.A. with credit in Education - P.C.V.
 - 2 B.A. from U.S.A. degree only, P.C.V's.
- ii. Provision was made in the 1970 Estimates for 4 additional posts of Commonwealth graduates with post-graduate qualifications. Owing to the shortage of housing accommodation, it was not possible to recruit.

modernization, and expansion of the agriculture services, including extension, research and experiment, and the stimulation of agricultural production generally." (1965: 20)

A total of 28 Peace Corps Volunteers were prepared for agricultural work in training programs II, IV, V, VII, and VIII. It was not until Tonga V, in 1970, however, that the government was very specific about the type of skills which PCVs should possess, and thus the volunteers' training prior to that date centered on banana and coconut production, swine and poultry husbandry, basic gardening techniques and extension work. Initially these volunteers worked as extension agents who assisted with banana production and replanting coconut groves. At the request of the Tongan government, volunteers were trained in more specialized areas such as rodent control, marine biology, soil survey techniques, and plant pathology. Consequently, Agriculture projects V, VII, and VIII were more specific in their job descriptions and content.

As an example of the more specific job descriptions the following example was provided in the Volunteer Request Document for Tonga VII. "The main function of the volunteer will be to introduce subsidy schemes for both pig and poultry to the local farmers in the area of residence. They will also be expected to guide individuals in the community toward commercial production on a small scale, advising on all management problems, health and to some extent upon the financial aspects of the system.

The volunteer will also be expected to assist groups towards co-operative systems of production. Hopefully this may lead toward specialization e.g. in poultry-broiler production, egg production or stock production for sale. It would be useful if the volunteers had some exposure to butchering and presentation for marketing." (Tonga VII Project Closed File 1971: 8)

The needs and expectations of Tonga have been presented in terms of the general goals of the 1965-70 Development Plan. Specific goals for meeting these objectives were set by the Agriculture, Education and Medical Departments. Each of the Departments provided job descriptions for the utilization of Peace Corps Volunteers in meeting their individual objectives. Some of these job descriptions were specific; others were vague and imprecise. In other cases, it was the responsibility of the University of Hawaii's Center for Cross-Cultural Training and Research (CCCTR) to develop training programs to prepare volunteers to help accomplish the goals of the Agriculture, Education, and Medical Departments and the Government of Tonga.

CHAPTER III

TRAINING PROCEDURES FOR TONGA PEACE CORPS PROJECTS I-VIII

The University of Hawaii's Center for Cross-Cultural Training and Research (CCCTR) in Hilo, Hawaii, trained the eight Peace Corps projects for Tonga that are discussed in this paper. CCCTR had been involved in training potential Peace Corps Volunteers for service in East Asia and the Pacific for nine years by 1971. During this time nearly 7,000 trainees had participated in training with approximately 5,000 of them being selected to become volunteers. (Training Proposal Tonga VIII 1971: 52)

The volunteer's ability to function effectively in Tonga was not related entirely to his technical capabilities. Success also depended on his language ability and his knowledge of Tongan society and culture. Thus, language and cross-cultural training, as well as technical training, were the legitimate concerns of the CCCTR.

A feature of the CCCTR's approach to training was the "experiential learning" process, which was applied to technical, cross-cultural, and language training. The experiential approach was not utilized by the Peace Corps until 1969. As the terms suggest, training was a process of "learning by doing." CCCTR defined its training philosophy by stating, "The principle that an experienced-based program operates under is that the content (skills to

be learned) is not merely cognitive, but ultimately behavioral in nature. Passive learning and mere memorization of content are unsatisfactory for a variety of reasons. First, practical situations demand interpersonal/cross-cultural skills. Moreover, content material has its practical applications. Thus, 'experiential' training devices have been formulated which incorporate elements of practice and feedback (review) as well as conceptual learning.

The general process follows this model:

1. Experience
2. Feedback
3. Practical/Experimentation
4. Conceptualization
5. Application
6. Evaluation/Assessment"

(Tonga VIII Training Proposal 1971: 1-2)

"In summer of 1967, the Peace Corps altered its training philosophy. The agency recognized the irrelevance of the lecture hall and began to set up training programs within the host country or in situations more closely approximating working conditions overseas. . . . Peace Corps training is no longer formal, classroom instruction."

(Carey 1970: 91, 92)

This technique was first implemented for Tonga training programs with Tonga III, and was utilized for the remaining eight projects.

While this method of training seems to have been effective as far as Tonga is concerned, there were those who

had some reservation about it. One such person was the Peace Corps/Washington Desk Officer for Tonga who stated that, "My concerns center not around my own observations of the so-called 'experiential' model but the perceptions of outsiders who perceive the model in some instances as being 'too unstructured.' These perceptions are very often passed on by host country staff, host country officials and visiting Peace Corps officials from Washington and country. . . . The apparent aimlessness of some aspects of the model employed have resulted in a great deal of concern among host country staff, visiting staff, and the trainees. If this aimlessness is not real, then it must manifest itself to all involved at some point near the conclusion of the training program or the perception will persist that will destroy the opportunity for future cooperation." (Vickland Memo 1970: 1-2)

The approach seems beneficial, however, in training volunteers for Tonga. Tongans do not place the same emphasis on time as Americans do. The experiential approach allowed the trainee to schedule his time and place priorities on the tasks that were to be accomplished. This experience would be especially valuable to volunteers participating in the fields of health and agriculture where scheduling of time and work depends on such variables as weather, seasons, and the time of birth of a baby.

It should be pointed out that the visitors mentioned in the Memo for the most part were not professional trainers or educators. Consequently, the experiential approach did not fit the "traditional" classroom methods of teaching with which they were most familiar.

Language

According to Returned Peace Corps Volunteers (RPCVs), mid-service conference interviews, requests for volunteers, and Peace Corps/Tonga, the most important factor in gaining professional and social acceptance in Tonga was the volunteer's ability to speak Tongan. However, the volunteer working in the capital, Nuku'alofa, where English is used in most communications did not have to be as proficient in Tongan as a primary school teacher, an agriculture extension agent or a MCH nurse working in rural areas where conversation is almost entirely in Tongan. Whenever possible the CCCTR's language program was designed to meet the particular needs of all volunteers within the limits of the trainee's learning capabilities and the language instructor's ability to teach.

The language program utilized an eclectic approach to language teaching. Tried and tested methods such as inductive learning, learning-by-doing situations, psychological timing and aural-oral methods were used. Experimental methods used in classroom learning included experiential

situations, role-playing (job orientated), environmental and conversational type activities.

The average amount of time scheduled for language training for the eight Tonga projects during a ten week period was between 280 and 300 hours. This amount of time was necessary to meet the requirements established by Peace Corps/Tonga which are listed in Appendix B.

Cross-Cultural Training

The Cross-Cultural component of the training projects was designed to help the volunteer function effectively in the Tongan social and cultural milieu. The idea was to help the volunteer adapt cross-cultural experience gained in Hawaii to his situation in Tonga.

According to James F. Downs, Cross-Cultural Specialist for the CCCTR, one method employed in cross-cultural training is the intellectual approach, which consists of a series of pre-planned lectures. This results in a volunteer who knows a great deal about a specific country, provided that he is able to digest the lectures. Downs further suggests that an individual so trained will be able to pre-judge every act and experience in the field, but will not be able to understand what is happening to himself, and will therefore find the volunteer experience frustrating.

The second approach to cross-cultural training is the use of simulation techniques, in order to create a situation closely identical to the one which the volunteer will

experience in the host country. Simulation includes involvement with local populations, role playing and other experiences that might parallel those found or encountered by a volunteer in a particular country. Hawaii was an excellent area for this type of training when volunteers were being prepared for service in Tonga, Fiji, Samoa, Micronesia, Thailand, Malaysia, and the Philippines. The major limitation of such an approach was that though similar, the simulation was not identical to the host country. Moreover, simulation focuses on surface similarities (climate, scenery, racial make-up of the population) rather than on social, structural or economic parallels. (Downs 1969: 8-11)

At the CCCTR both the intellectual and simulation approaches were used in cross-cultural training. There were lectures combined with role playing, interaction with local population and the use of a self-awareness model, which stressed the trainees' previous experiences with and observations about their own culture. Using these observations the trainees were allowed to explore, test, and analyze different cultural phenomena found in the many sub-cultures of Hawaii. Theoretically, the experiences gained in these exercises could be applied in Tonga to help the volunteer deal with adjustment problems. It should be emphasized, however, that this method did not give the trainee a list of dos and don'ts to be memorized and used when a situation presented itself. Instead, it provided a

framework in which the volunteer used personal experience and observations to decide upon an appropriate course of action.

Technical Training for Health, Education and Agriculture Projects

Health:--The Tonga I project from July through October, 1967 was devoted to teaching Public Health Aides and Sanitarian Aides, and offers a reasonable example of the technical content of the training for people who worked in health services.

Technical training for Public Health Aides and Sanitarian Aides was comprised of lectures and practical learning situations. The lectures dealt with specific situations which would be encountered in Tonga. In 134 hours of lectures the Public Health Aides learned about interviewing techniques, prenatal care, home visitations, TB skin testing, and basic health and nutrition problems in Tonga. For the Public Health Aide the practical aspect of technical training involved observing emergency and delivery room procedures, developing health education material for use in Tonga, and assisting in vision screening of Molokai students.

The Sanitarian Aides, who spent 186 hours listening to lectures, were informed about concepts of environmental health, rodent and mosquito control, water storage systems, and food sanitation problems, just to name a few. The

Sanitarian Aides participated in such activities as building water seal latrines, constructing of wells, making microscopic studies of filariasis vectors, and learning how to construct a Tongan-style water catchment system. (Polynesia I Final Report 1967: 24-33)

Following the decision in 1967 to emphasize family planning, Maternal Child Health Nurses were exposed to clinical practices in community health nursing, pediatrics, labor and delivery, as well as emergency room procedures. They gained practical experience in Hawaii by working in rural health centers, assisting in the emergency room at Hilo Hospital and by attending special sessions on family planning techniques, as well as assisting in deliveries. (Tonga VII Final Report 1971: 6-7)

Education:--The training specialties of the CCCTR were, in addition to TESL, secondary science and math training. The majority of the trainees in the Tonga II, III, and IV projects possessed a B.A. degree, but only a few had teaching credentials and experience. In the Tonga III project, for instance, 21 volunteers had a Bachelor's degree, eight had some graduate work and only one had a graduate level degree. (Tonga III Mid-Service Conference 1970: 4) In each training program the degree of experience of the group determined the amount of time allotted to practice teaching. Peer and Micro-teaching techniques were integrated into the program

and where possible the experiential approach was incorporated.

In comparing the Tonga II (Oct. 1967) and the Tonga VI (Oct. 1970) the objectives to be accomplished in training teachers remained quite consistent, and are more precise than those for volunteers who were prepared for work in agriculture and health. All trainees for both primary and secondary education were exposed to the following: educational philosophy and psychology; testing procedures; teaching methods; instruction in TESL; use of visual aids; instructional media found in Tonga and Tongan educational organization. In addition, two weeks of practice teaching in the Hawaii State school system was required. (Tonga II Training Syllabus 1967)

Upon completion of the training program the trainee was supposed to know something about the role of education in a modern versus a traditional society. He was also supposed to understand the role of the teacher within the Tongan educational system and the community, and to be able to demonstrate his competence in the discipline he would be teaching. Finally, the trainee had to be able to apply and perform the relevant and feasible teaching methods of the assigned teaching role.

In addition to performing the educational skills mentioned above, the volunteer was required to demonstrate the necessary knowledge of the technical skills of education.

The Training Syllabus for the Tonga VI project states eight areas where the volunteer must be competent. Upon completion of the training, trainees had to write and identify good behavioral objectives and incorporate them in developing lesson plans. The teacher was also responsible for developing questioning techniques that stimulate thought on the part of the learner; that is, the student should not be able to simply answer yes or no. Improvising visual aids and classroom apparatus from locally available materials such as bamboo and tin cans was another requirement. Planning and conducting field trips as supplements to classroom demonstrations and lectures were necessary to meet the training requirements.

Attaining a level of self-confidence in problem solving for critical situations was to be demonstrated by the trainee before becoming a volunteer teacher. As a part of this demonstration the trainee had to construct tests that validly evaluated the behavioral objectives of the subject by using a variety of techniques like essays, true/false, completion, or multiple choice questions. The Tongan educational system and its pedagogical methods and the role of the Peace Corps teacher were to be described and discussed to the satisfaction of the training staff. This point is emphasized in the request document for the Tonga VI project. "All teaching PCVs should be given a thorough and sympathetic understanding of the dependence on rote

memorization in the New Zealand curriculum and methods of teaching. . . . All Trainees (in education) must be well trained in the rigid British-Tongan system of lesson planning by the day and week." (Kennedy Memo 1970: 13) This idea is somewhat foreign to the relaxed American approach to education. Finally, the trainee demonstrated these teaching methods and techniques utilized in Tonga by planning and teaching lessons based on the Tongan syllabus and curriculum material to their peers. (Tonga VI Training Plan 1971: 15-16)

Agriculture:--For the Tonga II and IV agriculture training projects the Peace Corps' had to use trial and error in training personnel because details about the jobs to be performed were either lacking or vague. The training Syllabus for Tonga II and that for Tonga IV state only that the trainee should be familiar with Tongan extension techniques, the construction of low cost pig stys, swine husbandry, and the structure, function and policies of the Department of Agriculture in Tonga. (Tonga IV Training Syllabus 1969: 13) Agricultural training for Tonga II and IV consisted of lectures, field trips, and extension work in coconut and banana production, as well as poultry and swine husbandry. (Tonga II Final Report 1967: 15-19)

By 1971 the objectives for agricultural training became more specific. Terminal training objectives for the prospective volunteers in the Tonga VI project included being well

acquainted with the bureaucratic structure of the Department of Agriculture, supervisory, training and extension techniques. Basic construction skills for low cost pig pens and poultry coops were also needed. A cultural understanding of the Tongan's attitude toward the department and his own farm plus specific objectives of the agriculture project for each job assignment had to be learned. (Tonga VI Training Syllabus 1971: 10-11)

CHAPTER IV

EVALUATION OF TRAINING

Because the Tonga I and II training programs were new and there were no previous examples to follow, there were some problems. The distinct disadvantage suffered by the Tonga I and II projects was that they were the first training programs to be designed for that country. Furthermore, the language program for Tonga I was compiled in only four weeks.

The most difficult problems resulted from the following factors. Preparations for a training program usually required four months, in order to develop materials, set objectives, review job descriptions, and assemble a training staff.

In the Tonga I Training project, the Cross-Cultural component filled the vacant hours between language classes for the first two weeks of training while the training for public health was planned. The area of cross-cultural training was also limited in how much it could provide on specific information regarding Tonga. According to the final report of the ten-week project a total of 104 hours of lectures were given to the trainees of which 68 related directly to Tonga. The remaining hours included information

about Samoa/*and Polynesia in general. The lectures addressed themselves to the subjects of Polynesian history and geography, as well as Tongan customs and politics. Information was also provided on how to adjust to the culture of Tonga. (Polynesia I Final Report 1967: 13-15) Peace Corps/Washington offered the training contract on short notice (2 months) and it was accepted by the University of Hawaii one month before the start of training. The facility designed to meet the needs of 50 trainees had to be expanded to accommodate 175 people in three weeks. The staff in most cases had been hired less than one month before the start of the program. (Polynesia I Final Report: 47-48)

The results of training were wide and varied. A lack of statistical data, mainly public health, makes it difficult to determine the extent to which training was effective in preparing volunteers for service in Tonga. Consequently, Tonga I and II received the dubious distinction of having to make the initial mistakes necessary to improve the quality, style, and content of training and thus, improve the effectiveness of future volunteers and training projects.

*It should be mentioned that the reason for the program containing a large portion of information regarding Samoa is because Tonga I and Samoa I trained together under the heading of Polynesia I.

Health Projects

By the time the Medical Department of Tonga requested additional assistance in the area of public health (Tonga IV and VII) some of the problems found in the first attempts at public health training had been resolved. Improved language materials, more material provided by returning volunteers from Tonga, training staff comprised of former PCVs from Tonga, a clearer understanding of the administration of the Tongan Medical Department and the PCV's role in it, and more experience in planning programs for Tonga were some of the improvements that had been made as a result of the experience encountered in the Tonga I and II programs and of the volunteers once they were in the field.

One continuing point of concern that carried over from the first two Peace Corps programs for Tonga was the still somewhat vague job descriptions received by the training staff for the MCH nurses. "Because of difficulties experienced by Volunteers in the field, it was felt that the job was too demanding and the risks too great^t. However, the Medical Department had written a job description, and the Peace Corps staff was now aware of the extent of the problems previous MCH Volunteers (Tonga I and II) had experienced. With this awareness, coupled with the presence of two MCH RPCVs and the head of the MCH program in Tonga on the staff, it was felt that an adequate program could be offered. There was little question, however, that the

Volunteers in MCH would have one of the most demanding assignments in Peace Corps." (Tonga IV Final Report 1969: 2)

The "risks" mentioned relate to a basic difference in the attitudes taken by the Tongan Medical Department and the American medical profession about the role a nurse plays in the delivery of a baby. Training a nurse in actual child delivery in the United States was frequently difficult because in some states only the physician can deliver a baby. Consequently, the nurses were trained in actual deliveries in Tonga where the law and the medical profession were more realistic and flexible.

As Hapgood and Bennett state, ". . . The Peace Corps has run into problems that arise from its own, American Culture. The agency has not been able to cope with the American medical profession. American doctors are as zealous in protecting the secrets and privileges of their trade as are the traditional healers of the third world, and Peace Corps officials are as reverent as denizens of the third world in their approach to the profession."

(1968: 118)

Fortunately, by 1971 attitudes had changed, and in Hawaii at least, with permission from the attending physician and the patient, the nurses of Tonga VII were allowed to assist in deliveries at Kapiolani Maternity Hospital in Honolulu.

The success of the Peace Corps health projects for the Kingdom of Tonga is difficult to measure because of the

lack of data. The results of the family planning initiated in 1971 will not be available until 1976.

However, some preliminary judgments can be made about the period of 1967-1971. It would seem reasonable to conclude that the performance of the PCVs was adequate and that they made a contribution to the public health programs II, IV, and VII since additional requests had been made by the Medical Department to continue the health programs.

On the other hand, Sanitarian Aides were not requested by the government of Tonga after Tonga I, but this program ought not to be written off as a failure. No quotas had been set on how many water seal toilets had to be installed, how many water catchments systems had to be built, or how many new water wells had to be dug. Had these objectives been set by either the Peace Corps or the Tongan Medical Department then a definite statement as to the success or failure of the project could be made.

Since the Sanitarian Aides were not requested after Tonga I the Macualay principle of civil service might have been the reason. This principle states that, if there is a qualified national to fill a position, he should be utilized instead of a foreigner. It is possible that the government of Tonga felt that it had persons qualified to serve as sanitarian aides, and that the Peace Corps could be used to better advantage in areas such as family planning. It should be remembered that the majority of the Sanitarian

Aides were all B.A. generalists, not public health graduates, and that they had received their technical background during their three month training period in Hawaii. Quite possibly the PCVs were not as well qualified as the Tongans when working in the area of public health. It could also be possible that the response from the Sanitarian Aides (Volunteers) to the Peace Corps staff was that they felt they were infringing in an area where there were capable Tongans to fill the positions. Therefore, Peace Corps should invoke its own Macaulay philosophy and find other areas to be of service.

The increased demand for help in family planning resulted in a continuing need for trained nurses. This was particularly true after October, 1970, when a study of the knowledge, attitudes and practice of contraception (KAPS Survey) was made in Tonga by the School of Public Health of the University of Hawaii. At that time there were a total of 22 MCH nurses in Tonga to serve a population of over 80,000. Only six of these nurses worked in the outer island groups where 50 percent of the population live. (KAPS Survey of Tonga 1970: 10-11) Trained MCH nurses were a necessary part of the family planning effort, whether they were Tongan or Peace Corps Nurses.

Education Projects

Training for Tongan Education projects was timed so that the new volunteers' arrival coincided with the beginning of the new academic year beginning around the first of

February. The most serious limitation of the teacher training projects was (of course) not being able to practice teach in a Tongan school prior to reaching Tonga. By using an experiential approach to training, it was assumed that the experience gained from teaching in Hawaii could be applied in Tonga.

Beginning with the Tonga V Education project the in-country experience gained by PCV teachers in the Tonga II and III programs became the basis for changes in material, content, and emphasis in the direction of the training projects. The following situation illustrates the adaptation of training and also relates one of the factors of the potential success or failure of the Peace Corps in Tonga.

George Foster, in his book, Traditional Cultures, and the Impact on Technological Change, describes the PCV by saying that, "They can be powerful agents for international understanding, but it is also easy to see them as enthusiastic young bulls in a china shop, unaware that their normal way of life may spell disaster for those around them." (Foster 1962: 7) This statement may well apply to the early education projects in Tonga in view of the comments made by an official of the Department of Education at the Mid-Service Conference for the Tonga III program in May of 1970.

Things should be done in the Tongan way. PCVs have a tendency to judge the host country (Tonga) by American standards. They push too fast; we're dealing with people and change. A volunteer believes that changes he wants to make are right, but are they?

For example, a PCV puts forth a new idea--like a new school building--and talks to his headmaster about it. No action follows, possibly because the headmaster neglects to go to a meeting and bring it up. The PCV gets fed up and goes to see someone else. It is important to know where to go. It is not right to go to the town officer; this starts a feud between the headmaster and the town officer. . . . Some have skipped this and gone directly to the noble; some have even gone to the Minister of Education.

Another example: some PCVs are openly critical of the Tate system. If a Volunteer says Tate is no good, the Tongan teachers will not try hard to use it. The department may make a change later, but we think Tate is the best available to us now. . . .

The Education Department is willing to listen to Volunteer recommendations in regard to programs and training. If you bring your ideas to us at the Education Department we will be glad to take time to listen and discuss them. . . .

In working with your headmaster, remember that Tongans are easy to manipulate. Work out a teaching program with him. If you make out your own program and present it to him, he will say, 'Sai' (fine, all right) because that is the Tongan way even though he doesn't feel that way at all. He will think it over later, discuss it with others, and decide it's no good. In the meantime the Volunteer proceeds to follow his new program and creates bad feelings between himself, the other teachers and the headmaster. (Mid-Service Conference Tonga III 1970: 7-8)

As a result of these comments an attempt was made to improve communication and preserve this function within the traditional system. The Peace Corps was careful to specify what type of relationship there should be between the volunteers from the Tonga V Education Program and the Department of Education in Tonga. "PCVs are directly responsible to the headmaster of the primary school in which they serve and, through him, to the Area Organizer, the School Inspector of the District and ultimately to the Department of Education. All will be subject to the rules and regulations of the school

and the Education Department, and to the particular decision of the headmaster." (Davis Memo 1970: 10)

As far as denominational schools of the secondary level were concerned, this statement read as follows: "PCVs are directly responsible to the headmaster or principal of the school in which they serve and, through him, to the particular denominational educational system. The Department of Education has only indirect authority in the denominational school systems. However, because of the relationship of the Peace Corps Tonga to host country government (Tonga), decisions of the Education Department have final authority over all other host country agencies in matters dealing with PCVs in education." (Davis Memo 1970: 10)

Training programs were adjusted to deal with the communication problem. The cross-cultural component offered role playing situations in which such potential problems could be demonstrated and then discussed. Moreover, the technical component included information about aspects of communication unique to Tonga. As the Final Report of the Cross-Cultural Component of the Tonga V project states, "Final sessions included a talk on culture shock by Dr. Collis, tapes from Tonga on the effect of culture differences on Volunteers in Tonga, and a talk on Hierarchy (social structure) by the Honorable Ve'ehala. Stress was on the importance of following the proper channels of communication, in order to be as productive as possible during the Volunteer's two year stay." (Tonga V Final Report 1970: 46)

Subsequent to Tonga V, then, training stressed the importance of proper communication methods and patterns. An attempt was made to describe and discuss the host country educational system and the role of the Peace Corps teacher in it. (Tonga VI Training Plan 1971: 15-16) Considerable attention was given to explaining the role of the teacher within the educational system and the community which it served.

The prospect of the education projects being successful were somewhat dim in 1970 for a variety of reasons. First, from the viewpoint of the Department of Education, one official reviewed the objectives of the Department at the Mid-Service Conference for Tonga III in May 1970 by commenting:

Tonga's expectations from the Peace Corps are 1) to help teach English which is very important for Tongans and introduce science to the primary schools. We are aware of the danger of having PCVs come and take over, and then have everything drop after they leave. We must be able to continue the work, improve our standards, and from that point on to be able to carry on without Peace Corps.

2) To help technically in this starting of development where Tonga does not have qualified people. Tonga has been very careful in how they move. Many people are against science, for example. There are problems in our system yet that hinder PCV effectiveness.

3) To provide understanding between people. PCVs must try to understand Tonga's problems.

It is difficult to evaluate PCV effectiveness; I have no statistics to go by. In general the program has not been successful, not effective from Tonga's point of view. (Tonga III Mid-Service Conference 1970: 7)

Specifically, the problem referred to here is the one of following proper lines of communication, previously

discussed, within the Education Department. It was also an example of how the training functions were adapted to meet the needs and concerns of Tonga.

At the same conference the Peace Corps Director for Tonga went on to provide background information to explain the reason for some of the upheaval. "The original plan of Peace Corps was to raise the number of Volunteers in Tonga to 300 and to complete the Tonga program in six years. Phase II was trained to be teachers; only a few did and the rest were put in regular schools. Peace Corps' original plan was too rigid. It was drawn up in Washington with emphasis on numbers, pressure and volume. Needless to say it didn't work and we are still feeling the repercussions." (Tonga III Mid-Service Conference 1970: 6, 7)

Fortunately, the Department of Education had the patience to weather the cross-cultural storm and judging from the Request Document for the Tonga VI education project, changes in training procedures had produced position results. Tonga VI was to be a replacement project for Tonga II (Tonga's first experience with PCV teachers). "Replacement has been requested by the Host Country (Tonga) Department because of what they regard as the success of the existing project." (Kennedy Memo 1970: 5) Success was defined in terms of: 1) the number of Tongan students qualifying for advanced education within the Kingdom and abroad; 2) the number of students who qualify for secondary education in

Tonga; and 3) the number of teachers already in the field who are assisted in passing the annual teacher examinations given by the Government of Tonga. In terms of long term commitments, the Department of Education wanted to continue teaching programs to 1) increase the use of English in primary school teaching; and 2) increase the number of adequately trained teachers at both the primary and secondary level in order that local teachers could replace PCV teachers who could then be assigned to work in poorer, less well staffed schools. (Kennedy Memo 1970: 5-6)

Peace Corps acknowledged the past problems and qualified its success by stating what was necessary to maintain and continue in that direction.

PCVs have faced general problems of frustration with HC educational standards and customs. This has been true socially as well as on the job. Close cooperation between HC Education Department and PC/Tonga has resolved most if not all of the earliest problems arising from lack of understanding on the part of both as to the nature and functions of the other . . . but there remains the basic differences of culture and personality reflected in systems and structures. More extensive and more candid cross-cultural training for Tonga III, IV, and V was an attempt to prepare PCVs to confront and deal with this problem. First indications are that the attempt has been successful, and the cross-cultural component must continue to be emphasized in the future. (Kennedy Memo 1970: 10)

There is no statistical data available to evaluate the early education projects. The only material available is that of the Examination Results of the Tonga Higher Leaving Examination of 1970 that are listed in Table IV. It divides the examination according to subject and the number of students

TABLE IV

RESULTS OF THE 1970 HIGHER LEAVING EXAMINATION

All Candidates

SUBJECTS	English	Tongan	Maths	Alt Maths	Gen Sc.	Biology	History	Geography	Comm Prac.
No. Sat	887	888	497	74	319	211	401	258	62
No. Passed	369	493	220	34	141	79	168	115	26
% passed	41.6	55.5	44.2	45.9	44.2	37.4	41.8	44.5	41.9

Book-keeping	Sht. Hand	Typing	Art Craft	Home Science	Home Craft	Eng. Litt.	Wood-Work	Metal Work	An'l Husb.	Music
179	150	365	255	320	160	57	29	19	217	239
50	17	9	107	116	85	35	15	11	89	108
27.9	11.3	2.4	41.9	56.2	53.1	61.4	51.7	57.8	41.0	45.1

No. Students Taking Exam	1969	855
	1970	888
No. Certificates Awarded	1969	534
	1970	417

Source: Annual Report of the Minister of Education (Tonga) 1970.

that passed that portion of the examination. The only comparison that can be made is with the total number of students that took and passed the Tonga Higher Leaving examination in 1969. The one area where the Peace Corps definitely met the goals of the Tongan Department of Education was in providing teachers to fill teaching positions where there were no qualified Tongan teachers available. This action can be viewed as an attempt to accomplish the general goals of up-grading and improving the educational system.

Agricultural Projects

There were also limitations to the training of agriculture volunteers for Tonga. In Tonga II, resources for training extension workers in the production of coconuts and bananas on the island of Molokai were practically nonexistent. One field trip to the island of Hawaii to observe banana growing on a small scale was the extent of training in banana production. Because coconuts are not grown commercially in Hawaii, lectures about their growth, care, diseases, fertilization and planting comprised the total information received by the trainees. (Tonga II Final Report 1967: 15-19) Furthermore, all of the participants in the agriculture training program were B.A. generalists who had no previous experience working in the area of tropical agriculture.

Tonga IV, with only one agricultural trainee, likewise had its problems. The trainee, according to information

provided by Peace Corps Washington had a degree in agriculture, but this was not the case. Consequently, the program had to be reorganized because the one volunteer was supposed to be a trained agriculture volunteer and was not. Like Tonga I, it also involved volunteers for Samoa. This was because a Samoa agriculture project was training simultaneously and it was decided to use the lectures of that program to supplement the Tonga program. (Tonga IV Final Report 1969: 22-23)

Both Tonga VII and VIII trained at the CCCTR, which is located on the grounds of the former Hilo Hospital. This urban setting was not appropriate in gaining experience for raising pigs and chickens or in planting gardens. However, the Tonga VII and VIII trainees, who specialized in rodent control, found that Hawaii offered an excellent setting in which they could learn their new skill. They worked in the cane fields with consultants provided by the Hawaii Sugar Planters Association because the techniques used for rodent control on sugar plantations are basically the same as those for coconut plantations. Hawaii was also a good place for training in plant pathology and marine biology to adapt generalities for a tropical setting.

The early agriculture projects (Tonga II-Tonga IV) suffered from the same lack of information about what could be expected in Tonga as did the health projects. In particular, the extent to which language ability would be necessary could not be accurately determined. After this

was learned, steps were taken to provide language instructors from the Agriculture Department to acquaint the volunteers with the specific material necessary to do his work.

Limited resources for agriculture work within the kingdom were painfully evident to the volunteers when they reached Tonga, and they had to learn to improvise when the occasion demanded. Flexibility became an important word in the agriculture volunteer's vocabulary.

Soon after the arrival of the Tonga II volunteers in country it became evident that they were not experts trained in the finer points of coconut and banana production and rehabilitations. Their efforts were then directed in the areas of swine and poultry production. The coconut and banana extension workers followed in the path of the sanitarian aides and were eliminated from any future requests for volunteers by the Department of Agriculture. This can be attributed to two factors. First, they had not met the expectations of the Director of the Department of Agriculture, who wanted experts. Secondly, the University of Hawaii did not have the expertise to train the volunteers adequately in these areas. Lectures could be provided, but practical field experience could not, especially for coconuts.

However, the failure of Peace Corps volunteers to make any type of headway in the area of banana production cannot be attributed solely to inadequate training. The 1969 annual report issued by the Department of Agriculture explained

that, "A serious outbreak of Black Leaf Streak and other leafspots on bananas occurred during the year and was one of the principal reasons for declining banana production. . . . However, lack of equipment, material and personnel has reduced considerably the effectiveness of the programs, combined with considerable apathy from many growers." Moreover, weather and frequent mechanical failures also impeded the progress of the Coconut Replanting Scheme. Again the annual report specifically states that, "One of the biggest problems is lack of interest in subsequent maintenance of areas that have developed under the scheme. This problem is being considered by the Coconut Replanting Scheme committee." (Report of the Minister of Agriculture 1969: 6, 18)

However, Peace Corps efforts with swine and poultry production did prove to be effective. As the volunteer Request Document for the Tonga VII project states, "This particular project is an outgrowth of previous Tonga Volunteers working in poultry and swine. They originally developed the lead stages of the pig and poultry schemes from the local farmers' requests and inquiries. The first two years the main emphasis was on the main island of Tongatapu. Now the Director of Agriculture is willing to carry these previously successful schemes to the farmers in the outer island groups of Ha'apai and Vava'u." (Tonga VII Closed Project File 1971)

Fortunately, the Agriculture Department, like the Education Department, was willing to chalk up these early

mistakes to experience, and view them as inevitable because the program was new. In reviewing the Closed Project Files for Tonga IV, VII, and VIII it is evident that considerable attention was given to improving communication between the training projects and the Director of Agriculture. He was appraised of all details pertaining to how training had been designed, and his viewpoint was solicited on details which he felt should be included.

In addition, generalists were gradually replaced by volunteers with specific skills. General extension agents have been replaced with plant pathologists, home economists, rodent control personnel, and marine biologists. As of 1971 requests for a veterinarian and entomologist were still pending.

In 1968, the Department of Agriculture began developing a training center for extension workers at the government experimental farm. During 1969 a total of 20 students had completed the course and the department was able to assign these workers to non-established [impending] staff positions throughout the kingdom. In addition to these positions, three staff members had returned from the Vudal Agricultural College in New Guinea and were assigned to regular staff positions. The staff totals 41 permanent members and 44 in the non-established positions, including the in-service trainees. This does not include the 11 members enrolled in agriculture programs at foreign universities. (Report of the Minister of Agriculture 1969: 17, 22)

The 28 agriculture volunteers (14 of which were in the Tonga II project) were not overwhelming in total number but were able to supply the supplemental personnel needed by the Department of Agriculture to carry on their projects.

Language Training

The early language programs (Tonga I and II) were organized and planned within a very short period of time. Consequently, obtaining language instructors in a little used language such as Tongan was somewhat of a problem. Peace Corps recruited instructors from The Church College of Hawaii, a Mormon school on Oahu, to fill the positions since they were close at hand and were the only persons in Hawaii who spoke Tongan. This resulted in some difficulties. First, the instructors were students and neither qualified teachers nor working on any of the jobs that the volunteers would be filling. Many of the teachers had not been in Tonga for some time and presented a misleading view of Tonga in conversations outside of class. More importantly, trainees received a missionary bias in the style of language used. The text was written by a Mormon missionary and was the only such text available. Once in country the volunteers of Tonga I and II complained about the deficiencies in language training to Peace Corps staff and efforts were made to use Tongans as language instructors who were familiar with the fields in which the volunteers would be working. This was especially helpful because the volunteers were able

to learn the technical language which was often necessary if they were to function effectively.

The final reports on language training for the eight Tongan projects indicate that the Tonga VI project seems to have adapted its approach to meet the needs of the trainees and the program more successfully than the others. At the conclusion of the project the language coordinator polled the trainees to solicit comments that might be used in planning future projects.

The success of the Tonga VI language program can be attributed to three factors: 1) the ability of the trainees to learn; 2) the ability, flexibility, and sensitivity of the language staff in teaching the material; and 3) experience from previous programs in selection of language instructors. The language instructors in the Tonga VI program were all trained primary and secondary teachers who had been selected by the language coordinator during an in-country pre-planning visit.

The 24 trainees felt that the following factors were responsible for the success of the language training: There was a willingness of the entire language staff to help at any time. Instructors were willing to tolerate mistakes made by trainees, and this made the trainees more relaxed and willing to make mistakes, in order to improve. Finally, it was the general consensus of the trainees that the overall

program was outstanding, because the instructors were consistently good and their lessons generally made as interesting as possible.

On the negative side, the trainees offered several comments. Of the nineteen trainees responding to the question, ten related a similar answer; namely that constant drill and repetition without knowing the meaning of the sentence structure caused them to become bored and lose interest during class. It should be pointed out however, that repetition drills are one of the "tried and proven" methods language teaching techniques. It is also an integral part of the aural-oral teaching process.

Trainees were also invited to relate which portions of the language program should be retained and what could be done to improve future projects. They suggested that such activities as English blackouts, teaching technical job-oriented material in Tongan, more role playing, practice teaching lessons in Tongan, and more one-to-one conversations between instructors and trainees should be included in future programs. (Ongteco, Tonga VI Final Report, Language Component 1971: 17-27)

A combination of capable instructors and trainees who were willing to learn provided training with one of the more outstanding language projects. In reviewing their language ratings at the completion of the project it was found that two trainees met the minimal language requirements with the

remaining 21 exceeding the requirements. (Ongteco Tonga VI Final Report Language Component 1971: 10)

Cross-Cultural Training

It is difficult to measure a trainee's success in the area of cross-cultural studies. While trainees may have met the objectives of the individual training projects, their success can only be measured in terms of how they, as a volunteer, were able to apply the experience gained in training. The only measurement made of cross-cultural training was by a question asked by the volunteers of Tonga III at their Mid-Service Conference. The question read, "How well did training taken in the U.S. and/or in-country prepare you for your current work?" (Tonga III Mid-Service Conference 1970: 4) Volunteers were then asked to rate the individual training components. Of the 27 volunteers answering the question, 2 said cross-cultural training had been excellent; 11 said it had been good; 10 reported it as fair; and 3 felt that it had been poor. (Tonga III Mid-Service Conference 1970: 4) Again, the measure of success rested in the volunteers' ability to apply cross-cultural knowledge gained in either training or elsewhere to incidents in Tonga.

CHAPTER V

CHANGES IN THE PEACE CORPS: 1967-1971

One word can best describe the Peace Corps from 1967-1971--change. By 1970, Tonga had received four Peace Corps programs, two of which had completed a two-year tour. Tonga projects I and II provided the necessary field experience needed to adapt and improve the training programs to better meet the occupational and social needs of the volunteers, the programs, and the Departments that employed them. At the same time, Peace Corps was also undergoing a period of transition, which resulted in administrative changes in Peace Corps/Washington.

Changes in Peace Corps/Washington

Joseph Blatchford, the Peace Corps Director who was appointed by President Nixon, stated in 1970 that it was time for a change in the philosophy of Peace Corps, and that more emphasis should be placed on having the host countries share in the responsibility for designing and implementing programs. He further suggested that interest in the Peace Corps was starting to dwindle after its first ten years of existence, because applications had decreased from 35,229 in 1967 to 19,022 in 1970. (Harris 1973: 235) He asked, "Are we seeing the beginning of the end of the Peace Corps, or is it perhaps the end of the beginning?" (Blatchford 1970: 124)

Blatchford went on to outline his "new directions" in a five point program that called for shifting more volunteer assignments to high priority needs of the developing countries where Peace Corps served, and recruiting more volunteers with the unique skills to meet the higher priorities. He also suggested filling 50 percent of the positions of overseas Peace Corps staff with host country nationals, in order to encourage volunteer service by international and multi-national teams. Finally, the RPCV would utilize his experience gained overseas in programs at home. This meant making the tour of duty a three year proposition; two years overseas and one year in the United States. (Blatchford 1970: 126-131)

Training for Tonga was influenced by these policy changes emanating from Washington because priorities were changed with respect to the type of job which the volunteer would be doing. This change was reflected in the Report of the Minister of Education for 1970. "In 1970 important discussions took place on policy governing recruitment and areas of service. It was agreed in principle that, broadly speaking, volunteer personnel should be persons who are professionally and technically qualified and that they should be available in a wide range of sectors of public service. In other words, the service should assume the character of a scheme of technical assistance." (Report of the Minister of Education 1970: 7) This report also states

where these changes were to take place. "In the education sector, in 1970, Peace Corps Volunteers were engaged as primary and secondary school teachers. In a review of policy it was agreed that in the primary sector volunteers should be concentrated on the in-service training schemes as assistant tutors in oral English and mathematics and that in the recruitment process every effort should be made to recruit personnel with qualifications in these subjects and, if possible, with professional qualifications and experience." (Report of the Minister of Education 1970: 7)

Changes also took place in the areas of health and agriculture. The Tonga VII Final Report lists job descriptions for MCH nurses, formerly Public Health Aides. The agriculture component included training for marine biologists, a plant pathologist, soil survey workers, and a veterinarian. Other specialties included a health publicist, civil engineer, accountant and home economist.

This raised questions about the type of training which would be appropriate for someone who was already competent in his field. One answer was to modify training so that a plant pathologist, for example, whose experience had been with plants found in temperate zones, would learn about tropical plants. The veterinarian familiar with treating horses and cows was also trained to work with pigs and chickens. The civil engineer adapted his experience to use construction material and techniques found in an island setting. (Tonga VII Final Report 1971: 4-6)

Blatchford's "new directions" policy produced a change in selection procedures and policies beginning with the Tonga VI project. The selection, or qualification process, as it was sometimes known, was dictated by Peace Corps/Washington and monitored by the training staff with the assistance of a full-time psychologist assigned by the CCCTR. The basic change in the process was who made the final decision about the qualifications of the trainee.

Volunteers in projects I through V were chosen by a panel comprised of members of the CCCTR, the training staff and a psychologist in consultation with the PC staff. The trainees were also responsible for assessing his progress during training. Material was gathered by the training staff and presented to the in-country staff mid-way through the training program. At this point the trainee could be terminated, if judged deficient in some area or be permitted to continue. This same selection board met again at the end of training to discuss the qualifications of the individual trainees and then make their final selection of volunteers. This process led to many anxieties on the part of the trainees, because it appeared that they were not allowed to represent their side of the story, should doubts be raised about their qualifications. Should a trainee not be selected, he could appeal directly to Peace Corps/Washington, but there were no instances of this in any of the Tonga projects (I-VIII).

A somewhat different procedure was used in the evaluation and final selection of volunteers in the Tonga VI, VII, and VIII projects. The training coordinator and the staff psychologist designed a qualification model for each project so that the trainee was continually apprised of the extent to which he was meeting the program's objectives. The theory behind this method was that it allowed the trainee to become more active in the selection process, since it was felt that the trainee knew himself better than anyone. Similar information was periodically passed along to the Director of Peace Corps Tonga or his designate, who made the final decision about who would become a volunteer. The trainee was allowed to appeal the decision made by the Director of Peace Corps Tonga or his designate, should the trainee not be selected to become a volunteer.

Under both systems, qualification was a continuous process that provided the trainee with feedback by which he could judge his suitability for living and working in Tonga. One function of the selection process was that of predicting whether or not the volunteer would remain in Tonga for the two year tour of duty in addition to determining the degree of success he would have in performing his job. A considerable amount of controversy between trainers, country staff, and Peace Corps Washington arose when it was decided to dispense with the board system of

selection and replace it with the decision of the country director. The point of contention was that the board system was better because the individuals who made the final selection had trained the volunteer and therefore were familiar with his strengths/weaknesses. The Country Director, who was not a member of the training staff, knew very little, if anything, about the volunteers. Coincidentally, but not in response to the controversy, Dr. Jesse Harris of the University of Kentucky who did a study entitled "Prediction of Success on a Distant Pacific Island: Peace Corps Style," came up with the following conclusion: "In the absence of quantitative measures, evaluation of an individual by several observers, based on discussion and corroboration of the findings of each, can be expected to provide a more efficient prediction of the future behavior of an observed individual than the report of a single evaluator. This should hold true, whether the single observer is predicting for himself or for another person, and, particularly if he is predicting for a setting to which the observed individual has not previously been exposed." (Harris 1970: 60) These findings did not influence the official policy of the Peace Corps.

Was the change in the selection and qualification process a result of the shift from the B.A. generalist to the trained specialists? Apparently not, as stated by Jerry Wiggins in 1973, "In recent years, the participation

of assessment psychologists in the selection procedures and policies of the Peace Corps has been severely curtailed.

Whether this change represents a decreased need for extensive selection or a reaction to the cumulative effects of eight years of intense screening is difficult to assess."

(Wiggins 1973: 601) In essence, there was not a change in the function of the selection process, but only a change in the procedure to implement it.

Related to the topic of assessment and evaluation and the ability of the training project staff to adapt the programs were the sources of information used to adapt the programs. As seen in the section on evaluation, the Mid-Service Conference of Tonga III in 1970 played an important part in the improvement and adaptation of training and the Peace Corps program in Tonga. The study conducted by Dr. Harris was based on the results of the termination evaluations of Tonga I and II volunteers and the entrance and selection evaluations of the Tonga III volunteers. Unfortunately, such sources are no longer available. The Completion of Service Conferences for Tonga I and II were the first and last to be conducted between 1967 and 1971, as the following statement explains. As stated by Carey in his book, The Peace Corps, the conferences ended for the most part in 1969, and that "Completion of Service Conferences have now become optional and are held only if a majority of each volunteer group requests one. The agency believes

that they have out lived their usefulness since attitudes have become predictable and few suggestions to improve operations are being gained." (Carey 1970: 213) The insight will help explain some of the gaps appearing in the Program evaluation process.

Problems, Resolutions and Changes in the Training Process

The changes in the philosophy and methods of training made by Peace Corps/Washington in 1967 was initially used by CCCTR for the Tonga III project in 1969 but not fully implemented until 1970 in the Tonga III^{VI} project. For the most part the "experiential model" was used for technical and cross-cultural training, but also for language whenever possible.

On reviewing the final reports of the eight Tonga training projects there were a number of reoccurring problems that influenced training. These included the time involved to bring it to completion, staffing, communications, and the lack of detailed job descriptions for volunteer assignments.

As Appendix C shows, approximately nine months lapsed from the time that the request for volunteers reached Washington and the termination of the training project. During this period, the contracts had to be written and approved, a training plan devised, component and project coordinators chosen and hired, component training staff hired and trained, syllabus and training material written,

leaving only three months for actual training. The problem of time was more important and pressing for Tonga I and II, because a staff with specific Tongan experience was not available.

Beginning with Tonga III volunteers from Tonga I and II had related experiences to the Peace Corps staff which were used to adapt training to needs once they arrived in Tonga, but time continued to be a problem particularly when programs were scheduled too closely together as was the case with Tonga IV and V as well as Tonga VI and VII. This difficulty was also related to the fact that the CCCTR and Peace Corps/Tonga preferred to use staff with previous experience in training projects for Tonga. As the Coordinator of the Tonga V project indicated, ". . . there is not sufficient time for planning: the first group suffers as staff attention becomes drawn to the following program; the second group loses, as the program may not have been properly prepared. Secondly, the staff is usually physically and emotionally drained and does not have sufficient time to rejuvenate itself." (Tonga V Final Report 1970: 4) From personal experience the rejuvenation time for staff was especially important, when one considers that the staff worked an average of 60 hours per week for three to four months while in residence at the training site. When training projects overlapped, it was particularly hard on the Training, Language, and Cross-Cultural Coordinators

as well as the Training Development Officer, who served as the nucleus of the staff. They had to move on to another project immediately with no rest, and could hardly be expected to bring much enthusiasm to it.

Staffing at the instructor level presented problems to the training organization as they could not be hired until the contract and training plan had been approved by Peace Corps/Washington. The training plan contained the number of instructors needed based on the number of trainees expected to arrive at training. In some cases individual instructors, with previous Tonga training experience, were suggested in the proposals. Once the training plan and budget had been approved, instructional staff could be hired. The final reports of Tonga I, II, V, VI, and VII all state that hiring should take place as far in advance of the beginning of training as possible so that the staff may acquaint themselves with the job, its expectations, requirements of training, and the available resources that may be used in implementing their work.

However, staffing was less of a problem beginning with Tonga IV because there were RPCVs available to fill positions. In fact, Tonga training projects VI, VII, and VIII were directed by RPCVs from the Tonga II.

As shown in the discussion of the language component, language instructors were hired from the departments and where possible from the level where the volunteer would be

working, after experience with using college students proved unacceptable in Tonga I and II. However, at times, this ideal situation broke down as illustrated by the final reports of Tonga IV, V, and VII which relate the problem of hiring someone from a higher echelon than that of the job filled by the volunteer. As mentioned by the Project Coordinator for Tonga IV, those who are officers in the Tongan civil service system become the de facto leaders and problems could develop because of the change in role from administrator to a more subordinate position. (Tonga IV Final Report 1969: 5) This situation is created by the Tongan social structure where authority is dictated by seniority and is an element to which training had to be sensitive and flexible.

With a distance of approximately 8,000 miles between Washington and Tonga, with Hawaii in the center, problems in communication were to be expected, despite adequate mail, telephone, and telexservice. Telephone communications were usually restricted to calls between Hawaii and Washington. Telexes to Hawaii from Washington or Tonga took a day or less. Air Mail from Washington to Hawaii took at least two days minimum and 5 days from Tonga to Hawaii. The training correspondence files always seem to ask when someone is coming? where are the weekly reports? what happened to the medical files? and what do we do about . . .? Communications were difficult and little could be done to

improve them since they were not in the control of either the CCCTR, Peace Corps/Tonga or Peace Corps/Washington. Good or bad, they simply had to be accepted as a "given" when conducting a training program regardless of how frustrating the situation might become. This problem could easily be attributed to the pressures of time placed on the training projects by Peace Corps/Tonga and Peace Corps/Washington. When operating within a three month time limit, priorities had to be set on what was to be accomplished. If Peace Corps/Tonga was entertaining visiting firemen from Washington, it was not unlikely that such matters as correspondence and telexs would have to wait. The same was true for CCCTR, to insure the flexibility of the program and resolve each crisis as it arose some administrative activities would have to be shelved until time permitted.

Finally, the lack of detailed job descriptions for volunteer positions was always a problem when planning, particularly as they related to technical training. Tonga I and II naturally suffered the most because of this, since neither Peace Corps nor the Tongan government knew exactly what the volunteer's role should be. Beginning with Tonga III in-country pre-planning trips were made by one and usually two of the training staff, in order to determine the type of skills which the volunteer should possess. This was done by conducting interviews with potential supervisors. These pre-planning visits proved most valuable in adapting

the program to the needs of the various government departments in Tonga and also gave the field supervisors partial responsibility for planning the training. The Department of Agriculture requested a plant pathologist in Tonga III but the exact context of the job had to be clarified before training began. The correspondence files also show that considerable efforts were made to continually up-date job descriptions during training, in order to properly prepare the trainee for service.

In the instances of communications and project timing, CCCTR accepted these as "given" problems of training and worked to improve them where possible. Staffing and vague job descriptions were areas where considerable effort was made to adapt the training process to accommodate the needs of the trainee and the Agriculture, Education and Medical Departments of Tonga. This meant maintaining a considerable amount of flexibility in order to constantly adapt the training programs.

CHAPTER VI

THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE PEACE CORPS IN TONGA

There are two ways to judge the accomplishments of the Peace Corps in Tonga. One of these is to do a statistical analysis which will show the number of school buildings, pig stys and chicken coops built by PCV's. In addition, one can determine the number of women who practiced or are now practicing birth control and how many students passed the high school English examinations or how many chickens or pigs have been produced. These programs have involved PCVs, but the results of the programs come from the Tongans who participate in them as a result of PCV influence. Statistics to answer such questions are not always readily available. The last and most difficult to measure are the residual effects that the Peace Corps programs will have on the Tongans in the future. In other words, what will be done by the individual Tongan as a result of his personal contact or influence of the PCV from 1967-1971.

Evident Results

The one area where the visible results can be found is in the area of Public Works, one of the specialty programs*

*Specialty programs have not been dealt with at this point because they comprised individual volunteers performing a specific skill such as an architect, accountant, radio programming, or journalist and did not represent the major thrust of the Peace Corps' work in Tonga.

of the Tongan I project. In a two-year tour of duty, one PCV who was an architect, trained four architectural draftsmen, one material quality/cost surveyor, plus several construction foremen and workers. This PCV designed the following structures: 24 double classroom school blocks valued at \$T24,000; one school building of four classrooms and four laboratories valued at \$T32,000; a new Government primary school in Vava'u; school buildings for four church related educational projects; four 3-bedroom government quarters; an office for the Department of Agriculture; and government garage in Ha'apai. In addition, he helped to build several MCH clinics, planned the public market for Nuku'alo'fa and trained architect draftsmen, etc. (Davis Memo Tonga IV Closed Project File 1969: 8) It must be emphasized that these results were not obtained from the records of the Public Works Department but were submitted to Peace Corps/Tonga as a justification for the need to replace the volunteer in that area. The Department of Works submitted its request to the Peace Corps committee which in turn added it to the total number of positions to be requested by the Government of Tonga.

More difficult to evaluate are the achievements of the Peace Corps in helping Tonga meet its needs for trained manpower, and the extent to which it promoted a better understanding of Americans by Tongans and vice versa.

In terms of trained manpower from 1967-1971, a total of 275 volunteers served as MCH nurses, agriculture extension agents, and teachers, filling positions which required special skills. The need for trained manpower was continually stressed by the Tongan government in its Volunteer Request Documents. Moreover, responses made by volunteers at the Tonga III Mid-Service Conference to the following questions indicated that trained manpower was a problem. "As far as you know, how readily could your job be filled by a national?" Of the 27 volunteers answering the question one said, Not at all: no one available; seven replied only with great difficulty, very few exist and they would have to be trained; sixteen stated with some difficulty because there were not enough people or they are unwilling to work, etc.; only three volunteers felt that their positions could presently be filled by a Tongan or that there were competent local people available to do the job. (Tonga III Mid-Service Conference 1970: 3) It can thus be concluded that, from the PCV's point of view, that the Peace Corps provided personnel qualified to fill positions that could not be filled by the Government of Tonga.

Did the Peace Corps contribute to a better understanding of Americans by Tongans? This does not seem to have been a problem to begin with, and the Peace Corps simply reinforced things. According to the Chairman of Tonga's Peace Corps Committee, an official body, Tongans had a favorable image

of Americans before the Peace Corps arrived and therefore chose to engage their services. "I was involved in the initial start of Peace Corps. One of the original reasons for inviting Peace Corps was economic. The second reason was that some thought that the Americans would be more willing to mix with Tongans. During the World War II occupation there were 9,000 GI's here, along with Kiwis from New Zealand. This was Tonga's first experience with Americans. In previous experience with papalangis in Tonga, the Tongans considered the papalangis to be above Tongan and treated them as superiors with a resulting barrier between them. The Tongans liked the American GI's better than the New Zealanders because they were more generous and kind and gave the impression that they had money. The Americans were sociable, visited Tongan homes, ate with them, and shared what they had." (Tonga III Mid-Service Conference 1970: 5)

One volunteer asked the Chairman why understanding was important and whether he considered it important for Tongans not to hold the white man in reverence. The chairman's reply was, "Yes, Tongans are becoming more sophisticated. . . . Tongans need to learn understanding too. The novelty of Peace Corps is diminishing and Tongans are starting to treat Volunteers as equals instead of honored guests." (Tonga III Mid-Service Conference 1970: 6)

This is not to say, however, that there were no doubts on the part of Tongans about inviting the Peace Corps. The Chairman also pointed out that some government officials were afraid that Americans would be too aggressive in their efforts to help. At that point, the Minister Without Portfolio, a Harvard graduate, assured the officials that this would not be the case and the Peace Corps was invited in 1967. (Tonga III Mid-Service Conference 1970: 6) The only time when there may have been second thoughts about the invitation to the Peace Corps would have been in the case of the volunteers not following the proper Tongan lines of communication. Even though they were sponsored by the Peace Corps, their employer was the particular department of the Government to which they had been assigned. Consequently, PCVs were supposed to use the lines of communication considered acceptable by Tongans. As indicated earlier with reference to the Education projects this problem was resolved when special efforts to adapt training were made. This would also be an example where the Americans had learned from the Tongan experience and moved to rectify the situation to continue to work effectively within the Tongan system. From these examples, and in the absence of any information of a negative nature, it seems reasonable to conclude that Peace Corps in Tonga did work to provide a better understanding of Americans in Tonga. It also showed that Americans were willing to adjust their approach to things in order to work within the Tongan society.

Did the Peace Corps learn from the Tongans? The fact that the Peace Corps adapted its training program to satisfy the needs of the Tongan government, suggests a positive answer to the question. Another area where PCVs have learned from the Tongans is in the information that is now being or has been written by them. In addition to this paper one thesis on the "Demographic and Resource-Use Differentials on Eua Island Tonga" was written by a Tonga II volunteer. Two works by a volunteer from the Tonga VI program have also been published. Gentle People: into the Heart of Vava'u, Kingdom of Tonga: 1781-1973 and Tonga Pictorial: a Tapestry of Pride were published in 1973 and 1974 respectively.

The staffing patterns of the Peace Corps Training projects suggest that RPCVs from Tonga had something to offer potential volunteers by participating in the training programs. Ten Tonga RPCVs were employed in staff positions for training projects IV-VIII. Seven worked in two or more projects in the component areas of cross-cultural and technical studies while two served as Training Project Coordinators. (Final Report Tonga IV-VIII)

Yes, Peace Corps did learn something from the Tongans and used it to better meet the demands of the programs and inform others who had not yet had the benefit of first-hand experience. From all of the examples given, Peace Corps' goals and expectations described in the Peace Corps Act had

been met: Manpower had been provided; Tongans began to understand Americans; and Americans began to understand Tongans.

Departments of Health, Education and Agriculture

Moving from an area where the impact of the Peace Corps can be measured to some degree, the discussion now shifts to an area where results are less visible. No statistics are available from the Education, Agriculture, and Medical Departments. Inquiries have been made to ascertain if an evaluation of the Peace Corps programs has been made by the individual departments or the Government of Tonga. To date no reply has been received.* Therefore, it is not known in statistical terms what the PCVs have contributed from the viewpoint of the Government of Tonga.

Judging from the continued requests for PCVs in the areas of maternal child health care, education and agriculture, combined with requests for new positions in specialized areas, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Government of Tonga was satisfied with the work of the Peace Corps from 1967 to 1971. The two areas where volunteers were not replaced were in the positions of Sanitarian Aides and the

*The Governor of Ha'apai replied that to his knowledge no evaluation has been made by the Government of Tonga. He suggested contacting the Chairman of the Peace Corps Committee to obtain an evaluation if one existed. No reply to this request has been received. Date 11/24/74.

Coconut/Banana extension workers. As indicated earlier, the possible reasons for these positions not being replaced were either that there were adequately trained Tongans to fill the positions or that the volunteers lacked the necessary technical knowledge to perform the job. Whatever the reasons might have been, it illustrates the point that the Government of Tonga would not request positions it did not want or need. The fact that the Peace Corps remains in Tonga today (1975) also indicates that the Government of Tonga views the Peace Corps in favorable terms because Tonga XIII and XIV completed training in March 1975. The projects included special assignment and teacher with specialist training in such fields as art, woodworking, etc.

A second-hand interpretation of the success of the Peace Corps by the Government of Tonga comes from the requests for volunteer statements submitted by the Peace Corps Committee to Peace Corps/Tonga which in turn submits the requests to Peace Corps/Washington. In addition to the example of the success of the pig and poultry plans discussed in the description of the agriculture projects three other examples are available. First, the request document for the teachers of the Tonga V program states:

PCV teachers have been useful in initiating and developing means of retraining and up-grading Tongan teachers already in the field. In two different areas PCVs established night schools that prepared over 100 Tongan teachers to pass their annual government grade tests, many passing 2 or more of the six tests for the first time in their

professional lives. PCVs also have worked closely, though informally, with the host country Department of Education in its on-going revision of the primary school curriculum. (Davis Memo Tonga V Closed Project File 1969: 4)

The Medical Department felt significant progress had been made in the following areas: the dissemination of family planning literature, the introduction of contraceptives, counseling for women participating in the program, the introduction of improved nutrition and physical care for mothers, and infants. The request document for the Tonga IV nursing program states that, "In view of the initial successes of this program, most of the populated areas are capable of extending the program without a Volunteer's assistance. However, certain isolated parts of the kingdom where medical services and personnel are not yet available need Volunteer nurses who can enhance the country-wide health programs objectives." (Davis Memo Tonga IV Closed Project File 1969: 3)

Even though the reactions of the Government of Tonga in regard to the success of the Peace Corps come from an indirect source, they do tend to reflect satisfaction with the performance of the PCVs in the areas of education, agriculture, and health projects. Had Tonga not been satisfied with the results, it seems likely that the Peace Corps would not have been requested to replace or expand its projects.

Residual Effects of the Peace Corps in Tonga

The residual impact of the Peace Corps on Tonga is the most difficult to evaluate. This refers to the long-range results which the volunteer's work, both formal and informal, will have on Tongans. Robert Textor refers to these results as "unintentional contributions," and suggests that by mere contact between PCV's and their hosts different alternatives for accomplishing a task can be presented. "New ways of perceiving problems, of working through available alternative, of 'trying it out,' are sometimes contagious. The pay-off of such new modes of thinking might not be immediate; conceivably, it might in some cases occur many years later, in connection with problems not yet foreseen." (Textor 1966: 315)

In this context, the communication difficulties referred to earlier could have a residual impact in a positive sense, because when the PCVs failed to follow the proper lines of communication they might have unwittingly suggested a new and better way of doing things. In other words, while the PCVs may have been wrong in not following the Tongan lines of communication, they did create an awareness that the system could operate more efficiently. In the same vein Textor states that:

Another form of usually unintended impact would seem to stem from the fact that many PCVs are "job-oriented" and place emphasis on carrying out their duties fully and perhaps even a bit compulsively. Most of the non-Western developing countries where the Peace Corps serves are characterized by systems

of administration and social service that have been borrowed from the West and that are ostensibly intended to carry out such Western-style functions as modern education, health services and the like. . . . When the Volunteer is assigned to this kind of organization he brings with him the simple value standard that the organization ought, indeed, to carry out conscientiously the modern, specific function that it was ostensibly created to carry out. . . . As the PCV acts out his value standard on the job, he perhaps causes some unpleasantness, but he also becomes a 'role-model' for the more less conscientious carrying out of both the letter and specially the spirit of duty--on time and in the manner called for." (Textor 316)

Clearly, the PCV was a Western influence working in the Tongan civil service system. He was also an example of the Western employee working in a Western system, the Peace Corps. They did serve as a "Role-model" in two respects.

Textor also suggests that Peace Corps in some cases intentionally sets out to achieve indirect results. This is true in the case of the objectives of Peace Corps/Tonga. The secondary goals of the Peace Corps activity were in the areas of community development. These secondary goals were designed to give the volunteers a means of being active in his community and at the same time to capitalize on the volunteers' ability to work effectively within the community. As one volunteer from the Tonga II mentioned,

Perhaps more important than the actual job was the influence of the individual volunteers upon the people they lived near and with whom they had daily communication. . . . The original program director felt that it was essential for the volunteer to live on the level of the host country nationals, and this involved adjusting to a different lifestyle, almost discarding one's personal life and at the same time imparting a few Peace Corps suggested values such as "educated people do work with their hands and the

soil," and "if you have so many children and then they have so many children, where will they get land and food?" . . . I do feel that the expectations of the program in terms of non-job activities were largely accomplished. The value system of host country nationals was not drastically altered, but a few alternative ideas were presented. (Personal Correspondence with Stanley Golembeski, 3/17/75)

One method of demonstrating the principle that educated people do work with their hands and the soil was that each volunteer was supplied with "a bag of seeds, six chickens and chicken feed" three items which the Tongan government suggested be given to each volunteer. All training programs for the eight projects included instruction on how to care for chickens and prepare and plant a small garden. These activities enabled the volunteer to participate in a variety of community development projects by being an example of how to better supplement a Tongan diet that consists basically of carbohydrates and demonstrate a new principle of animal husbandry by keeping the chickens in a coop (constructed of local material i.e., coconut leaves, small poles from the bush and chicken wire) as opposed to allowing the birds to run at large in the Tongan style. Furthermore, each volunteers' monthly living allowance was equal to that of his Tongan counterpart.

The example of the success of the intentional indirect method is in the area of poultry production. The volunteers working in the poultry husbandry field in the Tonga II project began their work by helping the volunteers care for their chickens. Tongan interest became so great that the

program was expanded to meet the demand of the local interests. The success of this project has been discussed in the section describing the agriculture programs. The residual effects can only be measured by the number of Tongans who in the future participate in raising chickens as a result of their acquaintance with Peace Corps Volunteers or by simply observing the model portrayed by the PCV. As Textor points out, making a lasting contribution from the viewpoint of the volunteer may not be noticed by the volunteer who comes from a job-oriented society where results can be seen immediately. Change usually occurs very slowly and the volunteer is only on the job for two years. Consequently, it is possible that he will not be in the country when changes using ideas that he provided take place. (Textor: 311) As an example, in the Tonga II project five volunteers were assigned to work as handicraft cooperative advisors. It was decided after six months in-country that the project was not feasible due to poor shipping facilities and the lack of general knowledge of business management techniques by Tongans. The project was thus abandoned in June of 1968. Upon reading Tongan Pictorial, published in 1974, one finds a photograph of the Foa Handicraft co-op with the caption, ". . . each of these ladies of the Foa Handicraft Co-op in Ha'apai displays her own hand-crafted piece of tapa cloth. The local co-op was formed recently with the aid of a Peace Corps Volunteer."

(Gerstle 1974: 20) Though the idea was not feasible in 1968, the idea remained residual and came into practice in 1974. As seen by these examples, Peace Corps has had a residual impact on Tonga.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The Peace Corps was invited to Tonga in 1966 to help with the implementation of the 1965-1970 Development Plan. During the period between 1967-1971 eight Peace Corps programs were trained and participated in Tonga's development in the areas of health, education, and agriculture. These programs worked within the framework of Tongan society and at a pace that would not disturb the traditional social and political systems to any great extent.

Tonga viewed the Peace Corps efforts and accomplishments with a positive attitude. Peace Corps has been asked to extend its existing programs and expand into new areas as mentioned in the Report of the Minister of Education in 1970. Had Tonga not been satisfied with the results of the Peace Corps' accomplishments the programs would have either been limited or terminated.

From the standpoint of the goals of the Peace Corps Act, these too were met in the period of 1967-1971. As this evaluation shows, the Peace Corps did provide the necessary manpower and expertise needed by Tonga to implement its development plan. Simultaneously, the Government of Tonga was preparing Tongans to fill positions to enable the PCVs to work in more specific areas. Through the Peace Corps experience Americans were able to learn about Tongans,

and Tongans about Americans. As a result of Americans learning about Tongans, training for potential volunteers was altered and adapted after the Tonga I and II training projects to better meet the needs of Tonga and more adequately prepare the trainee for the occupational and social demands of being a volunteer in Tonga. Tongans also learned from the Americans. An interest in poultry and swine production was instigated by indirect means while ideas regarding family planning and the use of English as a second language were made by direct interaction. It was also pointed out that the Peace Corps Volunteers would be responsible for many activities that would become evident on a residual basis. These activities would not occur until a problem arose and the Tongans could utilize previous experience with PCVs to decide on an alternative plan of action that had not been demonstrated until observations had been made of the Peace Corps.

Though not the sole contributor as an agent of change, it can be concluded that the Peace Corps was an active and positive agent of change in the development of Tonga in the areas of health, education, agriculture, and other specialty areas from 1967 to 1971.

APPENDIX A

TONGA PEACE CORPS TRAINING PROJECTS

Project	Type	Training Dates	Number Trainees	Number Volunteers	Tour of Duty
I	Public Health	7-14-67	54	41*	10-67
		10- 5-67			11-69
II	Education				
	Elem.			42	
	Sec.			17	
	Ag. Ext.	10-22-67	123	12	1-68
	Nurses	12-28-67		3	12-69
Misc.		5			
				79	
III	Education				
	Elem.	2-22-69	34	14	4-69
	Sec.	4-23-69		13	5-71
				27	
IV	Ag. Ext.			1	
	MCH Nurses	8-30-69	11	5	10-69
	Pub. Works	10-21-69		1	11-71
				7	
V	Education				
	Elem.	11- 1-69	58	19	
	Sec.	1-23-70		13	1-70
	Ag. Ext.			5	12-72
					37
VI	Education				
	Elem.	10-22-70	24	10	1-71
	Sec.	1-14-71		13	2-73
				23	
VII	MCH Nurses			9	
	Ag. Exten.	5-1-71	23	3	7-71
	Spec. Place	7-9-71		8	8-73
				20	
VIII	Education				
	Sec.	11- 8-71	41		1-72
	Teacher tr.	1-14-72		41*	2-74
Ag.Exten.					

Source: Biographies and Final Reports from Tonga Training Projects I-VIII

*Information on total number of Volunteers by specific job skill were not available in the reports for Tonga I and VIII.

APPENDIX B

DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES AND FINANCE OF

TONGA DEVELOPMENT PLAN 1965-1970

- a. Rehabilitation of the coconut industry by systematic replanting;
- b. Reorganisation, modernisation and expansion of the agricultural services, including extension, research and experiment, and the stimulation of agricultural production generally;
- c. Further development of transport and communications, especially port facilities, roads, and airfield development.
- d. Expansion of educational facilities, especially the inauguration of artisan training courses;
- e. Modernisation of hospital services on Tongatapu and Ha'apai, and the further development of a maternity and child welfare service;
- f. Further development of water resources for domestic purposes;
- g. Progressive expansion and modernisation of the Police Force;
- h. Replacement of old and inadequate administrative buildings;
- i. Encouragement of tourism and the provision of facilities therefor;
- j. Expansion of Public Works capacity and the encouragement of the local construction industry;
- k. Generally to improve the budgetary position and the balance of payments, and to encourage by all means the expansion of export trade.

Source: Paragraph no. 48 Tonga Development Plan 1965-1970

APPENDIX C

MINIMUM LANGUAGE REQUIREMENTS FOR TONGAN LANGUAGE PROGRAMS I-VIII

- a. Produce the basic sounds, rhythm, stress and intonation patterns which can be understood by the native speaker;
- b. understand approximately 50-80% of a native speaker's conversation on non-technical subjects;
- c. manipulate or make transformations of the basic sentence patterns of his target language (Tongan) to be understood;
- d. carry on approximately 50-75% of a 15 minute social conversation with a native speaker about himself, his family, his job and current events;
- e. give simple instructions or explanation of job specifics to co-workers or superior;
- f. elicit words, phrases and expressions from a native speaker in order for him to form a reasonable generalization and to learn the target language (Tongan) on his own.

Source: Tonga VII Training Plan 1971: 8

APPENDIX D

CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS OF A PEACE CORPS

TRAINING PROJECT (TONGA VII)

1. A request from the Government of Tonga for nurses, agriculture workers, and special placements is made to Peace Corps Tonga.
2. 10/27/70 -- Peace Corps/Tonga sends the training request (referred to as the 104) to Peace Corps/Washington. This request gives the job description of the volunteer and the special qualifications that are needed to perform the job. The 104 is reviewed and returned to Peace Corps/Tonga for revision.
3. 11/17/70 -- The 104 has been revised and returned to Peace Corps/Washington. The training document/request is then sent to CCCTR.
4. 12/19/70 -- CCCTR must return a Statement of Training* to Peace Corps/Washington explaining how they will meet the needs of the project and how potential volunteers will be trained. Methods, training site location, and possible staff members are included in the statement.
5. 1/29/71 -- The Training Coordinator is assigned by the CCCTR to begin the program planning, and make contacts for possible staff recruitment.
6. 2/11/71 -- The Training Coordinator makes an in-country visit to Tonga to survey the program as it will function once the volunteers arrive. Interviews are scheduled with all supervisory personnel who will have volunteers working within their departments. Volunteers presently in-country are interviewed to obtain suggestions that could be used in the development of the training project. Interviews scheduled with language staff personnel where possible.

*Denotes contractual requirements of Peace Corps/
Washington

7. 2/25/71 -- CCCTR submits a Training Plan* (a detailed version of the Statement of Training). This document contains training schedules, staff biographies, specific content for the three components of language instruction, technical and cross-cultural training, and qualification criteria.
8. 3/11/71 -- The Training/Coordinator attends a pre-invitational staffing at the University of Maryland to interview prospective trainees before they are asked to decide whether they want to accept an invitation to become a trainee and possibly an eventual volunteer. At this time candidates are screened and in some cases if they are found not to meet the requirements of the program, will not be asked to participate in the particular programs, but may apply to other programs.
9. 4/12/71 -- Staff Training begins at CCCTR. At this time component and material development, staff orientation, site preparation, instruction in language teaching methods for language instructors, and community orientation take place. The Training Syllabus* is written as an explanation of training methods, objectives, and program content.
10. 5/1/71 -- Training of trainees begins. Syllabus is distributed and discussed with trainees.
11. 6/8/71 -- Mid-point selection review of trainees held. Progress is evaluated and reported to trainees, and PC/Tonga and PC/Washington.
12. 7/2/71 -- Final selection of volunteers is made.
13. 7/10/71 -- Volunteers depart for Tonga.
14. 7/16/71 -- Final Report* compiled by Training Coordinators and Component Staff. The report is an evaluation of the program and suggestions and recommendations for future projects are made.

Source: (Tonga VII Final Report 1971: 17)

*Denotes contractual requirement of Peace Corps/
Washington

Note: Not included in the above schedule are the weekly component reports and schedules required by Peace Corps/Washington and Peace Corps/Tonga made during the training project.

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