

**" FOREIGN VOLUNTEERS IN KENYA:
A CASE STUDY OF UNITED STATES'
PEACE CORPS IN KAKAMEGA DISTRICT "**

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**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE
DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
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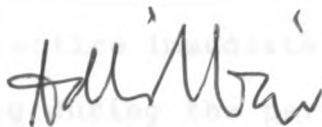
DECLARATION

This is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.



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This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.



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University Supervisor.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- GOK.....GOVERNMENT OF KENYA
- PC/K.....PEACE CORPS/KENYA
- PCPB.....PEACE CORPS PLAN AND BUDGET
- PC.....PEACE CORPS
- PCVs.....PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS
- USPC.....UNITED STATES PEACE CORPS
- USAID.....UNITED STATES AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
- VAC.....VOLUNTEER AGENCY COMMITTEE
- CIA.....CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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QUOTATIONS.

[a] Dean Rusk, a former U.S. Secretary of State said "To make the Peace Corps an instrument of foreign policy would rob it of its contribution to foreign policy."

[b] Donvan McClure, a Former Peace Corps Country Director said "The Peace Corps taught developing countries that anything we give away is something we want to give away. We wanted the young Americans to have the Peace Corps experience, that could only work if developing countries could be convinced that they needed them. To accomplish this we oversold the need to the volunteers. Once in the field, these two facts emerged rather hastily, to the discomfort of both parties.....it was the exception, not the rule, that saved the Peace Corps. Individual volunteer success kept the Ministries hopeful and the Washington PR mil whirring".

[c]

Kevin Lowther stresses that "The Peace Corps must break with its past. It was a Cold War creation. The accent was on ideals, on the mere act of one people trying to help another, regardless of how much was accomplished in terms of real development,.....The Peace Corps' hosts have long known and indulged in shortcomings. They have eyes, they have seen the numbers game at close range, underemployed volunteers, insensitive volunteers, volunteers inarticulate in local languages, volunteers congregating among their own kind. They have seen volunteers dominating programmes by numerical weight or the prestige accorded to the toubab or the gringo, creating a sense of dependence.....They could see that volunteers came with good intentions. They could also see that jobs had to be created for many of them so that they would not be idleThe Peace Corps' hosts have been too tolerant, too accepting for their own good."

ABSTRACT.

The problems facing volunteer agencies are those of addressing their development objectives and administering their programmes effectively. Often, there are conflicts between the national interests of governments who sponsor volunteers on the one hand, and the development objectives these volunteers intend to pursue on the other. The ideal of voluntary service is no longer the driving force behind volunteer programmes. They are a form of aid, a form of education and an instrument of foreign policy.

Using the data collected on the United States Peace Corps Volunteers in Kakamega District in Kenya, this study analyses the influence of political factors on international volunteer assistance. It also examines the role of volunteers in development.

The Peace Corps was created in 1961 by the U.S. government to provide skilled manpower to deserving underdeveloped countries as a way of assisting them in their development efforts. In Kenya the first batch of Peace Corps volunteers arrived in December 1964. They were mainly involved in education and agricultural co-operative development. Since then the Peace Corps has provided volunteers to Kenya every year.

This study argues that the Peace Corps has played a political more than development role. Generally the programme has not been

able to provide suitable skilled manpower to Kenya. However, due to the acute shortage of skilled manpower and resources at the grass-root level, the Peace Corps' role has had a positive contribution. The study further argues that a lack of committed administration of the Peace Corps volunteers, both from the Kenya Government and the Volunteer Agency undermines the effectiveness of the programme in the country. This ineffective administration of the Peace Corps programme is characterized by the following factors: lack of proper assessment of the need for additional manpower, absence of joined administration of the programme by the Government and Peace Corps/Kenya, and little or no support given to volunteers in the field in terms of information, funds, and tools of work.

This study concludes that volunteers play an important role in the diplomatic relations between Kenya and the United States of America. They also do contribute to the development of Kenya, especially in the short-term perspective. They provide the needed manpower at the grass-root level, where there is a shortage of skilled manpower and other resources. However, for the volunteers to effectively contribute to development, the programme should be administered efficiently. Factors such as relevant qualifications and skills, funds, the need for volunteers and their proper placement should be seriously addressed.

CHAPTER ONE

VOLUNTEERS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This study is about young people from the developed countries who come to work in developing countries i.e Africa, Asia, and Latin America, as volunteers. Volunteers unlike expatriates who work at the top policy level, work at the grass-root level. They are supposed to be "doers" not advisers. Volunteers are viewed in two ways. First, as a form of technical assistance, and second, as playing a public relations function for both the recipient and the donor countries.

With regard to the first aspect, there are some shortcomings. This is particularly with respect to the provision of required skills to the developing countries. Volunteer programmes have not been able to provide people with the needed skills to the Third World. As to the second aspect, it should be noted that any form of assistance by one country to another has a political purpose. From its inception, aid, be it financial, material or services, has been given with the following aims: to initiate relations between the donor and the recipient; to influence the recipient to have a favourable view of the donor; to strengthen or enhance existing relations and to maintain ties i.e cultural, ideological, and historical in case of former colonial powers.

In Chapter One, we will examine the development of volunteer assistance, objectives of individual volunteers, objectives of the study, justification of the study, and the review the available literature on volunteers . Finally, we will state our hypotheses, the theoretical framework, and define the terms used and the methodology applied in the study. A volunteer has been defined by the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, U Thant, as,

a person who gives his services without regard to financial benefit and with the purpose of contributing to the development of the recipient country.

Adrian Moyes defines volunteers as,

People who work in the developing countries under the same conditions as the local people with similar qualifications rather than to make money.¹

With the departure of colonial officials following independence, Asia, and African countries faced a shortage of trained manpower. Latin American countries suffer from the same problem though they gained independence long before those ones of Africa and Asia. These countries received and continue to receive technical assistance from former colonial powers, and friendly countries of Europe, North America, and Canada.

At the top policy level, this shortage has been alleviated by the supply of expatriates or Technical Assistants [TA] under Technical Assistance programmes from the developed world. However, the shortage of middle-level manpower still persists in these so called developing countries. The donors view that there exists

opportunities in the developing countries whereby their young people with skills can positively contribute to the development of these countries. The donors argued that the shortage of middle level manpower is prevalent in the Third World for a number of reasons. One, the training of local personnel by the developing countries will take a long time. The donors have also argued that educated people in the developing countries do not like doing manual work. They do not want to dirt their hands. It is even worse when such work is available in the rural areas and regions regarded as "hardship areas". The result is migration into cities and towns in search of white collar jobs. Due to this, there exists opportunities in the middle level positions that volunteers come to occupy.

The donors favour volunteer assistance for a number of reasons. The donors see volunteers as a means of having the financial and material aid given to developing countries used well. Volunteers ensure that projects initiated by such aid are well run on the sites. They also see volunteers as a better way of expressing their generosity to people in developing countries. Through volunteers donors hope that people in the recipient countries will come to know and understand the donor countries better.

This is in contrast to Technical Assistants, who mix only with the top local officials, issue policies and never mix with the common people whom these policies affect. They do not work at the

implementation level to see to it that aid given to the host country is productively and effectively used. The volunteer who work at the grass-root level can, therefore, reflect the image of the mother country better than expatriates. The latter are in most cases isolated in their offices and beautiful bungalows. In short, volunteers are seen as invaluable "ambassadors at large" of the donor countries. This means that volunteer assistance is not only aimed at development, but also at building a favourable image or influence of the donors.

The people who volunteer to work in the Third World countries are mostly fresh from colleges and universities. They therefore do not possess working experience that could be useful to the recipient countries. Additionally, most of them do not have professional qualifications. This is because lucrative job opportunities for people with professional qualifications deter them from entering voluntary work in the Third World. As a result, majority of the volunteers are "generalists", especially people holding degrees in liberal arts. However, many volunteer agencies are trying to recruit people with professional qualifications or who are skilled.

In spite of the fact that volunteers do not possess the relevant qualifications, they are accepted by the developing countries. This study seeks to establish the importance of volunteers to developing countries politically and economically.

1.2 DEVELOPMENT OF VOLUNTEER PROGRAMMES.

For about three decades volunteers have increasingly been used as a form of aid from the developed countries to the developing countries. However, the idea of volunteering is not new. It is deeply rooted in the moral and humanitarian concern with the underprivileged people in society. Robert C. Morris says that "the volunteer spirit is older than recorded history."² This concern with the underprivileged was also God's when He sent his only begotten son, Jesus Christ, on earth. Sergeant Shriver says;

Helping others is not a new idea. It is as old as the Old Testament. It was old when St. Thomas wrote "so powerful was the appeal of Man's needs and so eloquent was the cry of man in his distress, in his poverty, in his sin, in his hopelessness that God heard this and was unable to resist it to the point that he sent his only begotten son to come and save that which we lost."³

Fifteen centuries ago St. Benedict led young people from the affluent society of Rome to work in the underdeveloped areas of Northern Europe. Churches have sent missionaries abroad not only to preach the gospel, but also to perform tasks related to improving the living conditions of the people in the underdeveloped world. At the secular level, as early as 1901 the American government sent the "Thomasites" to teach in the Philippines.

President Franklin Roosevelt developed Peace Corps-like organizations to help absorb the energies of the restless and the unemployed youth during the depression [in 1930s]. After the Second

World War, organizations in the United States such as the International Volunteer Services sent young people abroad to serve at the grass-root level of developing countries. The American Friends Committee was engaged in providing people-to-people assistance to foreign countries as far back as 1919 e.g to the Balkans. In American political circles, Heinz Rollman is respected as the father of the Peace Corps idea. According to him the way to world peace was through solving the problems of the underdeveloped countries. The roots of the Peace Corps is also seen in the suggestion of the American Philosopher, William James, who argued that America should conscript a "Peace Army" to go to war "against nature".

In Europe the 1920s saw the development of work-camp movements which are the foundation of the international volunteer programmes. A Swiss engineer, Pierre Ceresole, is reputed to be the founder of the movement. He initiated it by leading a group of mixed nationalities to rebuild a village near Verdun after the First World War.

The development of volunteer programmes gained momentum in the early 1960s with the creation of the United States Peace Corps. This was the beginning of government involvement in volunteer service. The creation of the Peace Corps not only motivated other developed countries to initiate, expand or organize similar programmes, but also generated a lot of scholarly work on the subject of

international volunteers. This academic concern centred on the possible contributions volunteers could make to the developing countries. The main theme was that there were vast opportunities in developing countries whereby young people from developed countries could do something useful. Some expressed doubts as to the viability of such programmes.

From the late 1960s a critical examination of the performance of volunteer programmes especially the U.S. Peace Corps, was undertaken. Kevin Lowther and Carolyn Payne Lucas' book, Keeping Kennedy's Promise, is of this nature. They maintain that the Peace Corps has not been a success story as far as assisting developing countries with skilled manpower is concerned.

Many volunteer programmes are operated by private and religious organizations. A few are government agencies. However, the activities of the private organizations are either monitored or financially supported by the home governments. The government of Britain, for instance, is very much interested in and influences where volunteers from Britain go.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF VOLUNTEER PROGRAMMES.

The presence of volunteers from the developed countries in the Third World is justified on one common ground: that they are assisting in the development efforts of the recipient countries by providing the needed skills. In other words, the purpose of the

volunteer programmes is first and foremost development. Most of the volunteer programmes also assert that their major objective is the promotion of international understanding, co-operation and friendship.

Other aims of volunteer programmes include: the promotion of student contact, provision of opportunities to work alongside local people, projection of a good image of the donor country, maintenance and strengthening of relations with former colonies. For other countries, volunteer programmes are an alternative to compulsory military service after high school or university.

1.4 OBJECTIVES OF INDIVIDUAL VOLUNTEERS.

Individual volunteers take up assignments for different reasons. Volunteering, to some, is a means of doing something useful. For many it is time to think of what to do after leaving the university. For others, it is work and travel combined. For a few, it may be a means of gaining experience that may be useful in their future career later in life. Others join volunteer programmes because they have not found a satisfying career at home.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY.

The objectives of this study are derived from the fact that the stated objective of volunteer programmes particularly provision of skilled manpower, is contradicted by a school of thought which contends that volunteers are inappropriate to the needs of

developing countries. Inexplicably, developing countries continue to accept volunteers. It is therefore assumed that apart from the need for skills there are other reasons why volunteers are deployed by the developed countries and accepted by the developing countries. We have basically assumed that these reasons are political in nature. The objectives of this study are therefore the following:

[1] To determine the influence of political factors on volunteer assistance.

[2] To determine whether the U. S. Peace Corps volunteers serve Kenya's political and development interests.

1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY.

Studies on volunteers point out that unlike technical assistants, volunteers are not experts nor do they always possess the necessary qualifications. In spite of this, donor countries emphasise the importance of volunteers in the development of the recipient countries. The latter continue to accept volunteers even when they have come to acknowledge that these volunteers lack the skills and experience needed.

None of the scholars who have studied volunteer assistance has attempted to explain why developing countries continue welcoming

volunteers in the face of the noted weakness. Nor is there any attempt to explain why the donor countries keep on sending these young and inexperienced people to the developing countries. This study seeks to establish the importance of volunteers besides the development aspect. The development aspect does not fully explain why volunteers are readily accepted yet they are not experts.

The U.S. Peace Corps has been selected for study for a number of reasons. It should be stated that volunteer assistance is generally regarded as a humanitarian gesture. It should, however, be pointed out that governments are deeply involved in volunteer assistance. Volunteers perform a public relations function for these governments.

Unlike most of the volunteer agencies which are operated by churches and charitable organizations, the Peace Corps is a government agency. It is the one that spearheaded direct government involvement in volunteer assistance. As such, it serves as a good example in our attempt to determine political influence on volunteer programmes. Besides that, the Peace Corps is one of the largest volunteer programmes in the world. There is also a lot of literature on the Peace Corps than on any of the other volunteer programmes. Previous contact with Peace Corps Volunteers in the early 1980s also played a role in selecting them for study.

In Kenya there has been no scholarly study on volunteers. Though

British volunteers were operating in Kenya long before the Peace Corps, the choice of the latter was influenced by its popularity. Volunteers working in the rural areas are simply regarded as "peace corps" even if they are not from the U.S. Peace Corps. We selected the Peace Corps with the hope that the knowledge gained will be useful in studying and or understanding other volunteer programmes.

1.7 LITERATURE REVIEW.

There are three schools of thought with regard to volunteers. The first holds that volunteers contribute to the development efforts of the recipients. The second school of thought asserts that volunteers are but agents of neo-colonialism. According to this school volunteers cannot stimulate economic and social development to enable the Third World countries cut off imperialistic and neo-colonialist ties with the developed countries. The third school contends that volunteers are ill-suited to the needs of developing countries to make any positive contribution. However, most of the scholars concede that volunteers play an important role in international relations. They play a public relations function.

Adrian Moyes, in his comprehensive work on volunteers, Volunteer in Development, argues that volunteers are a valuable and inexpensive form of technical assistance, particularly if they fill genuine and important needs in the recipient countries. He sees them as being in a position to play a positive role in interstate relations and he asserts that:

.....at first voluntary service was motivated by the value of voluntary work or international goodwill or international equality,.....but it has come to be regarded as aid for development, public relations between countries, and a form of education for the volunteers themselves.⁴

According to him, governments sponsor volunteers programmes to project or improve their image abroad. Volunteers build a favourable picture than the belief that the Americans are racist war-mongers and that the Britons are latent colonialists. However, he notes that though volunteers have some qualifications, they are not always directly relevant. "Lack of professional experience therefore, can be accepted as a characteristic of the majority of volunteers" he says.

With regard to the recipient countries, Moyes gives the impression that the acceptance of volunteers by these countries is not based on clearly defined aims.

.....many Asian and African governments accepted the programmes not because they were convinced of their value, but because they were either too small, or they were hard to refuse. It would have offended the Americans and created a bad world opinion to have refused the U.S. Peace Corps.⁵

Moyes explains ways in which volunteers can contribute to the development of the recipient countries. But he has not demonstrated that volunteers fill genuine jobs as to make a contribution. He has not shown that volunteers have played a public relations function

especially for the recipient countries.

Roy Hoopes, in The Complete Peace Corps Guide, maintains that apart from financial assistance, developing countries need technical assistance, not of experienced technical advisers, but of "middle-manpower" which can be supplied by young trained people who are "assistants", or "technical people". Most volunteers sent to underdeveloped nations are mainly inexperienced young college graduates. As Moyes holds, most of the volunteers, if not all, are not trained. However, Hoopes aptly observes that the idea of sending young men and women to work in the underdeveloped countries of the world constitutes a new and inspiring approach to international relations.

Many scholars including Francis W. Godwin, George E. Sullivan, Roberts C. Morris, and Michael Adams have addressed the question of international volunteers. They agree that these young people have and do play a positive role in the development efforts of the recipient countries. However, they have pointed out some shortcomings. For instance, they have noted that volunteer programmes are not always successful due to lack of preparation, concentration and continuity. The volunteers are disadvantaged in the sense that they do not possess a very high level of training nor the experience of experts. These scholars also warn against the dangers of creating a dependence on volunteers. However, none of them looks at these dangers in detail. The degree to which the recipient

countries have been affected by the noted short-comings has not been studied.

Gerard T. Rice in Peace Corps in the 1990's and The Peace Corps: The First Twenty Years, 1960-1980 discusses the growth of the Peace Corps. She notes that the Peace Corps has made mistakes, instituted faulty projects, pumped generalist volunteers abroad without specific jobs, but with time the agency has learned from its past mistakes. As such, it is doing its level best to answer the needs of the developing countries.

But after surviving a europic childhood in the 1960's and a dark adolescence in the 70's it has grown up to become more professional, more pragmatic and ready to strive for the adulthood.⁶

This points to the weakness in the rationale behind volunteer assistance. It means that for three decades Third World countries were not being assisted with skilled manpower but the donors were experimenting on this kind of aid. Of course officially they insisted that they were providing the recipients with the much needed skilled manpower.

Very few scholars have concerned themselves with the role of volunteers in international relations. A number of them have observed that volunteers play a role in the inter-state relations of the donor and the recipient countries. Gerald T. Rice noted that the Peace Corps was "a positive instrument of public diplomacy for

America."

John Dickey Montgomery has argued that the Peace corps is a very important part of U.S. foreign policy. This is with regard to its impact on the recipient countries as compared to conventional diplomatic practice. "This form of presence has been used to demonstrate official friendship."⁷ He is of the view that,

The Peace Corps is the newest element in U.S. foreign assistance. The Peace Corps refer to foreign assistance in its personal form, but above all it is a demonstration of national presence and international idealism....., its energy and goodwill have made it the most exciting display of American presence in many parts of the world.⁸

Bruce Mazzie noted that the co-operation between the Peace Corps and the Kenya government helped to foster understanding between Kenya and the United States.⁹ Lillian Carter, the mother of the former U.S President Jimmy Carter, asked the Peace Corps volunteers to steer their efforts not only to Kenya's development but also to foster good relations between the two countries.¹⁰

On the other end, scholars such as Dr. Carolyn R. Payton, Glyn Roberts, and Kwame Nkrumah see volunteers as tentacles of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Glyn Roberts for example maintains that:

.....in view of the overall need, present development programmes are little more than "theatrical misses un scene". Their know-how is irrelevant.¹¹

Roberts has worked with a number of volunteer organizations,

besides having been a volunteer. In spite of this background, he holds that the spirit of a volunteer has been abandoned. In its place volunteers are but agents of neo-colonialism. He is of the view that any volunteer programme that is supported by the government is nothing other than neo-colonialist. He charges that volunteers under such programmes are well cared for, well paid, and huge amounts of money are deposited on their accounts back home. In the final analysis there is nothing voluntary about their presence. Furthermore, they look down on the people of the host countries. According to Glyn Roberts, the international understanding spread by volunteers is, consciously or unconsciously, little more than a public relations function for their country - "nationalistic propaganda."

Kwame Nkrumah sees the Peace Corps as one of the West's mechanism of neo-colonialism. He says that, " Dating from the end of 1961, the U. S. has developed a huge ideological plan for invading the so called Third World, utilising all facilities from the radio to Peace Corps." He points out that since its creation members of the Peace Corps have been exposed and expelled from many African, Middle-Eastern and Asian countries for acts of subversion or prejudice. And even pro-West countries like Turkey and Iran, have complained of its activities.

In an interview, Dr. Payton argued that instead of promoting world peace and friendship the Peace Corps has become "arrogant, elitist

and neo-colonialist" in its dealing with developing countries. She said that in the beginning host countries used to get volunteers with skills that had been requested. Nowadays the agency decides on who to send and with which skills or qualifications. She charged that the agency is in effect telling the recipient countries, " we will no longer teach your children Mathematics and Science so that some secrets of Western technology will be accessible to them, but we will teach your peasants literacy"

Kevin Lowther , Elizabeth O'Kelly, Bradford Westerfield , Robert B. Textor, Joseph B. Blatchford, have studied volunteers and pointed out factors that make this form of aid inappropriate to the needs of developing countries. For instance, there is administrative inefficiency: poor discovery and planning for jobs. Qualifications are not directly relevant to the needs of developing countries, and the volunteers lack training and work experience.

Lowther's exhaustive work on the performance of the U. S. Peace Corps, Keeping Kennedy's Promise has very stimulating observations about the Peace Corps and other volunteers in general. He argues that the Peace Corps has not been able to send trained and experienced volunteers abroad. To win credibility at home it only but increased the number of fresh graduates. There has been no critical and important assignments for these massive numbers of volunteers in the Third World.

Many volunteers with agricultural skills were required, but Washington could find a few. The hundreds who began flooding New Delhi and outwere by and large generalists who did not possess the competence expected by Indians.¹²

He adds:

The classroom competence and cultural awareness of the volunteers begs the question: are they really needed? By and large they are not. Traditionally they have been slot fillers rather than agents of change in the educational systems desperately in need of modernization. Several nations have developed an unhealthy dependence upon continued supply of large numbers of Peace Corps teachers, instead of squarely confronting the need to develop more of their own.¹³

According to Lowther, the Peace Corps have been involved in projects that did not have any impact on peoples lives or on national development. Teaching programmes are but a simple way of placing generalist volunteers. Peace Corps teachers can not claim to be making a fundamental contribution by increasing the number of "semi-educated and the educated unemployed" lot in the Third World. The teachers like other volunteers who lack the necessary experience or skills, are not trained in the teaching profession. Lowther demonstrates that this situation arises as a result of the selection method:

In flexible Peace Corps lexicon, a summer on grandpa's farm in Vermont qualified a volunteer as "agriculturally experienced," a volunteer who tinkered with motor bikes as a hobby became a skilled mechanic; a vacation stint on a highway road crew might translate overseas as "construction supervisor."¹⁴

Such a volunteer is "parachuted" into a Third World village and it is expected that as an American, he will do his best to serve the needs of a developing country effectively.

Although critical in his assessment of the performance of the Peace Corps, Lowther has not offered any reasons why volunteers are accepted. However, he has indicated that there is scepticism on the part of the recipients with regard to the Peace Corps volunteers. A Liberian Minister once said:

When we first requested your volunteers to teach several years ago, we needed them. But you were anxious to send as many as we would take and you failed to recognize that our government is accustomed to taking whatever is offered by Americans, especially when it is free. You did not stop to question our motives.....or your motives and allowed the programmes to grow dangerously large.¹⁵

Peace Corps, according to this Minister, only created a dependence. Liberia ignored developing its own locally trained personnel. Lowther concludes that foreign governments have not found volunteers capable nor has there been the need for volunteers. If there has been, the volunteers have not been found to be appropriately qualified to answer this need.

The Peace Corps therefore survives because the hosts have been to polite to state that " we may be wasting our energy and their patience". However, Lowther does not proceed to explore the motives of recipient countries nor does he attempt to explain why

they have the "patience". As for the U.S., one of the motives in establishing the Peace Corps is portrayed by Donovan McClure who said the Peace Corps:

Taught developing countries that anything we give away is something we want to give away. We wanted the young Americans to have the Peace Corps experience, that could work only if developing countries could be convinced they needed them. To accomplish this, we oversold the need to volunteersit was the exception rather than the rule that saved the Peace Corps.¹⁶

It is evident in this statement that the founders of the Peace Corps were least concerned with the need for skilled manpower in the Third World. They simply wanted the young Americans to have the Peace Corps experience.

From the reviewed literature, the main justification of volunteer programmes is the provision of skilled manpower. However, the assumption made in this study is that there is also political interest. Simply stated, both the donor and the recipient countries pursue their own national interest in volunteer assistance. Whether effective or not, it is a useful tool to the countries involved.

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

Many studies on volunteers have been carried out from a "Modernization Approach" perspective. The theory takes a social evolution approach. Its main premise is that in any human society there is a dichotomy between the modern and the traditional,

civilized and primitive, secular and sacred, democratic and non-democratic institutions. That modernization is a process of increasing complexity in human affairs. To be modern is to see life as alternatives. The theory sees the western industrialized world i.e Europe and North America as the civilized, and the modern and Africa and Asia as the primitive and backward world. It sees the west with the innovative roles, to be the agents of change, the agents of modernization. It proposes that, it is through the injection of capital, manpower, and technology, from the west that the backward societies can modernize and develop.

However, no society is entirely backward or modern. In fact it would be very difficult to state with clear certainty that Asian civilization is backward in comparison with the European one. It is assumed that the infusion of skills by volunteers contribute to development of the recipient countries: that the infusion of technology will of necessity stimulate change and development in the underdeveloped countries. It has been noted, however, that volunteers do not possess the skills and the professional experience that could be useful to the developing countries. The modernization approach does not help much in understanding the role of volunteers in the bilateral relations of the donor and the recipient countries.

In view of the fact that volunteer agencies are increasingly coming to depend on their home governments for financial support, the

modernization approach has some limitations. Governments are political entities which in their pursuits seek to serve their national interest. Because of this, a political approach becomes inevitable in the study of volunteers in the developing world.

Glyn Roberts has used neo-colonialism as an approach to study volunteers. Proponents of neo-colonialism as Kwame Nkrumah have argued that as Third World countries were gaining political independence they were increasing their economic and cultural dependence upon Europe and other developed economies. Their economic resources continued to be exploited rather than developed by the west. Africa for instance, became more than before a provider of raw material for Europe and North America. Neo-colonialism is the indirect control of an independent state through the domination of its economy.

Nkrumah says that the essence of neo-colonialism is that the state which is subjected to it is in theory independent and has all the outward trappings of international sovereignty. In reality its economic system and thus its political policy is directed from outside. States affected by neo-colonialism are incapable of independent development and must therefore rely upon the former imperial powers for defence and even internal security.

Nkrumah further argues that freedom from European political control had been offset by the emergence of eurocentric tyranny in

education, culture, and ideas among the ruling class and the societies in the underdeveloped world. According to Roberts, volunteer agencies supported by governments are neo-colonialist. They only perpetuate the inequality in the world economically and politically.

The weakness of using neo-colonialism to study volunteers is that its main tenets do not explain the interest of the recipients. For instance, it does not tell us whether or not the continued acceptance of volunteers is as a result of the impact of neo-colonialism over these countries.

The third approach which has been used to study volunteers is the cultural approach. One of the key proponents of this approach is Robert B. Textor. According to this approach "intercultural" means the individual volunteer has learned to function more or less effectively in the host culture. He says that in the Peace Corps there are several cultures: The Peace Corps culture in the Washington office, the Peace Corps culture in the Country office, and the Peace Corps Volunteers culture which is the dominant culture of the three. Peace Corps volunteers, he argues, have a distinct culture i.e. of a people who are dedicated to social service, to voluntary work and as actionists. The rest of the Peace Corps strive to adhere to this dominant culture. The term "cultural" as used by Textor refers not to the experience passed on from one generation to another but to the unique Peace Corps

traditions. Though the approach is useful in understanding the factors that affect the effectiveness of volunteers, it cannot be of much help in understanding the recipients' interest in volunteers.

The final approach which could also be used in the study of volunteers is the dependency theory. Theorists from Latin America and other parts of the underdeveloped world took a view of development that emphasised international influences on development. To them the limitation of the Western theory was its treatment of political and economic development as being determined essentially by domestic factors.

These theorists from Latin America argued that the political and economic structures in the less developed countries were primarily determined by the role these countries played in the world market. Some of the theorists took a historical perspective extending back to the creation of the world system in the 16th century. The colonial "centre" [powers] i.e Spain, Britain, Holland, and France had created a world division of labour between themselves and the periphery i.e the colonies. Commerce and manufacturing were based in the centre and the periphery provided the food and raw materials. The interest of the local elite both during the colonial period and after coincides with that of the centre. The local elite had neither the power nor the interest to resist European penetration and the global division of labour.

To the dependency theorists, the world division of labour could not be changed and stagnation could not be avoided so long as the peripheral economies remained bound to the world market. External dependence leads to large scale distortions in the structure of peripheral economies. This leads to social conflict and harsh state repression. There is political , cultural and economic penetration of the periphery by the centre. The economic penetration is through financial and technological means. Political and cultural penetration is through the form of materials or books, television programmes, news via satellite or through people who are carriers of foreign cultures. This leads to a demand for products readily available in the industrialized countries. The strategy of the dependency theory was disengagement if development had to occur.

In trying to see how the U.S. Peace Corps serve mainly the U.S interest, it will not be very easy to get the kind of information that could make such a thesis viable. The dependency theory could also be applicable if one was looking at the reliance of a particular country on volunteers in general.

In the light of the noted weaknesses on volunteers and the U.S Peace Corps in particular, the aspect of inquiry here is whether the recipient countries consider their national interest before accepting volunteers. To understand the United States Peace Corps, from the perspective of both Kenya's and the United States' national interests, we shall adopt the power theory,

emphasising the national interest aspect of the theory.

The realists as Hans Morgenthau, Edward H. Carr, Arnold Wolfers, and George Kennan see politics as a struggle for power. Power is defined as the ability to control the behaviour of another actor. According to the realists people are self-interested and selfish, seeking to dominate others. Nation-states are the most important units acting in world politics. States are assumed to be rational actors. A central concept for the realists is "interest". It is argued that a rational political actor is one who acts to promote his interests.

This theory tends to be too broad for "interest" can explain away almost any cause undertaken by any one country. But given that we are in pursuit of explaining an aspect of the conduct of nation states, the theory offers the means to organize and analyze data on volunteers as a phenomenon in international politics. Governments are involved in volunteer assistance and given that these are political entities the power theory therefore becomes a useful tool.

When treating foreign aid in the light of the power theory, Hans Morgenthau argues that foreign aid [transfer of money and services] is a price paid by the donor to the recipient for political services rendered or to be rendered by the latter to the former. He argues that foreign aid is a form of bribe given to influence the

behaviour of the recipient towards the donor country. However, the bribe is justified in terms of aid for economic development. He concludes that the problem of foreign aid is insoluble if it is considered as a self-sufficient technical enterprise of a primarily economic nature. It is soluble only if it is considered as an integral part of the political policy of the giving country, and for its effects on the receiving country. Thus, a policy of foreign aid is not different from diplomatic, military, or propaganda policy: all are weapons in the political armoury of the nation.¹⁷

Another proponent of the power theory is George Liska. Liska sees underneath ideological expressions the facts and realities of power; economic, military, and political. For him, economic development cannot be separated from power. When economic and military aid contribute to a country's development, this bears on power relations. For donor countries, foreign aid is an expression of their economic power and is intended to fill a vacuum so as to improve her image overseas. As for the recipients, foreign aid is meant to generate new factors of power and prestige. The recipient may use economic or military aid among other things, to keep abreast of the growing popular needs. The scholar concludes that foreign aid is an instrument of political power and policy. It is inseparable from the problem of power, and where there is power, politics is the governing factor. This compounds technical and administrative difficulties of foreign aid operations.

The third advocate of the power theory whose work we also consider here is John Dickey Montgomery. Montgomery argues that foreign aid is a political force both abroad and at home. Its purpose and achievements, its origins and its operations, its giving and receiving, all involve conflict of ideology and power. He adds that international politics lies at the heart of foreign aid and indeed, is the very essence for its existence. He is of the view that whether on the American side the primary motivation is to hold the line against further expansion of communism or to establish mutually beneficial relations with the receiving states, these programmes are instruments of a general political strategy although it may not always be clearly defined or consistently pursued. From the standpoint of the receiving countries, whether the main concern is with security, economic growth or prestige, these programmes are meant to serve their national interest in a world full of dangers.

He says that this political background to foreign aid is sometimes seen differently from both sides. However, it is against this background that the total levels, the nature of the projects to be undertaken, and the allocation of resources within a receiving country are decided. He concludes that political factors, in the granting and receiving states determine the climate in which foreign aid programmes take shape and in which they are put into practice. No analysis of what foreign aid can do and how it works can properly be understood without these two pressures.¹⁸

Finally, Samuel P. Huntington argues that since the immediate political and economic objectives are the main concern of political leaders, the political aspect can not be underplayed in the question of foreign aid. Economic development assistance can be relevant to politics as aid given for political purposes has been very relevant to economic development. For instance, French aid has well defined political purpose of maintaining French influence in its former colonies.¹⁹

Arising from the above observations we intend to use the power theory for this study. In using this theory, we shall attempt to demonstrate how political factors and the need for skills or technical assistance are intertwined in the deployment and acceptance of volunteers. Attempts will also be made to see how the U.S Peace Corps serve both Kenya's and the United states interests.

1.9 HYPOTHESES:

[1] The involvement of governments in volunteer assistance transforms it from a humanitarian and voluntary concern to an instrument of foreign policy, a form of aid and education for the donor countries' nationals.

[2] Volunteers who are sent to developing countries infuse skills which are essential for the socio-economic development of the recipient countries.

[3] The effectiveness of volunteer programmes in developing countries is a function of the nature and performance of the management of the programme in the recipient country..

1.10 DEFINITION OF TERMS.

[a] Requirement;

This refers to the need for skills;

[b] Contribution to Development;

In short term, means the provision of skills /provision of additional manpower. In long term, means facilitation of the creation of local skilled manpower, and the initiation of self-sustaining projects.

[c] Political factors/ Instrument of foreign policy.

Refers to the bilateral relations of the donor and the recipient countries; the donors' and the recipients' national interests at global and national levels-e.g performance of public relations function./ means of realizing foreign policy objectives

[d] Effectiveness/ High performance

Refers to the relevance of the volunteers' skills or qualifications, and output. In other words, his skills and performance will be measured in terms of his output e.g the adaptation of new ways a volunteer has introduced by the local people, the importance and

usefulness of a project initiated by a volunteer, proper functioning of instruments of work as a result of proper maintenance by a volunteer, and the performance of students in the case of volunteers who are teachers.

[d] Middle-level manpower;

Refers to skills that lie between skilled labour and unskilled labour.

[e] Donor countries;

Refers to countries that deploy volunteers to other countries. Donor countries are mainly the industrialised countries . However, we have cases whereby a third World country deploys volunteers to another third World country.

[g] Recipient or Host countries;

Refers mainly to Third World countries. They are also referred to in this study as developing or underdeveloped countries. However, countries of Eastern Europe have also become Recipients of volunteer assistance.

[h] Administration of the programme;

Refers to the management of volunteer activities in the country i.e the survey and planning for jobs, ascertaining the need, establishing the relevant skills for the ascertained need, and the management of volunteers' affairs i.e provision of information,

resources needed, and attending to problems that volunteers encounter in the field.

1.11 METHODOLOGY.

This study was carried out using the following methods:

- [a] Library Research,
- [b] Informal interviews / Formal structured questionnaire,
- [c] Selection of sample,
- [d] Descriptive statistical analysis

[c] LIBRARY RESEARCH.

The data used in this study was got from available related literature. This enabled us to evaluate the past assumptions, and analyze the Peace Corps in line with the objectives of our study. The Peace Corps' library proved to be an invaluable source of data. Official documents from both the Peace Corps / Kenya and the Kenya Government were used. Of particular interest were Peace Corps documents on planning and budgeting, sector reports and the 1964 Agreement providing for the operation of the Peace Corps in Kenya and the Kenya Government development plans plus a few position papers on volunteers and non-governmental organizations in the country. This research method enabled us to have an insight into the phenomenon of international volunteer assistance.

[b] INFORMAL INTERVIEWS / STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE.

We carried out informal interviews with Government officers and

officials of volunteer agencies. Informal discussions were undertaken with one official from each of the following organizations: United Nations Volunteers, Danish Volunteer Service, Volunteer Service Overseas, Terra Nova, Japanese Overseas Volunteers Co-operation. We also had focus group discussion [FGD] with members of the Volunteer Agency Committee at Hotel Boulevard and with six [6] Peace Corps volunteers at Solongo Youth polytechnic in Maragoli, in Kakamega District. Continuous discussions and contact were maintained with the Peace Corps Country Director, the Deputy Director and Associate Directors.

A formal structured questionnaire was used in our interviews with Peace Corps volunteers and their hosts at the grass-root level. The interviews were carried out personally.

[c] SELECTION OF THE SAMPLE.

We identified forty [40] key Government officials at the level of director or head of sections concerned with volunteer activities in the country and interviewed them. Since we had only eighteen [18] Peace Corps volunteers in Kakamega District at the material time we decided to interview all of them. We at the same time interviewed the eighteen [18] hosts of the volunteers respectively.

[d] DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICAL ANALYSIS.

Given that much of data we used was drawn from written works we adopted a descriptive statistical analysis research design in this

study. Descriptive research design aims at describing a problem as accurately as possible. This is particularly with respect to the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables. It attempts to show accurate characteristics of a situation. It also aims at finding out the frequency of occurrence of a particular activity. However, some aspects of our data called for statistical analysis.

1.12 RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY.

Researching into the presence of volunteers in the country had its own discomforts. Government officials treated the whole issue as sensitive. They feared for their jobs such that it was a problem in the initial stages to discuss the Peace Corps volunteers openly. Peace Corps / Kenya was uncooperative at worst hostile to the idea of being researched on especially with its background of generalist volunteers. The agency could only discuss or give information which it wanted to not what we wanted. Crucial data to our study such the age of volunteers, their qualifications, areas of assignment, and any assessment of the performance of volunteers was not divulged.

The official position was that such information was confidential and any records on volunteers were kept only for a short while after which they were transferred to Washington. It was not possible to get the records from Washington because they got burnt during an accidental fire outbreak in the Peace Corps head offices.

Heads of institutions hosting volunteers were reluctant to discuss volunteers for many felt the research was aimed at ending volunteer assistance and for this reason they could not openly talk about people who were helping them free of charge. Some tended to give well guarded answers but we counter checked this by talking to co-workers.

It proved a difficult task to assess the performance of volunteers. First there was no base data to start from. Peace Corps and the government insisted that they never carry out any assessment of volunteers. The hosts at the grass root level did not treat volunteers in terms of their performance but as a people who were helping them. Without existing indicators on performance it was not possible to assess the performance of a volunteer within a period of one hour of interview.

In the field we encountered problems related to transport. Some points where volunteer were stationed were not served by vehicles. This forced us to have means to these areas on hire, and have the vehicle wait until after the interviews. Because we visited our respondents without informing them in advance we occasionally missed some of them, and we were forced to go back.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE PEACE CORPS.

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Volunteer aid has traditionally been treated in humanitarian terms. Until the early 1960s governments of donor countries were not directly involved in volunteer assistance. It was mainly churches and private organization that sent volunteers to work in the underdeveloped countries. Without government involvement volunteer assistance was seen as the individual's concern to help the people of the underdeveloped nations. Even when governments have recognized and do participate in the organization of volunteer programmes, this assistance is still rationalised in altruistic terms. It is least explained in the wider context of the national interest of the countries concerned.

In an international system where nation-states are the main actors, the governing factor of their actions and relations is national interest. National interest is whatever each nation defines to be its core values. Each nation seeks to preserve and advance her social values and to maintain her security. Thus, any form of conduct in the relation of nation-states is meant to serve their national interest. As such, foreign aid, whether given on humanitarian basis or not can only be justified in terms of national interest.

In giving and receiving aid, the basic assumption is that it serves the national interest of both the donor and the recipient countries. Volunteers and the Peace Corps in particular, are a form of foreign aid; transfer of resources. Volunteer programmes, especially those organized and sponsored by governments of donor countries, must be seen as serving the interest of the donor and the recipient countries.

2.2 CREATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEACE CORPS.

The Peace Corps grew out Senator John F. Kennedy's presidential campaigns. It was out of Kennedy's promise to send young people to work in the underdeveloped countries that Peace Corps was created. On the 14th October, 1960, at the University of Michigan at 2.00 a.m. Kennedy challenged the American youth; "How many of you are willing to spend ten years in Africa or Latin America and Asia working for the U.S. and working for freedom ?".

In propounding the idea of the Peace Corps, Kennedy was precise on the fact that such an organization was meant to serve the U.S. In his inaugural address on 20th January 1961, he told Americans to "ask not what your country has done for you; ask what you can do for your country." The Peace Corps would be doing something for their country by addressing themselves to the problems afflicting the people of the underdeveloped countries.

On 1st March, 1961, the President signed an executive order putting

the Peace Corps in operation. Later that year, the U.S Congress passed the Peace Corps Act establishing the Peace Corps. Like the U.S Agency for International Development [USAID], the Peace Corps is a semi-autonomous agency within the State Department. According to Congress the purpose of the Peace Corps is to promote world peace and friendship. The agency's specific goals are; to help the people of interested countries in meeting their need for trained manpower; to promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the people served; and lastly, to help promote a better understanding of other people on the part of the Americans.

Whereas the goal one is tailored towards the development efforts of the recipient countries, initially and even at present, the Peace Corps laid emphasis on the second and third goal. It is repeatedly stated that as a grass-root approach to development, the Peace Corps enables Americans to mingle with other peoples in the world which benefits both culturally. Whether the recipient countries value highly the cultural exchange with the same zeal as the Peace Corps is not clear. From the Peace Corps' view, the cultural exchange; individual Americans establishing friendship with people in the underdeveloped countries, living with families in Third World villages, is very central. In fact, according to the Peace Corps philosophy, the cultural aspect is the very essence of this programme.

The idea of young Americans working for some time in developing

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is deep rooted in America's history. For two hundred
pooling individual resources in the interest of collective
has been part of America's identity. It is, therefore, a
impulse for the American people to help their neighbours in
ing countries. On the twenty fifth anniversary of the Peace
former President Ronald Reagan said;

The American people throughout our history have
shown commitment and concern for the welfare of
fellow men and women, both in their own
communities and around the globe. Nowhere has the
proud tradition of voluntarism been better
illustrated than through the Peace Corps.²

The idea of encouraging Americans to help other people in the world
has been alive since 1910. At that time, William James argued that
the sharing of skills and energy with others around the globe while
learning something about the world on the part of idealistic
volunteers would result in "healthier sympathies and sober ideas."

However, it was in 1957 that Senator Hubert Humphrey first
envisioned "a programme of national service in an international
endeavour." Apart from Humphrey, the idea of the Peace Corps had
been suggested by others long before Kennedy put it into reality.
Among them were Senator Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon, Congressman
Jacob Javits, Congressman Henry S. Reuss of Wisconsin, and Barry
Goldwater. They suggested that the United States establish some
sort of "youth peace army" to work in the developing countries.
Senator Brian McMahon of Connecticut called this "full time

missionaries of democracy", a peace army carrying "not arms but hoes and healing medicines and faith in our liberty." ³

It was Kennedy who gave the notion of sending young Americans to work abroad the momentum needed to make it a reality. On the basis of the proposal made by Hubert Humphrey that Congress create a Peace Corps, Kennedy said,

There is not enough money in all America to relief the misery of the underdeveloped world in a giant and endless soup kitchen. But there is enough knowhow and knowledgeable people to help those nations help themselves.⁴

He pledged that if elected to the presidency he would establish a peace organization. President Kennedy brought about the Peace Corps with the encouragement of Senators Hubert Humphrey and Jacob Javits, Congressmen Henry Reuss and John Brademas, retired General James Gavin, and a New York businessman Peter Grace. Sergeant Shriver was appointed the first director of the Peace Corps. Under him the first volunteers were recruited and trained to serve overseas.

The Peace Corps philosophy is that people-to-people contact, the exchange of skills and ideas and the individual experience of Americans in the developing countries, can make "our world a healthier, safer, better place in which we live." The goal of the Peace Corps is peace and friendship globally. This, according to the Peace Corps' idealists, can be realised through the elimination

of hunger, disease, and illiteracy in the Third World.

Immediately after its creation there, was glorification of what the agency could do and had achieved in terms of development in the Third World. However, there was also scepticism with regard to its capability to supply trained, experienced people as Kennedy had promised. However, the Peace Corps having been created had to function. But its functioning depended on the recruitment of generalists.

In the 1960s the generalists formed 60 percent of the number of volunteers. Since then generalists have formed the backbone of the Peace Corps into the 1990s. According to Westerfield the Peace Corps was established to deal with the scarcity of personnel by "accepting a lower level of professional competence and by hoping to offset it by a higher level of youthful dedication and self-sacrifice." ⁵ The scepticism levelled against the Peace Corps came from no lesser a person than the then out-going President, Dwight Eisenhower, who called the Peace Corps a " Kiddie Corps". Ellis O'Briggs, a reputed career diplomat described it as a movement "wrapped in a pinafore of publicity, whose team cry is "yoo, yoo, yoo," lets go and wreak some good on some natives."

From the formative years, domestic conditions demanded that the Peace Corps be seen to be in operation. Irrespective of the actual demand and requests from the developing countries, the existence of

the Peace Corps depended on the presence of volunteers overseas. Speed was necessary to keep up with Kennedy's momentum. To this end, guided by the belief that young Americans imbued with the American spirit of "can-doism" could effectively contribute to development abroad, the agency deployed many volunteers into the Third World.

Too many generalist volunteers were sent to too many countries too quickly. In pursuit of having a significant number of volunteers abroad, as a measure of the agency's success, people without skills or experience were recruited. The agency did not adequately prepare volunteers for their tasks. Training consisted mainly of physical fitness sessions in anticipation of hardships. There was very little cultural preparation. In addition, technical training was not taken into account. Samuel Abbot argues;

We had joined the Peace Corps to serve and we were assigned to teach. Beyond our devotion to the ideal of service and the idealization of Africa, we were for better or worse pretty much tabula rasae. In forming the Peace Corps a modern industrial nation has assumed that in the abundance of its trained manpower, are individuals who can help to meet the needs of underdeveloped countries given their goals of industrialization and modernization. If I am anywhere right in my estimates of effective volunteering, we are missing the boat by 75 per cent of the time.⁶

The efforts of the agency to recruit skilled and experienced people have not been successful because such people are not readily

available. The Peace Corps' terms of service are not as attractive as being employed in the U.S. Very few skilled people volunteer to work in the Third World. Most of the volunteers in the 1960s were young. Their youthfulness coupled with their lack of experience tended to warrant the criticism against the Peace Corps which was duped as "a second children crusade".

In Africa where old age is revered, the tender age of the volunteers was a disadvantage. The presence of young Americans suggested that what they had come to do was beyond the ability of African elders. In a society where elders are expected to effectively handle problems, the idea of young people playing such a role was not impressive. The tender age did not lend credit to the agency as an agent of development. Eric Sevareid opined:

While the Peace Corps had something to do with spot benefits, whether in sanitizing drinking water or building culverts, its work has, and can have very little to do with the fundamental investment, reorganization, and reform upon which true and long term economic development depends.⁷

He sees the Peace Corps as a way of exposing young Americans to the outside world. The Peace Corps is aimed at "giving frustrated American youth a sense of mission and adding to our supply of comprehension of other societies."

However, Peace Corps volunteers are readily received by Third World countries. But the assumption that the devotion to the ideal of service and the American spirit of helping others was enough to

enable volunteers to contribute to development of the recipient countries did not prevail. On account of lack of experience or the necessary skills, Peace Corps volunteers were expelled from some countries. Pakistan and Tanzania expelled Peace Corps volunteers for they had realised that their needs required people with more sophisticated technical skills than what the Peace Corps provided. African leaders told a director of the agency that;

Mr. Blatchford, we love your enthusiastic Americans who are also full of commitment, but we need more than youthful enthusiasm, we also need technical assistance and help in problem solving that comes only from experience.⁸

The appearance of Peace Corps volunteers in villages in Africa, Asia, and Latin America, living ordinarily with the local people caused concern to the extent that they were thought to be spies. President Castro of Cuba and the Soviet Union dismissed the Peace Corps as another arm of the Central Intelligence Agency [C.I.A]. Its purpose was viewed as subverting the under-developed countries and perpetuating their exploitation.

However, there has been no evidence that clearly links the Peace Corps with the C.I.A. The Peace Corps maintains that it is distinct from the C.I.A and the U.S. foreign policy. The merger of the Peace Corps with other organizations under ACTION, an umbrella organization for all voluntary programmes in the U.S., was vehemently opposed by the agency's officials and the advocates of its distinctness. It was argued that the merger of 1972 could

tarnish the image and conceal the status of the agency. It was even more intolerable when one of the directors of ACTION was a former head of the an intelligence agency. Under such leadership it could be very difficult to disassociate the Peace Corps from the activities of the intelligence.

However, it is worth noting that volunteers have been expelled from Third World countries for being subversive or thought of being subversive. Peace Corps have been deported back to the U.S as a result of the deterioration of relation between the U.S and the recipient countries. At this stage it suffice to mention that the denials of association with U.S. foreign policy notwithstanding, the Peace Corps is housed in the State Department. The State Department is exclusively charged with the handling of the U.S. foreign policy. Any part of the State Department is a function of U.S. foreign policy. This simply means that the Peace Corps is a function of the U.S. foreign policy. At a later stage we will endeavour to explain why the Peace Corps is officially disassociated with the U.S. foreign policy.

Peace Corps volunteers are trained for twelve weeks before serving in the developing countries for two years. The two year tour of duty can be extended to three years. Initially training was undertaken back in the U.S. In training camps volunteers were lectured on the history, geography and the cultural background of the host countries. Nowadays training takes place in the actual

host country environment. The administration of the Peace Corps was at first centralised in Washington. It was here where the number of volunteers, the skills and the projects to be undertaken were decided upon. However, there has developed what is known as binationalism whereby the host country is supposed to participate in the administration of Peace Corps assistance.

There are a number of conditions to be met before any specific Peace Corps project can be undertaken. First, the need for the Peace Corps has to be for a project that must make a recognizable contribution to the economic, social and cultural development of the host country. The government of the to be host country must specifically request for Peace Corps volunteers. It must also give evidence of its willingness to co-operate. Secondly, the work must require "doers" as opposed to advisers, needing skills not sufficiently available in the host country. A volunteer should not be engaged when in reality he would be displacing a local person. Assurance must be given that local workers are not available to perform the jobs that the Peace Corps are requested for.

These are but the stated requirements. However, it is not the case that volunteers do anything that the local people cannot do. It is also not true that volunteers do work that requires them to use their hands -manual work. They do work in the normal administrative structures. At present there are so many educated people that it cannot be argued convincingly that the volunteers engaged here have

not displaced local persons.

The Peace Corps is basically a "service" agency exporting personnel to developing countries. It has no financial assistance attached to volunteers. Volunteers bring in only their skills and work in the same conditions as the local people.

2.3 THE PEACE CORPS AND U.S. INTEREST.

In this section we intend to analyze the Peace Corps in relation to U.S. interest. The assumption here is that the Peace Corps is not really U.S. "charity" to the developing countries. Behind it lies the U.S. national interest which may not be explicit for the simple reason that the Peace Corps is clouded in humanitarianism. This may lure the recipient countries to entertain the idea that the Peace Corps or any other volunteer organization, is different from other forms of foreign aid which are regarded as instruments of foreign policy of the donor countries. The only possible exception is the multi-lateral volunteer programme of the United Nations - the United Nations Volunteers [UNVs]. The proliferation of volunteer programmes, and the emphasis on the objective of contributing to development persuades one to see only the benevolence, the charity and the altruism of the donors. It obscures the interest of the donor countries in this form of aid.

The Peace Corps is a government agency, whose volunteers are maintained and paid by the U.S. Government. However, it is non-

political and regards itself not as a tool of the U.S. foreign policy. It was designed not to spread any ideology or preach pro-American propaganda. It is portrayed as a missionary-like undertaking; a humanitarian organization which is supposed to be the embodiment of U.S. and Americans' concern with those people in the underdeveloped world still struggling "against nature". It is an expression of the conviction of American youth to help the less fortunate people. Like any other volunteer programme, the Peace Corps' major objective is the development of the recipient nations.

The uniqueness of the Peace Corps Programmes is the "bottom-up" approach to development. This is the people-to-people approach i.e helping in development at the grass-root level- at the village and individual levels. Here they combat the problems of poverty, illiteracy, and disease. The agency was named the "Peace Corps" to illuminate and stress the motivation in its establishment: To work towards peace in the world. The word "corps" signifies the militancy of the mission i.e the task of combating hunger, disease, and ignorance needs some degree of militancy. Conservatives in the U.S. felt the word "peace" was not only unsuitable for it had been corrupted by the communists, but also sounded soft, vague and weak. The liberals argued that the word "corps" had militaristic connotation and therefore could not go with a peaceful mission. But after considering other titles the "Peace Corps" prevailed.

The emphasis on contributing to development of the Third World countries, the stress on helping "those people in villages" obscures the fact that the Peace Corps was basically created to serve the U.S. interest as it was shaped to serve the interest of developing countries. The Peace Corps was created in view of U.S. domestic and global interest. In spite of the denials that the Peace Corps is part of the U.S. foreign policy, the Peace Corps was created as a means of educating young Americans and as a tool of U.S. foreign policy. It was not accidental that the agency was housed in the State Department right at its inception. Therefore, the fact that it was housed in the State Department is an adequate indication that the agency was created to serve as an instrument of the U.S. foreign policy.

Kennedy's broad instructions were for the establishment of an organization that would be open to as many Americans as possible and give them an experience that would later be of use for the benefit of the U.S.- especially in foreign service. According to Donovan McClure, the U.S. wanted young Americans to have the Peace Corps experience. The developing countries were but to facilitate this goal. Adrian Moyes argues;

Most of the major programmes are paid for largely by governments, and governments are political entities which support the programmes in order to promote their countries' interest.....the allocation of volunteers between countries is a political decision.'

Unlike earlier missions sent overseas by churches, the decision to have the Peace Corps was a political decision made in a political setting. The humanitarian aspect falls under the realm of politics. George Cunningham argues that,

.....foreign aid programmes are formulated and promoted in a discriminative and political setting that is not very amenable to humanitarian considerations. The agencies of government responsible for the programmes have annually to justify them before Congress concerned with demonstration to the constituents that their interests are being served.¹⁰

The Peace Corps, unlike some privately sponsored volunteer programmes or those run by religious organizations, is run on the tax payers' money. As such it must be seen to be serving the interest of the U.S. For the Congress to grant the millions that it spends on the maintenance of volunteers in Third World villages, like any other foreign aid programme, it must be demonstrated that the agency is serving the interest of the U.S. The budget of the Peace Corps has been increased or decreased depending on how it was seen to be useful to the U.S. interest by each administration since 1961. Robert A. Packenham holds national interest to be central in foreign aid. He contends that:

Officials may have humanitarian goals, but their sine qua none goal and justification for aid is that it be an instrument of foreign policy and justified in terms of national interest.¹¹

The interest of the U.S. in creating the Peace Corps can also be explicitly seen in the very idea and the establishment of the

agency. The idea of creating the Peace Corps and thereafter the establishment of the agency occurred prior to requests from the developing countries for such assistance. As such, factors leading to the creation of the Peace Corps were rooted in the U.S. domestic setting and her relations with the outside world than the shortage of manpower in the Third World. However, this is not to argue that there was no shortage of skilled or middle level manpower in the underdeveloped nations. It is an assertion that this need was not the basic factor leading to the formation of the Peace Corps. John Franklin Campell argues that,

The Peace Corps, unlike the Marshall plan, was not a response to requests from foreign countries for assistance, but rather a unilateral American proposal first put forward mainly for political consumption. Even after it was established it was necessary for its first director to travel around the world to "sell" the idea to potential recipients. In effect, the donor-recipient relationship was reversed, the great power soliciting permission from the small states to assist them. Whatever the good intentions, the impression created was one of a pressing American desire to intervene both for humanitarian reasons.....still the Peace Corps is really a domestic program sent abroad.¹²

It was only after the "fishing" trip by Sergeant Shriver, that it was established that Peace Corps were acceptable to developing countries. However, such acceptance was not based on a survey of the manpower needs of these countries. While there was a shortage of manpower, Peace Corps volunteers were accepted for a number of reasons. Some accepted them as a matter of courtesy to the U.S. Others felt young Americans could learn a lot from their countries.

As Campell argues, it was a pressing desire to intervene, or a desire that can only be related to and understood in terms of her national interest than the need for skilled manpower in the Third World, that necessitated the Peace Corps. This can explicitly be seen in the "numbers game" whereby the agency sent overseas so many generalist volunteers without specific job assignments. Were it that the Peace Corps was purposely created as a means of providing skilled personnel it could have concentrated on identification of skills and sending out people who had the needed qualifications - skilled and experienced. However, since the development of the Third World was not really the original purpose of the agency, the question of skills featured less. Francis A. Luzzato says that,

The Peace Corps' missions was and still remains to promote world peace and friendship.....The development of the Third World countries was an afterthought. As far as I know none of the founders originally saw development as central to the Peace Corps' role. The shift was based largely upon early volunteer experiences and the need to attract support from the Congress and the Executive.¹³

Up to this stage it is evident that the creation of the Peace Corps was not altruistic as it is formerly portrayed. Factors unique to the interest of the U.S explain the establishment of the agency. We will now explore and analyze these factors in relation to the establishment of the agency.

First, there was the growing belief that the American society was degenerating. It had lost the "Frontier Spirit" as a result of the luxurious life-style thanks to the affluence of the American society. This situation could be saved by young Americans undergoing a "hardlife". The Third World was the right arena. Here the young Americans would be drawn away from the easy environment; televisions, cinemas, taxicabs, and other social amenities abundantly available in the U.S. The belief that the American youth were soft was evidenced in sports. An Australian long distance runner criticised the American youth for their lack of stamina. Softness had become a distinguished characteristic of the affluent society. He said,

It is a fact the warm, soft, synthetic existence Americans lead poses a real danger about their future. The fact that the Americans have not produced many outstanding runners is attributable to their way of life. They are not a hardy race of people whereas the Norwegians, Russians and English are.¹⁴

The policy of the Peace Corps to deny the volunteers any "luxury" in their assignments abroad was a direct response to this charge that American youth were soft, too soft to undertake any adventure. The confinement of Peace Corps volunteers to villages - to rural areas without electricity or running water was decided upon as a form of education for the young Americans. This would transform and change their value system. They would eventually have a proper perspective and appreciation of the affluence of the American society. This is emphasised by Shriver when he says;

I wanted to make clear to him [Kennedy] that we were serious about the objective of showing that Americans were not soft. Volunteers are expected to live simply and unostentatiously.¹⁵

The young people were eager and determined to prove that they were not soft. The Peace Corps was not only a challenge but also an opportunity to prove that they were not soft as it was being believed. Roy Hoopes says,

.....a generation of youth which sees the objectives of the Peace Corps not only as a challenge to America but also as a personal challenge that will prove that they are not soft, silent and flabby, as they have sometimes been made to be.¹⁶

The belief that America was producing a strange new human being - "a guy with a full belly, an empty mind and a hollow heart" caused a lot of concern to the U.S. as a world power. It was questioned whether the U.S. was in a position to lead the world. The Peace Corps was an assertion that the U.S. was still capable of leading the world. The success of the Peace Corps was meant to demonstrate the position of the U.S. in the world. By spearheading this kind of assistance to underdeveloped countries the U.S. was parading the fact that she was still in a position to lead the free world. Shriver wrote.

The question before our generation is whether America is qualified to lead the free world. Because of the widespread belief that Americans have gone soft and no longer capable of sustained personal sacrifice for their country, for human rights, and for any other idea bigger than self-interest. There is fear that we lack the understanding of the world

challenge, the vision without which freedom will perish. There is also fear that this nation may lack the understanding heart which is so essential for the leadership the world requires.¹⁷

The Peace Corps would therefore portray the U.S. as having the understanding heart and consequently have the understanding of the world challenge. This would be through the agency's help to the under-privileged people of the world, and the wealth of experience and knowledge that volunteers accumulate worldwide. The relevance of the Peace Corps to the position of the U.S. as a world power is further evidenced in the dissatisfaction with the way U.S. foreign aid programmes were carried out and the image Americans had created abroad.

The novel, The Ugly America, by two social philosophers, Burdic and Lederer, had a pervasive impact on Americans. It pinpointed to the shortcomings of U.S. foreign aid programmes and basically stated that the Americans were resented abroad. It was realised that financial and material assistance extended to underdeveloped nations was appreciated at the government level only. The officials of the aid programmes, the technical assistants and the diplomats did not reach the common man who did not know about America nor its generosity. American foreign aid lacked a human face.

According to the novel, U.S. representatives abroad led a posh life. They transplanted the life style of the affluent American

society into the midst of poverty in the underdeveloped nations which portrayed a negative image of the U.S. In short, this made Americans to be resented. The Peace Corps was therefore created as an antidote to this negative image. This image could only be countered by having young Americans dressed in rags, digging latrines, and living in huts, spend a few years in Third World countries.

In view of the "hollowness" of American foreign aid programmes, the Peace Corps was meant to add "a human dimension" to the U.S. foreign assistance. While proposing the creation of the Peace Corps, Humphrey said:

There is nothing which will build greater people-to-people and government-to-government relationship than to have fine young American men helping the people of the emerging countries to help themselves.¹⁸

The "hollowness" of the U.S. foreign aid and the general conduct of U.S. foreign affairs made Americans to be disconcerted. The U.S. was dispensing aid for strategic reasons - to contain communism. Aid was given in the hope that development both economically and of democratic institutions would bring about stability and therefore check the spread of communism. President John F. Kennedy said;

Existing foreign aid programs and concepts are largely unsatisfactory and unsuited for our needs and for the needs of the underdeveloped world as it enters the sixties. The economic collapse of these free but less developed nations which stand poised between sustained growth and economic chaos would be disastrous.¹⁹

For the young Americans, the advent of a young man to the presidency gave them hope that there was a chance for the youth to contribute to the better handling of American affairs, especially abroad. Through the Peace Corps the youth could play a role which would make a difference in the U.S. foreign policy. Dean Bowman, a former volunteer says;

I am not trying to slam your generation, but I do not think that young people are very much challenged by the way in which the America's role in the world has been presented in the past. It has been presented in terms of mass retaliation, in essentially negative terms.²⁰

According to Albert George Johnson, a new volunteer, young people joined the Peace Corps because this contributed to their nation's leadership in the world. It was out of "a sheer conviction that the Peace Corps can be a contributing part of America's leadership of the underdeveloped nations of the world."²¹

The Peace Corps was also created on the background of the Cold War. The central theme in the idea and the establishment of the Peace Corps is the search for peace, and its overall goal the promotion of world peace and friendship. Peace in this sense does not refer to the absence of war but refers to the living conditions of the people in the underdeveloped countries. The abject poverty of people in the Third World is a threat to peace. In the face of poverty they are susceptible to communism. They can easily fall for violent revolutions. As such, from the U.S. perspective they have

to be helped before such a situation occurs.

The development and stability of these countries guarantees a peaceful existence of the U.S. in the world. Peace in this sense means absence of conditions which would necessitate the spread of communism, or absence of communism. With respect to this, Kennedy alleged that Russia was sending young people to work in the underdeveloped nations on a voluntary basis in the cause of world communism. All the industrialised nations of Western Europe had to take up the challenge. While talking to students in Bonn, West Germany, Kennedy posed;

For unless people such as you are willing to show an interest and make some sacrifice after you get out of college to help your government and help other peoples in other areas less fortunate than your own, then you are going to have young people from the other side, imbued with the philosophy of communism and willing to live and die for it taking the lead.²²

In view of the social and the economic development problems and goals of the underdeveloped countries, the Peace Corps adopted a humanitarian stance. However, the realities of the Cold War featured. A militaristic solution to combating communism was not suitable in every part of the world where the ideological war was being fought. As Bowman has asserted, the U.S. was prone to militaristic solutions. The Peace Corps was an effort towards winning the ideological war.

The Peace Corps was only but a different strategy: no ideology, no propaganda, and no machine gun - but assistance in the form of individual American people directed at the underprivileged people in the arenas of the Cold War. A subtle strategy but a measured one to appeal to the peoples and governments of the Third World nations. It portrayed an America that "is caring and humane". Shriver aptly contends that the non-politicalness of the Peace Corps does not mean the agency is indifferent to the national interest of the United States.

But let me assert the Peace Corps is no naive organization aiming to do good while indifferent to the existence of evil in the world. We know the United States is involved in a contest of ideologies being waged in many arenas, not the least of them the underdeveloped nations. The arenas in which the Peace Corps makes its stand for Americans is in the nations where a peaceful outcome to the world's ideological struggle is possible. Most of the African continent meets this test, as do Latin America and East Asia.²³

However, Peace Corps have moved into Eastern Europe following the move towards pluralism in this region. According to the agency's director, Mr. Paul Coverdell, the new programmes in Poland and Hungary are meant to assist them in their plans of development of a free market economy.²⁴ This is the official position. But the rationale behind this move is more political than economic. Eastern European countries would have deserved having Peace Corps volunteers long before the eve of political pluralism. The presence of the Peace Corps volunteers is a demonstration of U.S. presence and what she offers in terms of political and economic direction in

the absence of communism.

In the ideological war between the super powers any strategy taken by either of them could easily be discredited by the other. For instance, the Peace Corps was dismissed as part of the C.I.A. Because of this kind of Cold War competition, coupled with the view that Americans were resented abroad, the architects of the Peace Corps hesitated to make the agency part of the State Department tradition. This was so for two apparent reasons. One, it was due to the fact that making the Peace Corps to be just another foreign aid programme would not be of any advantage to the U.S. Even the Soviet Union had foreign aid programmes. Secondly, the Peace Corps would not serve any useful purpose if it was designed on the same lines as any of the other U.S. foreign aid programmes.

To be effective in performing the public relations function for the U.S., it had to be distinct from other foreign aid programmes that had tarnished the image of the country. Because of the negative impact of the other foreign aid programmes, efforts were made to demonstrate the fact that this new agency was not "just another foreign aid programme". The attempt to distance it from the U.S. foreign policy was to pave way for its effectiveness. This fact is evidenced in the words of Dean Rusk, a former Secretary of State. He pointed out that " To make the Peace Corps an instrument of foreign policy would rob it of its contribution to foreign policy".²⁵ This means that the agency was established to serve U.S.

foreign policy. However, the efforts to portray the Peace Corps not as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy notwithstanding, the agency has functioned as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy. It has been acknowledged that the most important role and contribution of the agency has been diplomatic. The presence of the Peace Corps is analogous to that of the ambassador. It demonstrates not only the acceptability of the U.S. but also the friendship between the recipient country and the United States. The agency's symbolic function is very important. With the Peace Corps it is no longer necessary to wave a flag or bring a warship into port to demonstrate what the U.S. is.

As a diplomatic tool, the Peace Corps has had more pay off than any other foreign aid agency. Their efforts dedicated to world peace through international goodwill, have done much to replace fear and mistrust with mutual understanding. John Kenneth Galbraith, a former ambassador to India, adds that "the Peace Corps has been particularly important in rubbing off the impression that we are excessively prone to military solutions".²⁶ The ambassadorial role of the Peace Corps has linked America with the recipient nations and more with the populations in these countries on a wider plane than the traditional envoys.

The diplomatic function is more intensive for it is tied up with cultural exchanges unlike traditional ambassadors who are required to observe the rules of protocol. The Peace Corps volunteers go

about in a simplistic way working with the local communities in rural areas. This way, they represent America in a humble and therefore a better way. "Our nation has no better ambassadors than the young volunteers who serve in the Peace Corps."²⁷ John W. Sewell adds that " The role that PCVs have played in the American public diplomacy maybe their most enduring contribution to American policy towards the Third World."²⁸

In the 1980s and 1990s the Peace Corps increasingly recognized and turned into an economic tool. The role of the agency is seen to be more in the economic interest of the U.S. The economic development of the Third World is crucial to the U.S. Foreign policy strategists as former secretaries of State, Muskie and Haig, have argued that the efforts to help the developing nations are not "give aways" or "international charity", programmes as the Peace Corps are essential to American national security. The jobs of 1.2 million American workers today depends on exports to developing countries. These nations are not only the fastest growing markets for America, but also supply her with the critical material that turn the wheels of American industry. America has to demonstrate her responsiveness to the needs of developing countries.²⁹

The benefits of the Peace Corps to individual volunteers, to American society, and to the U.S. government are notable. Young Americans are exposed to a situation where they observe the problems afflicting the world first hand. They live in different

cultures and work in different conditions. As a result they learn and appreciate different value systems and world view. Consequently they are more knowledgeable about the world than before the Peace Corps service.

When they return home the entire American society benefits from this knowledge. The knowledge and languages learned by the volunteers are crucial to the U.S. as a world power. Because of the Peace Corps experience many have risen to higher positions. For instance, Paul Tsongas, who was a senator, and Paker Borg who has been an ambassador. Many others are holding high positions in institutions in the U.S. All attribute their success to the Peace Corps experience. The experience is valued so much such that people join the Peace Corps as a passport to the "Foreign Service". With regard to their personal life volunteers acknowledge that the experience cannot be forgotten. It is part of their life.

It is therefore not accidental that the Peace Corps is part of the State Department, that the activities of the agency are channelled through U.S. embassies overseas. We are in agreement with Lowther when he says this about the Peace Corps:

It was a natural response to embarrassing American failure in the foreign assistance field, an antidote to The Ugly American. It asserted America's pride in themselves as practical as well as peaceful people. It was a daring stroke in the ideological contest between Western democracy and the Socialist doctrines for the allegiance of the post-colonial world.³⁰

2.4 CONCLUSION.

In this chapter, we have argued that the Peace Corps was established primarily as a diplomatic tool and as a form of education for the young Americans. By playing a public relations function, it was believed that the experience gained would be useful to the U.S. especially in the foreign service. Indeed, it has been observed that the agency has helped to rub out the impression that the U.S. is prone to militaristic solutions.

The main goal of the agency is the promotion of peace and friendship in the world which is closely related to the American conception of peace and world order i.e. democratic free nations and absence of communism. However, development of the Third World was a necessary ingredient. It rationalised the programme to volunteers, the Congress and the Executive in the U.S., to developing countries and justified the tax-payers money: That the agency was serving U.S. interest. In this chapter, we have demonstrated that the U.S. was motivated by political factors in creating the Peace Corps. It was established to serve U.S. interest; It was meant to shape the U.S. image abroad, and to develop the American youth. Lastly, the Peace Corps was created to counter communism. The developing countries were but to facilitate this goal.

We have demonstrated here that a political factor i.e national

interest is central in the establishment and existence of the Peace Corps. It plays a diplomatic function and educates Americans. Therefore, hypothesis one, which states that "The involvement of governments in volunteer assistance transforms it from a humanitarian and voluntary concern to an instrument of foreign policy, a form of aid, and education for the donor countries' nationals" is valid, in the case of the United States.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE PEACE CORPS IN KENYA

3.2 INTRODUCTION.

Kenya's foreign policy is primarily determined by her economic development needs and the desire to seek friendly relations in order to attract aid for development. For instance, she is a member of the Non-Aligned Movement which advocates against joining the military blocs i.e the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and the Warsaw Pact. Being aligned would compromise their political independence; it is colonialism under a different name. It was not only the fear of loosing autonomy with regard to foreign policy, but also the realities of their economies necessitated membership of the many states. NAM allowed member states chances to maximise from Western and Eastern blocs in terms of aid.

However, the non-alignment of these countries is relative. Economic and ideological links with either of the blocs make the non-aligned countries fall short of being truly non-aligned. When it comes to national security each nation's interest takes the top position on the priority list. Kenya for instance, has close ties with Britain and the U.S. The former was a colonial master who still maintains army units and advisers in the country. The U.S. used aid as a means of orienting the country to the Western capitalist bloc. This was reinforced by visits of U.S. warships to Mombasa. As such Kenya

tended to be more pro-West than pro-East. The presence of the U.S. Peace Corps in the country therefore is a manifestation of the existing good relations between the two countries.

Kenya's relations with the U.S. dates back to 1827 when America came in contact with the now East African states. In that year Edmund Roberts arrived in Zanzibar in search of lucrative commercial venture. Set to capture the commerce in this Island, he "shamelessly signed himself illegally as Consul of the United States Government." In 1833 a trade treaty was signed between the Sultan of Zanzibar and the U.S. government which allowed American traders to operate on the Island. It also provided for their security. In 1837 a Consulate was established with Mr. Richard P. Waters as the first official consul.

The United States became known in this region because of a trade item. This was a cotton material which became famous because of its high quality - very strong, durable yet very cheap. It was simply known as "Merikani". Lowry Mallory asserts that Waters established absolute control over commerce in Zanzibar due to his contact with the customs officials. He observes;

Had the United States taken a more active political interest in this area, the monopoly would have been a base for establishing a sphere of influence on the coast.²

The commercial motive therefore, linked the U.S. with Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania which served as the hinterland that supplied

trade goods for the Zanzibar market.

Before the second World War the U.S. had intermittent relations with Africa, limited to consular posts. In Kenya, a U.S. consulate was established in 1918. It was during the second World War that the U.S. got closely involved with Africa. The continent proved useful for war purposes. During the war years, her posts in Africa turned their attention from trade and consular affairs to political and economic reporting. This made the U.S. to develop more interest in Africa for strategic reasons, e.g. in Somalia and Ethiopia. She supported the aspiration of Africa's dependent people for self-determination.

Relations between Kenya and the U.S. were established immediately after the former's independence through the personal contacts between the first U.S. Ambassador to Kenya Mr. William Attwood and the then Prime Minister, Jomo Kenyatta. Aid was also used to foster these relations. Earlier, the 1959- 1960 student "Airlift" programme was the outstanding link between the two nations. It was a private undertaking before it became a government to government programme. In 1961 the U.S. government recognised the importance of the programme by bringing it under its control. The State Department committed \$100,000 to the programme.

Tom Mboya, in a letter to John F. Kennedy on 2nd May, 1961, maintains that the airlift "remains the most significant and

meaningful thing in all our relations with the U.S. so far." ³ The U.S. has continued aiding Kenya's development through its Agency for International Development [USAID]. Bilateral relations has been fostered through scholarships to Kenyans to study in the U.S. There are also visits by American students and tourists. Close relations are evidenced in the establishment of a U.S. military base on the Kenyan coast.

Kenya's leaders have always considered traditional links with the West as being in the best interest of the country.....The granting of military facilities to the U.S. in 1980 was basically a high point in a pro-West policy which emerged with the state of Kenya.⁴

It has been upon such friendly background that Peace Corps has operated in Kenya.

3.2 PEACE CORPS ASSISTANCE.

In chapter two we argued that Peace Corps is part of U.S. foreign policy. One of the main purposes of foreign policy is security. The U.S. aims at building a peaceful and free world. Her foreign aid to Third World countries is partly meant to make them self-sustaining members of the world community. It is important to the U.S. that the populations in these countries have a decent standard of living. These conditions are important not only for moral reasons but also for her security. Minnen G. Williams says that "in today's interdependent web of nations, that is the only way we can guarantee our own peace and security in the long run."⁵ Williams further asserts that;

Africa need our help, our know-how, and our understanding. But we in the West need Africa's friendship and understanding.⁶

The major objective in deploying the Peace Corps volunteers around the globe, is to make friends for Americans and the U.S. government. The agency is meant to show a friendly and helpful United States presence abroad. Therefore, by assisting Kenya, the Peace Corps aims at enhancing relations between the two nations.

The United States Peace Corps has since 1965 endeavoured to promote peace and friendship between Kenya and the United States through the volunteers who are attached to various projects in the country.⁷

Indeed volunteer regard themselves as "ambassadors at large" to Kenya. They are of the view that it is their duty to represent the U.S. They paint the right image of their motherland to Kenyans. For twenty five years the agency has sent volunteers to assist Kenya as they enhance relations between the two countries. The formal agreement for the operation of the agency in the country is contained in exchange of letters between Attwood and Kenyatta.

The agreement was reached in 1964, at a time when Kenya was experiencing a shortage of teachers. Due to a leakage of national examinations, many students had passed. The government could not accommodate all of them in the few existing secondary schools. Kenyans resorted to building community based schools on "harambee" basis. The increased number of schools led to an increased demand

for teachers. Professor D. Sifuna in his paper on "Education Co-operation in Africa. A critical review", notes that following the achievement of independence, many of the African countries experienced an acute shortage of high and middle level manpower which led to a strong dependence on overseas training. He gives the example of Kenya which suffered from a severe shortage of trained manpower necessary to achieve the planned development goals. The country had to depend on foreign teachers and personnel.⁸

Kenneth Matiba, the then Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Education, says that;

The Peace Corps brought hope. We had all these harambee schools springing up and we were forced to take students as soon as they graduated from form 4 and have them teach form 1.We didn't have enough teachers for all these schools. Peace Corps came at just the right time. We could distribute the teachers they sent among all the harambee schools that were being established. It was just what we needed.'

The first Peace Corps volunteers arrived in December 1964. Since this year the agency has sent an average of 80 volunteers to Kenya per year. From 1964 to 1990 over 4000 PCVs have served in the country.

These volunteers have served in various fields. The first volunteers who were in education and agricultural co-operative development began service in 1965. In 1968 a health education programme was initiated. This was terminated in 1974 because the

government needed more curative specialists and not the health generalists that the agency could provide.

From 1974 to 1984, volunteers served both government and harambee schools and in [1] marine fisheries [2] water development [3] livestock development [4] range management [5] special education [6] rural women's agricultural extension and [7] fresh water fisheries programmes. From 1984 Peace Corps has provided volunteers to [1] secondary education in harambee schools only [2] vocational youth polytechnics [3] agro-forestry extension [4] small town development [5] small business extension [6] fish culture extension [7] rural women agricultural extension [8] water development and [9] co-operatives.

In 1987 PCVs were recruited to teach at the University level and to work on a malaria research project. Some of these programmes have been phased out due to lack of support, lack of funds and the availability of trained Kenyans. For instance, in 1987 fish culture extension and rural women agriculture extension programmes were phased out. The present programmes are as follows: [1] secondary education [2] small business [3] youth polytechnics [4] water development [5] small town planners [6] malaria research [7] University agricultural education.

According to the Peace Corps, the placement of volunteers in these programmes is a response to the shortage of manpower. The

Programmes are based on Kenya's development priorities. Below we undertake an examination of the Peace Corps involvement in various projects specifically from the agency's point of view. However, in chapter four, a critical analysis of the agency's assistance to Kenya will be made.

[A] EDUCATION.

The first Peace Corps volunteers served as teachers. Ever since, education has remained the major programme of the agency. Out of the over 4000 volunteers, it is estimated that over 2000 were teachers. The Peace Corps education programme is meant to assist the government with teaching personnel, particularly in areas where there is a shortage. At independence it was clear that the country needed extra teachers. With time this need has come to be in specific subjects; Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and English. The need has been reflected in statements made by Kenyan education planners.

The Minister for Education, Science and Technology, Mr. Oloo Aringo was quoted as having said that,

there was a shortage of secondary school teachers. He stressed the importance of volunteers who will be placed in harambee and government secondary schools to alleviate the shortage.¹⁰

In 1983, a Deputy Director of Secondary Education, Mr. George M. Ndungi, appreciated the fact that 75 Americans had volunteered to teach in Kenya. He told the Peace Corps that the country did not

have enough teachers. He noted that the University of Nairobi and its colleges produced only 400 teachers per year.¹¹ The shortage of teachers is also emphasised by an Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Education, Mr. P.W. Muthoka when he said.

We needed teachers to impart knowledge to students in Harambee Movements, and this is where Peace Corps volunteers and other personnel from friendly countries fill the gap.¹²

An evaluation report on Peace Corps programme in Kenya points out that the shortage of teachers at "A" level in 1976 were as follows; English 300, Mathematics 450, Chemistry 200, and Biology 150 teachers. It was estimated that the country would be short of 850 Mathematics and Science teachers by 1977. These figures do not include the shortage in harambee schools. From the above observations it is evident that volunteer services were based on the need for teachers.

In 1971, Filemon F. Indire and John W. Hansan argued that the Kenyan educational programme would have been severely restricted had it not been for the provision of foreign teachers.¹³ However, in spite of the diminishing need for foreign teachers the Peace Corps still recruits volunteer teachers. The Kenya government insists that since the country had adequate teachers even harambee schools should employ Kenyans first before considering Peace Corps volunteers or any other foreign teachers.

The Minister for Education, Mr. Aringo, had ordered school to drop

alien teachers. Private and harambee schools have to employ Kenyans only because, the Minister argued, the country had enough qualified Kenyan teachers to fill the vacancies left by foreigners. This is as a result of expanding the teachers colleges and the in-service programmes. He noted that the four Universities were training teachers to cope with the country's needs. Out of the 26,000 students, 7,000 take education.

The Minister said: This was not a move against Ugandans alone. It will affect all foreign teachers working in Kenya, including volunteer groups.¹⁴ Besides, there are Kenyan students studying abroad e.g. in the U.S., India, and Britain. Some of these come back to serve as teachers in the approximately 2000 secondary schools. About 600 of these are supported and maintained by the Government, 1300 are Harambee schools and about 100 are private.

The Peace Corps acknowledges that Kenya is at a stage in its development where it has a large population of well trained and educated people. Indeed, in December, 1987, the Peace Corps and all volunteer agencies were asked not to recruit any more teachers until the government could assess its number of teaching vacancies after all eligible Kenyans had been employed. This is an indication that the government's position is that the country is self-sufficient in trained teachers.

However, the Peace Corps still maintains its presence in the

education sector. Currently there are 74 Peace Corps volunteer teachers, who are in harambee schools. If the assertion that the country has adequate teaching personnel is valid, then the presence of Peace Corps volunteers in harambee schools can be understood against the needs of the communities that support these schools. Our contention is that there is a shortage of teachers in the harambee schools. However, this is due to limited resources on the part of the schools and not lack of skilled teachers in the country. We will pursue this line of argument in chapter four.

[B] YOUTH POLYTECHNICS.

Peace Corps involvement in the Youth polytechnics is a response to the problem of unemployment. Many young people migrate to the urban centres in search of work. Lack of appropriate skills in the rural areas, the need to foster income generating opportunities, and the limited access to secondary and higher education among primary school leavers, accounts for the presence of the Peace Corps in this sector. The programme aims at addressing the problem of creating opportunities for productive employment in the rural areas, and stemming the migration to urban centres. This is to be achieved through teaching skilled trades to students.

The Kenya government faces unemployment problem and also the rural-urban migration of young school leavers with no marketable skills. In 1988, 7.68 million people were employed out of the 8.87 millions on the labour market. This left 1.19 million people unemployed.

According to the Minister for Manpower Development and Employment, this meant that in 1989, 1.25 million people were left unemployed. The economy therefore, needs to generate about 63,692 jobs per year to cope with this problem.¹⁵ The youth polytechnics are the main post-primary school institutions that cater for pupils who do not go for secondary education. The increasing population of school going children means that these institutions have even a more crucial role to play.

The classroom enrolment in primary schools has increased from approximately 846,000 in 1964 to approximately 5 million by 1989. The creation of the Ministry of Technical training and Applied Technology demonstrates the commitment of the government to equip these young people with technical skills. Development of skills among the youth mean the rural areas will be availed with skilled services. This will also mean that the skilled youth can do something meaningful not necessarily in the urban centres. There are about 13,000 youths in youth polytechnics. The number of the students is expected to increase to 100,000 in 1991. Last year, 1989, 500,000 pupils sat for the Kenya Certificate of Primary Examination, but only 216,000 were admitted to secondary schools. The rest are supposed to be catered for by the so called "village polytechnics". Kihiu Irimu, argues that development of rural areas will help stem the urban migration by youthful school leavers without marketable skills in search of non-existent jobs.¹⁶

However, in spite of the vital role these youth polytechnics are supposed to play, the government does not maintain them. Out of youth polytechnics, only 328 receive government support. This assistance is mainly in terms of supplying and paying a few instructors. All youth polytechnics are expected to hire extra instructors and maintain themselves in general. Minister, Professor Sam Ongeru, under whose portfolio youth polytechnics fall, told Parliament that many youth polytechnics in the country were in a "mess". They lack funds and skilled personnel which leads to management problems.

The involvement of the Peace Corps in this sector is apparently justified in terms of the unemployment problem facing the country particularly with regard to primary school leavers who do not have any skills. They however, migrate to urban centres adding pressure to the limited social services. There is no indication that there is a shortage of the relevant skilled manpower. Given that some youth polytechnics do not receive government assistance, the engagement of volunteers suggests that they lack funds. Heads of schools and youth polytechnics emphasised that they engaged volunteers because they were free of charge. But even if they were funds, engaging volunteers means such funds are released for use on other development purposes.

(c) SPECIAL EDUCATION.

Peace Corps volunteers have served the deaf population in the

country. It is through education that the deaf can be incorporated as productive members of the society. This project was aimed at equipping the deaf with skills so that they could be employable. The involvement of the agency in this sector was based on a number of factors: One, it had volunteers with skills in special education. Secondly, special education is an area that has been neglected by the Kenya government. Besides, there was a shortage of Kenyans with the relevant skills in this area. This shortage is understandable since the government has not done much in this direction.

Mr. Mwicigi Njoroge in an article entitled "Ministry admits negligence of special education" reported that the Minister for Education, Mr. Aringo, said the Ministry had given little attention to special education for the handicapped as compared to other areas of the education system. Funds are concentrated on secondary and university education. He quotes the United Nations Children's Fund report which noted that special education and primary education were two areas of Kenya's education system that had not received sufficient funding from the government. The report added that the government had left education for the handicapped virtually in the hands of charitable organizations and individuals.¹⁷

[D] SMALL BUSINESS.

Faced with the unemployment problem, the Kenya government is committed to creating more employment opportunities. Small business entrepreneurship is seen as one of the ways through which this

problem can be alleviated. The Sessional Paper No 1 of 1986 entitled Economic Management for Renewed Growth, stresses the necessity of increasing employment opportunities. It points out that this can be partly achieved through the provision of basic business skills for individuals and business groups. The Peace Corps assistance is aimed at helping the government in equipping small businessmen with the relevant skills.

It is only through the education of Kenyan business people that the government policy of encouraging self-employment can be realised. Thousands of people have tried to set up businesses in order to be self-employed. But these small businesses have failed because of lack of skills and knowledge. The Rift Valley Trade Development Officer, Mr. B.K. Maina contends that ignorance is the major cause of failure in business.¹⁸ The Ministry of Commerce organizes courses in various parts of the country in an effort to help small businessmen improve their businesses. The businessmen are taught simple bookkeeping, stock-taking, and management of their resources in general. The Editor of The Kenya Times, argues that;

A businessman must have skills and knowledge to make his venture perform well. He must be imaginative,

*p336X ~~empèiifitāytinnaoñighēymenpmentānd wemenrwhāndnyesta~~

their life's savings in business are eager to learn. Most of them claim that they do not have the time to attend courses. The result is failure.....¹⁹

This means that the efforts of the government alone are not enough.

volunteers can reach some of the people who are not ready to attend the courses organized by the government. Given the indefinite number of people involved, and the fact that these people lack the necessary skills, the small business programme has wide opportunities for volunteers. Currently, there are 43 Peace Corps volunteers in this sector teaching book-keeping, accounting, marketing, managerial and organizational skills.

[E] URBAN DEVELOPMENT.

The Peace Corps observes that Kenya has excellent examples of towns including Nairobi, where things have not gone well due to the fact that proper plans were not made to meet the endless rural-urban migration. By 1989, urban population growth was estimated at 4.2 per cent and is expected to reach 9 million by the end of the century. The City Commission has failed to render the needed services. The inability to collect rubbish and repair roads which are full of potholes are identified as indications of this failure. Besides, the pressure on housing due to the increasing population is seen in the persistence of slums and the government's efforts to build high-rise houses in order to accommodate the City residents.

However, compared to small towns Nairobi has the resources to employ the needed skilled manpower. Local governments in Kenya do not receive any funding from the Central government. They are expected to generate their own resources to fund their own maintenance and development. Most of the small towns have limited resources. They are not in a position to hire professional

services. The Editor of The Standard newspaper observes that;

They should realise that they are expected to generate their own revenues which they should plough back to the public in form of servicesThere are genuine cases of councils being unable to run the services simply because they do not have adequate sources of revenue. That can be attributed to the fact that the cost of operations outstrip the resources. Furthermore, such councils do not receive grants from the Central Government to make their ends meet. ²⁰

However, these towns are also faced with an increasing population and therefore, the need to plan for their services and growth. The Peace Corps assists them by providing urban planners, architects, engineers, public administrators, and financial planners. The volunteers are involved in making feasibility studies, designing projects and giving advice on financial, economic, technical and social implications of such projects. There are currently 6 volunteers in this sector. The government requires that they be posted at the provincial headquarters so that they can reach as many small towns as possible.

[F] WATER SANITATION.

At the time of independence Kenya inherited a sketchy piped water system mainly in the major urban centres and the White Highlands. It is pointed out that the country has close to a million people who lack access to clean, safe drinking water. Many others including infants are dying each day from diseases related to dirty water.

The rural areas are not served with piped water. Many hours are spent on fetching water from streams that likely have water-borne diseases. The government has made the supply of clean and safe water a top priority. However, a lot of projects started by civic authorities, and government funding have not kept pace with the needs of the population rising at about four per cent per year.²¹

The Editor of The Daily Nation observes that;

In some parts of Kenya, especially in the rural areas it need not be gainsaid, getting water is a major problem. The spectre of men, women, and children carrying jerricans, pots, and buckets on their heads and backs and walking long distances in search of water is a familiar picture in these areas.²²

The Peace Corps notes that the government's goal of having potable water for all Kenyans by the year 2000 is hampered by financial and technical resources constraints, therefore rendering it unattainable at the current pace. From 1976 the agency has been assisting the government with manpower in this field. The shortage of skilled manpower is partly due to the fact that the machinery used is imported and therefore cannot be easily serviced by people in the rural areas.

The former Minister for Water Development, Mr. Ndolo Ayah once said that most of the machinery which was imported for use in the water projects was unserviceable because spares parts are not available locally. He said that the machinery were too technically sophisticated for the knowledge of the peasants in the rural areas

who are expected to use and repair them. As such there are not enough people who are skilled in manning and maintaining the equipment.²³ At present there are 22 volunteers in the water sanitation project.

In summary, the Peace Corps operates its programme in the country basing on two factors: The availability of volunteers and the financial constraints on the part of the government to realise its developmental goals. The agency emphasises the governments' financial limitations when planning and budgeting for its programme in the country; Many ministries receive as much as 50 per cent of their funds from donors in form of loans and grants. [see appendix 2]. With regard to Peace Corps involvement in education, initially there was the need for teachers, but at present there are other underlying factors which will be explored in chapter four. However, its involvement in special education is based on genuine need because the government has not developed enough skilled personnel in this area. It should however, be observed that financial constraints on the part of the government creates room for volunteer work. Even in the face of acute unemployment problem, volunteers assist where the government does not have funds to employ its own nationals.

3.3 QUALIFICATIONS OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS.

For volunteers to contribute they must have the necessary skills and experience. The Peace Corps maintains that its major goal is to provide skilled personnel to developing countries. The purpose of

this section is to analyse Peace Corps volunteers qualifications in relation to their objective of contributing to development in Kenya. Adrian Moyes has argued that though all volunteers have some qualifications, they are not always directly relevant to the needs of the Third World countries.²⁴ From its inception the Peace Corps sent out mainly generalist volunteers. In spite of increased requests for skilled and experienced people, the agency has continued to rely on generalist volunteers.

According to Kevin Lowther, the agency was more concerned with becoming a credible force for international amity and development. It therefore sought to overwhelm human problem with massive numbers of volunteers. He observes that it was purely accidental in some cases that volunteers reported to their assigned countries with the skills that had been requested.²⁵ He argues that the agency assumed that academic excellence in college was qualification enough to teach. Volunteers who went into teaching knew nothing about this profession. He says;

The Peace Corps in its "New Direction" policy failed to supply technically qualified people. The generalists will necessarily remain the most important source of volunteers as long there is a Peace Corps.²⁶

Robert B. Textor contends that volunteer technical training has often lacked a realistic relationship to the host country conditions and limitations. The tender age and the lack of skills nor experience means the volunteers gain more than they have to

give. However, it should be noted that the agency has turned to training generalist volunteers in specific skills to meet the needs of the developing countries. It should also be noted that volunteers who are in the education programme are not all trained teachers.²⁷

Below is a table on volunteers' skills.

3.4 Table 1 VOLUNTEERS AND TRAINEES BY SKILL 1962 - 1985.²⁸

Year	Natural Resources		Skilled Trades		Professional Skills		Education		Liberal Arts	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1962	310	11	113	4	394	14	394	14	1,605	57
1963	399	6	199	3	997	15	1,130	17	3,921	59
1964	403	4	202	2	1,512	15	1,814	18	6,148	61
1965	530	4	397	3	2,650	20	4,372	33	5,299	40
1966	467	3	311	2	2,333	15	3,733	24	8,712	56
1967	299	2	150	1	1,796	12	3,892	26	8,831	59
1968	691	5	138	1	1,935	14	4,147	30	6,912	50
1969	728	6	121	1	1,698	14	3,882	32	5,702	47
1970	856	9	285	3	1,807	19	2,854	30	3,711	39
1971	777	11	353	5	1,272	18	2,120	30	2,544	36
1972	758	11	345	5	1,448	21	1,999	29	2,344	34
1973	881	12	441	6	1,468	20	2,055	28	2,496	34
1974	965	12	321	4	1,770	22	2,494	31	2,494	31
1975	1,052	15	421	6	1,403	20	2,034	29	2,105	30
1976	894	15	238	4	1,370	23	2,086	35	1,370	23
1977	920	16	230	4	1,438	25	1,898	33	1,266	22
1978	1,202	17	283	4	1,839	26	2,263	32	1,485	21
1979	1,266	17	316	5	1,709	27	1,898	30	1,139	18
1980	1,319	22	360	6	1,738	29	1,618	27	959	16
1981	1,143	21	381	7	1,742	32	1,416	26	762	14
1982	968	18	377	7	1,883	35	1,453	27	699	13
1983	987	18	377	6	1,919	35	1,480	27	738	14
1984	969	17	285	5	1,881	33	1,709	30	855	15
1985	1,002	16	313	5	2,130	34	1,879	30	940	15

[Source: Gerard T. Rice, Peace Corps in the 80s]

From the above table it is evident that except for volunteers in the category of skilled trades, a high percentage of volunteers

fall in the categories of Education and Liberal Arts, when the two categories are put together. This shows that the agency relied on people without professional skills.

According to the source of this data professional skills include social work. Note that the volunteers in education, and natural resources have not all received college training in these fields. Their number therefore adds to that of the liberal arts as the "generalist volunteers". It is only volunteers in the categories of professional skills and skilled trades that have relevant training in their fields before joining the Peace Corps. However, the trend in skilled trades and professional skills categories indicate that the Peace Corps is trying to provide more volunteers with skills and professional qualifications.

In Kenya there has been some reservation with regard to Peace Corps volunteers' qualifications. Immediately after independence the government requested volunteers to serve in virtually all sectors as the country was in need of additional human resources. Very little attention was given to the kind of qualifications that were needed. Lowther contends that;

It was not the sometimes questionable skills that volunteers brought to schools and villages of Africa that made them welcome. Africans usually knew more about growing food, finding water, keeping healthy and protecting the environment than most volunteers acknowledge. In fact, the African was often surprised at little technical knowledge the average volunteer possessed.²⁹

The acceptance of volunteers in the 1960s was based not only on the shortage of manpower but also on the fact that it was a friendship gesture. Since we had just gained independence, the donor countries thought that there was room for their young people to come and work here. Even if there was need it was not for fresh, inexperienced generalists that the agency provided. The Director of Research in the Ministry of Agriculture says that;

Immediately after independence there was no African officers to man jobs, and therefore the donor countries thought there was a "market" for their young people to come and work here. But they did not have the necessary skills to have an impact on the Kenyan society and therefore they were very quickly dismissed.³⁰

Skills or professional qualifications notwithstanding, from the Kenyan point of view the Peace Corps volunteers are not suited to provide the manpower needs of the country. The knowledge they have is seen to be irrelevant to her needs. This is why high qualifications are emphasised if these volunteers have to serve here.

The U.S. agricultural knowledge cannot be implanted on a Kenyan situation - the volunteers therefore went into simple things as 4K clubs, community development, etc. Since we had just gained independence and being a developing country the donors took it that we needed help. We do not need generalists.At independence we accepted anything we were given but now we ask what we want. And the way Peace Corps are at present we cannot accept them.³¹

The concern over the Peace Corps volunteers' qualifications was

expressed even in parliament. It was stated that every volunteer coming to work in the country must have at least a degree or two to three years working experience in the relevant field. The Peace Corps had been recruiting generalist volunteers, for instance, to serve in the health sector. This notwithstanding, the volunteers in the sector were generally unsuitable to its needs.

In the minutes of Volunteer Agency Committee [VAC] meeting of 19/ 7/ 1990, it is noted that the Peace Corps was not involved in the health activities because of the extra training the volunteers have to undergo to meet Kenyan requirements. VAC is a body composed of a number of volunteers agencies operating in Kenya. This committee recommended that "Volunteers should be better prepared than is currently the case."

In a Peace Corps country programme evaluation report [1976], Jerry Sternin and co-evaluators observed that the Ministry of Education personnel expressed concern that Peace Corps/Kenya attract and recruit qualified teachers in Mathematics and Science subjects. The volunteers should have masters degrees. At the lowest level of qualifications, the Peace Corps should not accept trainers who have not majored in the subject area and taught for two years.

The volunteers should not only be qualified but should be used where their qualifications are relevant and needed. It has been realised that some volunteers in harambee schools were teaching

subjects which they had never learned in college. It is observed in the evaluation report that: it is clear however, much of the future development of the PC/K will depend on the ability to recruit highly qualified volunteers.³²

The National Youth Service had to terminate the services of two Peace Corps volunteers because they were not properly qualified. The agency had found it difficult to recruit volunteers with the required technical skills to serve in the water development programme. An all volunteer conference held in April, 1977, concluded that Ab generalists should have no place in government secondary schools because the level of teaching is too high.

Since the curriculum is the same even for harambee secondary schools, this means that the volunteers are not even qualified to teach in this system of school. From 1985 Peace Corps volunteers have served only in harambee secondary schools. The validity of the Kenyan concern with the Peace Corps volunteers qualifications is clearly demonstrated in the words of Laurel Harrington, a former Peace Corps volunteer.

I consider myself lucky in my two year stay in Meru District and can only wish that I could have utilized the experience I now have when I first came. A Kenyan friend recently made a very telling remark to me. He felt that it was an insult to the many trained people in this country to bring in outsiders as experts. These people are not trained in the technical methods which are suitable for Kenya. I have to agree, and worst admit to being one of those persons. Many of the projects I have first designed had to undergo revisions when it was time

to construct and often I see judgement errors which are now too late to correct.³³

Unlike in the past, Ministries are becoming "rational" with regard to the skills they need. This means that in future only volunteers with the required skills will be accepted. In such requests the needed skills will be specifically stated and a detailed job description given. At present some Ministries do not specify what they need.

An officer concerned with the activities of volunteers in the Ministry of Education stresses that: That the government has said it is better to have one qualified and trained volunteer than untrained ones.³⁴ The officer argues that because of their lack of relevant training, the Ministry may not want Peace Corps volunteers. She contends that these volunteers are not familiar with the Kenyan education system. Yet they come here to for two years, one of which is basically utilized on orientation. She argued;

They don't know the methodology, they are not used to the Kenya's education system like the British volunteers. Peace Corps teachers are a problem. They are young, inexperienced, not trained. In short, they are not qualified to teach here.³⁵

Besides the contentions on Peace Corps volunteer's qualifications, the tender age of volunteers has always discredited the agency as a serious technical assistance programme both in the U.S and in

Kenya. The following table shows the percentage distribution of Peace Corps Volunteers age and the average age since 1961.

3.5 Table 2 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS' AND TRAINEES' AGE, 1961 - 1983

Year	Under 26	26-30	31-50	Over 50	Average Age
1961	-	-	-	-	25
1962	-	-	-	-	25
1963	-	-	-	-	25
1964	-	-	-	-	24
1965	-	-	-	-	24
1966	-	-	-	-	24
1967	86	11	1.9	1.1	24
1968	88	11	1.5	0.9	24
1969	88	9.3	1.2	1.1	24
1970	76.5	20.3	1.8	1.4	25
1971	78	15	5	2	26
1972	80	10	7	3	27
1973	65.8	21	9	4.2	27
1974	62.5	25	8	4.5	27
1975	62.6	25	7.5	4.9	27
1976	61.3	27	7	4.7	27
1977	58.3	30	7	10.7	28
1978	58.4	29	8	4.4	27
1979	58.4	28	8	4.4	27
1980	58.25	27	9	5.4	27
1981	53.36	30.43	10.44	5.77	28.1
1982	52.88	28.49	12.48	6.15	28.4
1983	54.68	27.25	12.51	5.56	28.2

[Source: The Peace Corps in 1983: A year of Achievement, Peace Corps]

From the above table it is evident that the Peace Corps has relied on young people from 1961 to 1983. During this period over 58 percent of Peace Corps volunteers sent out every year have been under 26 years of age. This gives credence to the argument that the agency has relied on young people without working experience.

An officer in the Ministry of Technical Training and Applied Technology observed that some Peace Corps volunteers are good others are not. Some volunteers can not construct a chair and yet they were in youth polytechnics. The Germans, Japanese, Norwegians, and British volunteers are qualified. The Peace Corps volunteers may have the theoretical knowledge but they are not practical.³⁶

The weakness of the Peace Corps volunteers has also been identified by Dan Heinz and Mike Davis. In their report on Peace Corps they observe that volunteers are not adequately qualified. They observed that conservation volunteers could benefit from additional skill-training and increased field supervision. This is particularly by a person who has academic training in forestry.

The assessment team observed the real need for increased supervision of skill-trained PCVs by an experienced forester. It appeared that skill-trained forestry volunteers often misjudged situations that were outside the scope of skill-training that they had received.³⁷

The continued provision of volunteers who do not meet Kenyan requirements made a director to caution the agencies against such trend. The director, Mr. Waithaka of the Ministry of Technical Training and Applied Technology stressed that only volunteers with

the necessary qualifications will be accepted. The person required in 1966 is not the one required in 1990. He should be somebody technically qualified in the area he is coming to help. He should not be somebody who comes to learn in Kenya. There are cries of some who can not construct a chair or something. We don't want a mzungu who can't do the work.³⁸

It is apparent the government is not "very happy" with Peace Corps volunteers qualifications. There is a feeling that these volunteers are not qualified. The relevance of their knowledge is questionable. This is particularly so with respect to the recruitment of generalist volunteers. A government officer pointed out that these volunteers were not only not qualified but they "messed" up things forcing their Kenyans to rectify them.⁴⁹

These reservations notwithstanding, the Peace Corps has continued to rely on generalist volunteers. In the Country Management Plan and Budget [CMPB] for the financial year 1986-1987 in Kenya, it is stated that recruitment of volunteers for service in Kenya is easily realised by enlisting generalists.⁴⁰ However, it should be appreciated that the concern with qualifications demonstrates the changing needs and the awareness of what is needed in terms of manpower. It is apparent the need for manpower is very restricted. Unlike in the past, it is not generalists but skilled and experienced volunteers who are acceptable.

However, the findings of our primary data is summarized in the table below.

3.5 Table 3 AGE, QUALIFICATIONS, AREA OF ASSIGNMENT, EXPERIENCE,

<u>Qualifications</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Assignment</u>	<u>Experience</u>
B.B Admin.	47	S/Business	15 yrs
B.B Admin.	25	S/Business	3 yrs
M. Sociology	29	S/Business	----
High School	28	S/Business	----
MBA	31	Community Dev. Busiess	----
B. Economics	26	Community Dev. Business	----
B.Sc. Eng.	24	Community Dev. Masonry	----
B.A	24	Education/Geography	----
B. Sc.	23	Education/Biology	-----
B. Geology	26	Education/English	-----
B. Economics	24	Education/Enlish	-----
B.Economics	25	Education/Business	-----
B.B. Admin.	25	Education/Business	1 yr
M. Education	36	Education/Mathematics	12 yrs
B.Sc.	23	Education/Math & Chem.	-----
Apprenticeship	28	Education/Welding	9 yrs
B.A. Pol.Sc.	24	Education/Carpentry	Skill-trained for 3 months
M. Urban Plan.	35	Urban Planning	10 yrs

[Source: Field research in Kakamega district.]

From the above table it is evident that with the exception of two volunteers, all of them had university degrees. Some volunteers even had masters degrees. It is also evident that apart from three [3] volunteers whose Educational background did not agree with their areas of assignment, the rest were appropriately deployed. Those who did not have degrees had several years of work experience. This suggests that the volunteers were providing essential skills for socio-economic development at the grass-root level which the target communities are not in a position to secure locally.

In spite of some volunteers being young i.e 23 years old, the fact that they had university degrees and teaching in youth polytechnics, harambee schools or giving advice to small

businessmen and the fact that this help was highly appreciated, suggests that they were playing a positive role. The fact that services of volunteers are highly appreciated at the grass-root level contradicts the Government position that the volunteers are not qualified to work in the country. They may not be experienced or have specific skills, but with the university education. They do provide services need at the grass-root level.

Some problems the volunteers witnessed as facing their hosts were such as lack of funds, and lack of books or equipment. Volunteers pointed out that they had difficulties in either following the Kenya teaching methods or approach or the students , women groups and small business people were not responding to their ideas. Only a few of them tried to apply what they were taught by the volunteers.

The Peace Corps also aims at the creation of skilled manpower. The volunteers are not only supposed to teach but also to train Kenyans to replace them. We will now undertake an analysis of this aspect.

3.6 DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES.

In the CMPB [Kenya] 1986-1987 the Peace Corps strategy to strengthen the programme, and for effectiveness is put as follows;

- [1] Reaffirm rural focus
- [2] Focus on generalist recruitment

- [3] Specify expected programme results and reciprocal government of Kenya development goals
- [4] Build capacity not dependence

This shows that the agency is not only assisting the government with development at the grass-root level, but also addresses itself to capacity building. This is to be realised through the teaching of students and exchange of skills between the volunteers and Kenyan co-workers. Central to this role of the Peace Corps is the concept of "counterpart training". The Peace Corps has in the past insisted on the availability of a local counterpart as a condition for providing volunteers. The volunteers would give such a counterpart an on the job training to ensure that someone will takeover when the volunteer leaves. Counterpart training is where someone is assigned to understudy another person who is trained.

Over 2000 volunteers have taught in Kenyan schools. Teaching classes of over 35 to 45 students for the past 25 years means that many Kenyans have been taught by these volunteers at one stage of their school life. Those who were taught by volunteers in the 1960s are now skilled people in various fields.

American Peace Corps volunteers have in past 25 years taught thousands of Kenyans in such fields as agriculture and social services. Many Kenyan professionals were at one stage of their education taught by an American volunteer.⁴¹

By teaching Kenyans volunteers help prepare them for skilled work. However, this way of contributing to the development of local

skilled manpower is long term. It is after a long time that their students can takeover.

The concept of counterpart training is based on the assumption that the Peace Corps volunteers are technically qualified and that they have the necessary experience to carry out such a task. However, Peace Corps volunteer are not Technical Assistants. In addition they are not familiar with the conditions in Kenya. This is even worse in the case of generalist volunteers. They basically have to be taught what to do and how to do it in the Kenyan setting. For instance, nurses who are professionals, have to undergo additional training to meet the Kenya requirements. An associate Director of the Peace Corps is in agreement with the fact that volunteers are not experts in their fields of operation. "We get our teachers to grill them on what to do. We subject them to examinations."⁴² It is therefore not feasible that such a volunteer will turn a Kenyan into a skilled worker in two years.

Besides the problem of skills, it has proved difficult to assign counterparts. From the government's point of view, it is not possible to assign counterparts to understudy volunteers. There are no Kenyans who are ready to volunteer to understudy the foreigners. The government can not afford to pay the Kenyans who will be assigned as counterparts. As a result "Most volunteers are not involved in training as they were led to believe they would be and the counterparts are virtually non-existent."⁴³

The Peace Corps Kenya admits that it is difficult to locate counterparts. This, in the final analysis, means that the Peace Corps contribution towards the development of local skilled manpower is very limited. That is particularly in the short term perspective. When they leave the post either remains vacant or the Peace Corps or any other volunteer agency makes a replacement. This is in cases where the host community has failed to hire Kenyans.

It should be noted that our analysis of the counterpart approach is based on the premise that the result of the on the job training should be a technically qualified person. However, Kenyans who get in contact with volunteers learn some skills. For instance, Peace Corps volunteers are taught skills that are applicable at the grass-root level. The most common are the ferro-cement tanks and the "jikos" -charcoal stoves that consume less energy. Volunteers demonstrate the skills of making such tanks and jikos. However, such demonstration of skills cannot be seen as a means of developing local skilled manpower.

3.7 CONCLUSION.

In this chapter we have basically examined Peace Corps' assistance to Kenya. Initially the involvement of the Peace Corps in various programmes was based on a shortage of skilled manpower. We had just gained independence and the country therefore did not have enough skilled personnel. At this time we accepted anybody who could help. As such no questions were raised on the kind of qualifications that

the volunteers possessed. But over the years the country has developed its trained personnel which account for the questioning of the relevance of volunteer assistance. This is in view of the fact that we have trained people and the country faces unemployment problem. From the Kenya government point of view, Peace Corps volunteers are not qualified to work here.

The counterpart training approach is not practical due to the fact that volunteers are not experts to train Kenyans on the job for two years. Besides, the government does not have the funds to support such an idea financially and on the worse side, it has not been possible to find counterparts.

However, our primary data indicates that most volunteers have university education and some with several years of working experience. Working at the grass-root level university education is a suitable background. Our own local university graduates are not ready to teach in harambee schools, youth polytechnics, or work with women groups. Peace Corps volunteers may not be skilled but they do have adequate educational background to provide services to these communities. At this stage it suffice to appreciate the fact that though some volunteers may be young, with the university education that most of those interviewed had and the experience of a few of them, they do provide services needed in the socio-economic development of the communities at the grass-root level.

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CHAPTER FOUR

VOLUNTEERS AND KENYA'S INTEREST

4.1 INTRODUCTION.

In analyzing factors that explain the presence of Peace Corps volunteers, our basic assumption is that they serve Kenya's interest. The requests and acceptance are based on her national interest. We have noted the reservations over their qualifications in chapter three, but the country still requests and accommodates these volunteers. This can only be justified in terms of national interest.

Theodore A. Coulombis and James H. Wolfe argue that the concept of national interest remains of central importance in any attempt to understand international behaviour. The primary justification of state action is national interest. Hans Morgenthau holds that diplomatic strategy should be motivated by national interest. A rational political actor is one who acts to promote his or her national interest. This is the case in an international system where the nation-states are regarded as the main actors.

The national interest of every state is self preservation i.e. preservation of the political unit. Every state seeks to preserve its political, social, and economic systems. States also strive to protect their territories and satisfy economic needs and demands.

The responsibility of each state is "to promote the interests of its people"¹ A719Xgovernmentnnot act on any other ground than national interest.² According to John D. Montgomery, aid given for strategic or development reasons serves the recipient's national interest. To George Liska, aid enables the recipient country "to keep abreast of growing popular needs."

To many African countries independence meant the betterment of the living standards of the people. They therefore established friendly relations with the industrialised countries to attract aid. Kenya's foreign policy has been motivated by the overriding need of attracting aid from the West. Trade with neighbouring states and defence of the territorial integrity also feature. Since gaining independence Kenya has sought not only financial assistance but also technical assistance. It is in the light of its development goals and the pursuit of friendly relations that the presence of the Peace Corps volunteers can be understood.

Our contention is that the Peace Corps volunteers have been requested and accepted because Kenya values the public relations function. Secondly, volunteers have been welcomed because of the scarcity of resources at the grass-root level. The following is an analysis of the public relations function and the relevance of volunteers at the grass-root level.

4.2 PEACE CORPS IN KENYA - U.S RELATIONS.

We have pointed out [above] that the establishment of friendly relations with the industrialised countries on the part of African governments was a way of attracting aid for development. We have also argued in Chapter Two that the Peace Corps was created as a diplomatic tool to "sell" the U.S. abroad. The volunteers play a public relations function for both the donor and the recipient countries. Kenya has welcomed even less qualified volunteers because of this role.

Besides the need for technical assistance, Kenya welcomed Peace Corps volunteers as a diplomatic gesture. Up to 66.6 percent of government official interviewed stressed the importance of volunteers diplomatically. Peace Corps came at a time when the newly independent nation was establishing diplomatic relations with other countries. For this was during the Cold War period, internal forces competed to identify the country with either the West or the East. The acceptance of the Peace Corps was an indication of the country's identification with the West. The Peace Corps as an expression of America's goodwill was welcomed as a pointer to Kenya's relations with the West. Enock Okwach Opondo notes that;

The warming of relations with the U.S. was demonstrated for example by the fact that while Kenya was expelling some Soviet, Chinese, and East European citizens, news agents, and diplomats working in the country, she was welcoming the Peace Corps volunteers from the United States to operate in Kenya.³

These volunteers were accommodated yet they did not meet the Kenyans' expectations in terms of skills. They were young, fresh from colleges with no working experience nor professional skills. As such they did not have a deeper understanding of their areas of operation. Most of the volunteers who were generalists were guided by the misconception that they were coming to effect significant change, to lead underprivileged people out of darkness and suffering and show the way to modern technology.⁴ The fact that the donor countries solicited the recipient countries to welcome volunteer assistance generated scepticism on the part of the recipient people. In Kenya, it was incomprehensible why colonists had been expelled only to welcome others.

Statements made by government officers indicate that Ministries accepted volunteers with reservations. [See Chapter Three pp 92-96]. However, these reservations were not put in effect by terminating the services of less qualified volunteers. The various Ministries only "received" volunteers, they did not "request" for such assistance. They accommodated less qualified volunteers because the presence of Peace Corps volunteers was a "Government Issue". This means that the government valued the presence of volunteers though some of them were unsuited to the needs of some Ministries. Since the 1964 Agreement was based on contacts between President Jomo Kenyatta and the U.S. Ambassador, "Government" in this sense means the President who plays a central role in the formulation of the country's foreign policy.

For instance, the Ministry of Technical Training and Applied Technology engaged a B.A. graduate to teach carpentry. The volunteer acknowledges that he is not skilled to teach this subject. It is the agency that selected this area of assignment for him. As far as he is concerned the Peace Corps experience is a means into the U.S. foreign service.

The fact that Kenya has adequate skilled manpower and yet continues to accommodate volunteers partly demonstrates the importance of their diplomatic role to the country. Reservations over the performance of Peace Corps volunteers, and expulsion has been used as a pointer to the deteriorating relations with the U.S.⁵ The Peace Corps has operated in Kenya without any interference as was the case in Tanzania in 1969 nor has there been any hostility to it as was the case in Uganda. Kenya accepts them in the interest of her bilateral relations with the donor country. An evaluation report notes that;

The Kenya government wants some volunteers to stay in the country, not least because of their role of maintaining the relations between the two countries.⁶

The diplomatic importance of volunteers is seen in the way the presence of a programme in Kenya was used as trade off with a diplomatic visit. The German volunteer Service was about to phase out its programme in Kenya. But following President Moi's visit to Berlin the presence of her volunteers was maintained as a trade off with Moi's mission.⁷ A Peace Corps volunteer emphasises their

importance as a diplomatic symbol by arguing that "It is a simple way of keeping relations going on between our countries."⁸ President Moi is of the same view when he says that;

Even when our needs can be met domestically we will still welcome exchange of talent because it is the greater cultural understanding that much of the value of the Peace Corps lies.'

However, it should be noted that the "cultural understanding" is one way. Kenya receives volunteers, but there are no Kenyans working in the U.S. as volunteers. As such exchange of talent or cultural understanding cannot justify the continued presence of Peace Corps volunteers.

Cultural programmes are instruments of foreign policy. They are used to influence the recipient in favour of the donor. This may take the form of literature, cultural centres, films, scholarships and student exchange programmes. The Peace Corps Director, Paul Coverdell said that the friendship between the Peace Corps and people of Kenya has played a key role in cementing the relations between Kenya and the United States.¹⁰ U.S. Ambassador to Kenya Mr. Smith Hempstone noted that the links binding the two countries were "many and strong" including the Peace Corps.

The Peace Corps has been part of Kenya's landscape for more than 25 years. More than that the educational and cultural ties are particularly significant.¹¹

He advised volunteers to be good diplomats for the U.S. government.

"You are of course the real ambassadors to Kenya."¹² The cultural ties include more than 50000 Kenyans studying in the U.S., hundreds of American students who visit Kenya every year and tourists.

The diplomatic function of the Peace Corps is also inherent in the assistance toward the development of Kenya. This assistance is appreciated especially at the grass-root level. The impression created is that of a concerned and generous America. At the government level, such assistance from a friendly government calls for appreciation. An officer in the Kenyan Treasury argues;

It is a grant and you can't refuse a grant. We give nothing in return. It is meant to enhance inter-state relations. These are emissaries of a big friend.¹³

An official of the Terra Nova volunteer agency concedes that there is the political fact in volunteer assistance. The donor countries pursue their own interest in sponsoring volunteer programmes. It is not the case that these programmes are meant to exclusively serve the host country's interest. He argues that,

of course there is that aspect of enhancing the relations between two states. The political aspect cannot be avoided. There may be the commercial interest of the sending country than the interest of Kenya.¹⁴

It is evident that the Peace Corps is considered a positive factor in Kenya-U.S. relations. Although this may not be explicit, it is partly for this reason that the Peace Corps has maintained

its presence in the country. This conclusion is made more plausible by the fact that it has been made clear that the Peace Corps is an integral part of the American mission abroad. The Peace Corps may be forced to maintain certain programmes and invite new ones just because the Ambassador deems the existence important to the maintenance of good relations with the host country.¹⁵

The role of the Peace Corps is consummated in the "Friends of Kenya" association. The association is based in the U.S. and its members are volunteers who have served in Kenya. Besides assisting financially, it continues to link the two countries. Kenya's former Ambassador to the U.S. Mr. Sospeter Mageto concedes that "it helped to cement the relations between Kenya and the United States." It has so far donated funds and equipment towards the anti-poaching efforts in the country.

4.3 PEACE CORPS SERVICES IN KENYA.

We have argued in the preceding section that volunteers diplomatic role is valued by Kenya. In this section we shall analyze the need for volunteers. With the increasing unemployment problem in Kenya, the justification of volunteer services on the basis of shortage of manpower is untenable. We have reached a stage whereby even graduates from local universities do not easily get jobs.

It is therefore not understandable why generalists have to undergo "crush" programme training to come and work here. We contend that

besides the diplomatic role, there is need for volunteer services. This need is expressed in the request Kenya continues to make for them. However, the need is not basically due to a shortage of manpower. There may be a shortage of some skills in some areas, but there are other factors that account for the need for volunteer services.

The need for Peace Corps services at the grass-root level is due to the lack of financial and material resources than the shortage of manpower. In other words the inability to hire local personnel conditions the requests for volunteers. This is basically because volunteers in most cases are free of charge. The shortage of qualified personnel in rural Kenya is due to the fact that qualified people are not willing to work up-country. Besides, it is prestigious for communities in the rural areas to engage the services of foreigners.

We shall analyze the lack of resources, the attitude of educated Kenyans towards manual work, and the attitude towards volunteers as factors determining the requests for the latter by the communities at the grass-root level. This is because the Peace Corps' assistance is directed towards bolstering development efforts at this level.

4.4 [A] FINANCIAL AND MATERIAL RESOURCES.

The Peace Corps has established itself in harambee schools, youth

polytechnics, small towns and women groups. One common aspect in these areas is their limited financial and material resources. Besides, their development priorities are supposed to be funded by the communities and the local councils in the case of small towns. The government assists minimally, particularly at the policy level.

All the people interviewed i.e. government officers [63.3 %], heads of harambee schools, and youth polytechnics [60%] stated categorically that the main reason why volunteers are requested is the lack of resources.¹⁶ Up to 70 percent of volunteers interviewed acknowledged the need for funds. The youth polytechnics for instance, are very vital in Kenya's development. This is particularly in terms of creation of skilled manpower, facilitation of self-employment and the curbing of the rural-urban migration.

The fact that the communities lack funds to employ adequate personnel, and acquire the necessary implements, make them to welcome assistance from outside. The government does not maintain youth polytechnics. Only 36.4 percent of government officials attributed the presence of volunteers to a shortage of skills and none of the people interviewed at the grass root level attributed their requests for volunteers to a shortage of skills.

In a workshop organized by the Volunteer Agency Committee on youth polytechnics, it was observed that they lacked equipment. This hindered the effectiveness of volunteers. It was resolved that

volunteer agencies assist in the acquisition of the lacking equipment.¹⁷ Fred Weber argues against,

.....continuing to send volunteers abroad unless it be reasonably assured that when they get there they will have the tools, materials and equipment to do the job that is expected of them and for which they were encouraged to commit themselves for two years.¹⁸

Harambee secondary schools are also not fully supported by the government. The running and maintenance of these schools is the responsibility of the communities. With limited support from the government these harambee schools are not in a position to hire all the necessary staff. Most of them do not have enough funds to employ graduate teachers. Thus they seek volunteer assistance because it is free of charge. A headmaster of a harambee secondary school that is so poor to have been nicknamed "The Ruins of Gedi", a pre-historic site at the Kenyan coast, admits that he could still accept less qualified volunteers because "they are free".¹⁹

The request for volunteers is made on the assumption that some financial and material assistance was forthcoming. In a meeting of Volunteer Agency Committee it was questioned whether volunteer programmes are welcomed because of the money some of them bring or because they are needed.²⁰ Some agencies provide vehicles for use by volunteers and host communities.

The engagement of a volunteer does not mean that the financial and

material needs of these entities have been answered. They expect that the foreigner will also assist in this direction. The government officers concerned with the co-ordination of volunteer services point out that there have been cases whereby volunteers from agencies that do not assist with funds have been rejected. The rejection may have been based on incompetence but in reality volunteers from funding agencies were requested instead. This demonstrates that the main reason for refusing the former volunteer was because there was no likelihood of getting funds. The scarcity of funds and equipment is acknowledged by a Peace Corps evaluation report.

As schools do not receive government assistance and are frequently poorly equipped, Peace Corps Kenya should investigate avenues for providing assistance where such assistance would make marked difference in the volunteers' ability to teach.²¹

The introduction of the 8-4-4 system has added an extra burden on the harambee schools. This is both in terms equipment and personnel. Besides the government introducing the system, no assistance has been given for the acquisition of the relevant learning materials. It is the responsibility of the communities.

The Minister for Health, Mr. Mwai Kibaki once told parents that,

The government announcement two or three years ago that parents will have to develop their various schools has not changed and those who had not started building their schools should not expect assistance from elsewhere.²²

The position of these schools is noted in the report on the

Evaluation of the Norwegian Volunteer Service of November 1989. It states that many schools have been built, but most of them have insufficient plans for education, equipment, and the salaries and work conditions for teachers are not satisfactory. Thus the best teachers leave the schools.²³

This is why in the face of their development priorities and limited resources, parents welcome the "free services" of volunteers. A manager of a youth polytechnic in Maragoli, Kakamega District, stresses that he can only accept volunteers from a funding agency. This is because the polytechnic does not lack teachers only, but also funds to employ instructors and buy the needed implements. He says that he would prefer a volunteer from an agency that provides financial and material assistance, for this will be a way of getting funds.²⁴ The lack of resources is reflected in the observation of Kirsten Johnson who served in Meru as a PC teacher.

I don't really condone this gift giving, but these people need some sort of boost to get the school off the ground. Once the school can hire some qualified government teachers it saves money. Now all the fees students pay go towards paying the staff and buying their food. We save nothing for building or books.²⁵

The Peace Corps volunteers are also advisers to small businessmen and groups, especially the women groups. Individual small business people and the women groups are in reality not in a position to hire the services of professional accountants or salesmen to advise them. In Kenya many people are opening up small businesses to earn a living. But most of them do not have the basic knowledge in book-

keeping, accounts, marketing, organization and the management of their resources.

The government has not done much in educating these people in these skills. Given that they cannot afford to hire professional services, the advice given to a few of them by Peace Corps volunteers is welcome. To facilitate the work of the volunteers, the government has to inform these people of the shortcomings and the need to be trained. It is acknowledged that small entrepreneurs have to be educated accordingly, but it is not expected that a fledgling entrepreneur will spare funds to hire professional services. The report on Norwegian volunteers notes that the members of women groups are often poorly educated and possess little experience in management. It adds that the women groups are not systematically supported by the government.²⁶ Joseph K. Kariuki notes that;

Any additional input from outside into these ongoing projects, be it in the form of material for construction to complete a cattle dip, advice on how to prevent soil erosion, or a harambee secondary school teacher is received with great appreciation.²⁷

Although in the early 1960s the rationale of shortage of manpower was obviously acceptable, at present the financial and material needs of the requesting entities cannot be ignored. Expectations for financial and material assistance is coming to dominate the requests for volunteers because they a necessary ingredient to the

development of these countries.

Kenyan institutions requesting volunteers appear less to require technically qualified person, but rather the resources that come with him or her, i.e vehicle and funds in aid.²⁸

The Peace Corps recognizes that there is need for funds. The harambee schools where Peace Corps volunteers are sent have few resources. The limitation influences the agency to provide volunteers. It seeks out schools in rural areas which "lack the necessary resources to attract qualified teachers."²⁹

The Peace Corps Kenya has been made aware of the need for funds and material assistance. In the PCPB of 1989-1990, it was observed that the Peace Corps is often at the bottom of the interest priority list of the government. This is because there are many organizations that provide all materials, funds and personnel to implement a project while it provides personnel only. This restricts the number and the types of activities in which it could be involved.

The Peace Corps is not a funding agency to assist schools and other institutions that are in need of material and financial assistance. But it sends volunteers where the salaries and working conditions are not attractive to trained Kenyans. However, for some target groups funds from outside the country may be the only source of finance.³⁰

It is apparent that the requests for volunteers have not been based on shortage of manpower per se. Lack of financial and material resources have played a part. Therefore, the scarcity of resources and the fact that volunteers are free of charge influences the requests for volunteers.

But the volunteers have been welcomed primarily because they are free of charge for the organizations and at the same time provide opportunities to receive support, funds, and transport assistance.³¹

volunteers concede that there are Kenyans who can do what they are doing. According to the Peace Corps, there is urgent need for increased development activity and project implementation over and above what the government of Kenya can afford to do. What the government lacks is not the personnel, but funds.³² Although the Peace Corps does not provide funds, its grass-root approach to development enables volunteers reach a category of people and institutions that do not have access to development funds. It is observed that government and international donors are attracted to support important national projects or programmes or plans at the macro level. The grass-root level of development is given the least attention.

Any funding undertaken by the Peace Corps volunteers is done on individual basis. The Ambassador's Self-Help Fund and USAID provide funds to volunteers. The former avails funds to volunteers in education for building water catchment systems in schools. USAID

provides Peace Corps with 55,000 US dollars per year for projects focusing on food production, energy, small business development, income generation and health.

Besides, there is the Partnership Programme whereby volunteers establish links between the host communities and people in the U.S. This way, they secure funds for the host communities. In view of the scarcity of resources, volunteers have assisted host communities to have water catchment systems, water tanks, solar power lighting, and books. They have also secured funds for building class rooms, laboratories, and starting libraries. Where such assistance has been extended volunteers have tried to meet the other needs of the host communities.

In spite of the expressed need for funds the Peace Corps has insisted on providing manpower only. It has even gone to the extent of phasing out the use of motorbikes by volunteers. Peace Corps volunteers are not supposed to use vehicles. The vehicles could ease the transport problems that the volunteers encounter.

However, because the agency was created partly as a reaction to the image portrayed in the novel The Ugly American and partly as a means of distancing the youth from the luxurious life-style in the U.S., providing funds and vehicles would be negative.

This would not help change the bad image of American as depicted in the novel. It would be contrary to the Peace Corps' objective of

demonstrating that Americans are not "soft". It is also contrary to the spirit of voluntary work of sacrificing and living unostentatiously while helping other people. By insisting on providing manpower only rather than addressing problems of the host communities in totality, the Peace Corps is but educating Americans. Given the needs of the recipient communities, funds could strengthen volunteer assistance. Kevin Lowther suggests that;

A small Peace Corps development budget to support and compliment volunteer skills would extend the effectiveness of the volunteer.....A development budget is absolutely necessary if the Peace Corps is to transform itself into a technical service program.³³

posting volunteers to harambee schools and youth polytechnics that lack the necessary infrastructure cannot solve their problems. For a meaningful contribution to the host communities, the Peace Corps has to address itself to the other needs in addition to the shortage of manpower. Financial assistance towards the development of the necessary infrastructure could give room for the host community to concentrate on generating funds to employ someone after the "free" volunteer leaves. Lack of funds means the community is perpetually confronted with problem of developing the infrastructure, is unable to hire the needed manpower, and will therefore continue relying on volunteers.

4.4 [B] THE ATTITUDE TOWARDS MANUAL WORK AND VOLUNTEERS.

Besides the scarcity of resources, other salient factors bear on

the requests and acceptance of volunteers at the grass-root level. One of these factors is the attitude of educated Kenyans towards manual work and work in the rural areas. They prefer white-collar jobs in urban centres and towns. Secondly, there is the society's attitude towards village polytechnics. They are rated low in comparison with the school system which leads to university education. In addition, it is regarded as prestigious to have a foreigner on the staff of the harambee schools or youth polytechnics. Adrian Moyes has pointed out that schools have a preference for volunteers not only because of the real advantage of having an English speaker, but also because of the prestige associated with the presence of foreigners on the staff.³⁴

The system of education before the 8-4-4 one made Kenyans to prefer white-collar jobs. This has meant that educated Kenyans seek office work in towns. Even after the expansion of the educational facilities, and therefore an increased number of educated Kenyans, very few are willing to work in the "hardship areas". This has denied the rural areas the necessary skills and services. Educated Kenyans are not ready to work in circumstances that appeal to Peace Corps volunteers. As such the volunteers offer services to communities at the grass-root level which their Kenyan counterparts are not ready to do. The editor of The Kenya Times notes that the Peace Corps spirit has not been emulated by Kenyans. He points to the reluctance of Kenyans to work in the rural areas.

Roofs are always being blown off poorly constructed

school buildings by strong winds, but our highly trained engineers and builders will not go to the affected schools - which may be in their very own rural villages to supervise the roofing of a low cost building.³⁵

This reluctance creates a shortage of manpower. The reluctance may be understood given the standard of living in a city as Nairobi, with running water, electricity, and other social amenities, is more attractive. Secondly, a Kenyan graduate will not sacrifice to work in a remote part of the country in a harambee school while his peers are working and earning more in towns. A government officer in the Ministry of Agriculture observes that;

As a stop-gap, volunteers are very important. They are doing a commendable job in the hardship areas. So long as Kenyans don't change their attitude we will still need them.³⁶

All Peace Corps teachers are assigned to harambee schools only where there is greatest need for teachers. Most of the harambee schools are in rural areas. The Peace Corps notes that Kenyan graduate teachers do not prefer going to teach in harambee schools.³⁷ The attitude of the communities at the grass-root level has contributed to the requests for volunteers. Having been colonised Africans were made to believe that whites were superior. Besides, there is the mentality that where a whiteman is things are better done.

Mr. Ben Muli, a Chairman of Mikuini Secondary School Board of

Governors in Machakos, admits that he engaged Peace Corps volunteers partly because of prestige. "It is a good thing to have these "Wazungu" around. They help draw students to our schools."³⁸

A Chairman of the Mumbetsa Youth Polytechnic in Kakamega concurs with Mr. Muli. He argues that the "Wazungu" play a vital role in attracting students to their youth polytechnic. "Where there is a "mzungu" there is knowledge. The Peace Corps help to draw students to our youth polytechnic."³⁹ A commissioner in the Ministry of Culture and Social Services disallowed volunteers in Nyanza province because "they believed that only a "mzungu" can do something better and therefore making Kenyans irresponsible."⁴⁰

However, it is apparent that volunteers have been requested to fill a gap, but they are also meant to attract students to harambee schools or youth polytechnics. This situation arises because of the attitude towards the harambee schools and youth polytechnics commonly known as "village polytechnics". When comparatively regarded, going to a government secondary school is preferable to a harambee school or "village polytechnic". This is particularly the case when it is viewed that advancement is limited with regard to harambee schools.

The government schools in most cases have all the necessary facilities and the chances of moving to the higher levels in education are high. Until recently the village polytechnics did not command much prestige. They were seen to be places for people who

had failed. The polytechnics did not have any direct link to the university education system. It is only now that the Ministry of Technical Training and Applied Technology is taking up President Moi's suggestion to work out a system which will enable those who go through the youth polytechnics to end up in the university.

According to a director in this ministry, those who have gone through the normal school system to the university are highly regarded by society.⁴¹ Therefore to enable the youth polytechnics play their important role in Kenya's development, it must be demonstrated that the system has equal rewards. It was even necessary to alter the name "village polytechnics" to "youth polytechnics". The former designation did not give the youth polytechnics their due importance in development. The director argued that the name "village" made youth polytechnics less attractive to prospective students.

To the community, it is important for the harambee school and youth polytechnic to be seen to be functioning and developing. The employment of the necessary personnel and development of these institutions partly depends on the fees paid by the students. It is therefore crucial that they enlist adequate number of students. This means that they will not only be getting funds, but also serving the purpose they were established for. Without students the institution would not serve any useful purpose. Though this factor may not be explicit, heads of these institutions admit that

volunteers play a role in attracting students.

Besides the factors advanced volunteers have been requested simply as a replacement. The Peace Corps has recruited more volunteers simply because the heads of these institutions requested "to have another volunteer". Volunteers are requested because these institutions are used to having them. There is also the expectations for aid and the prestige associated with the presence of a foreigner.

The reservations expressed at the government level notwithstanding, volunteers are highly regarded at the grass-root level. In Kenya the situation is that the employers want more volunteers but the central authorities want fewer.⁴² Volunteers are very necessary at the grass root as they assist in keeping the institutions running. Without funds to employ Kenyans, the work volunteers do could not be done. It is, however, acknowledged that some volunteers are "bogus".

However, it should be pointed out that on individual level, some volunteers are effective others are not. This depends largely on whether a volunteer has been assigned in an area which he is knowledgeable in and the adaptability to the environment. It also depends on the support from the Peace Corps, the Kenya government and the host community.

4.5 ADMINISTRATION OF THE PEACE CORPS PROGRAMMES.

In our analysis of the factors that determine the presence of Peace Corps volunteers, we have demonstrated that the communities at the grass-root level need the "free services". It is therefore important that we analyze the process that is undergone to provide the services to the target communities. The administration of the Peace Corps programmes determines the effectiveness of the volunteer at the grass-root level.

The relationship between the Peace Corps and the Kenya government can be described as good, thanks to the friendly relations between Kenya and the U.S. This creates a positive atmosphere for the operation of the agency's programmes in the country. But even on such a background, the Peace Corps Evaluation Report notes that programming process in Kenya has been fragmentary, although there seems to be reasonable co-ordination in a given sector. Generally Peace Corps lacks a clear strategy for its programme in the country. It only responds to requests for volunteers or to requests for information by the Washington office.⁴³

This observation excludes the part played by the Kenya government. From our point of view, there is very little collaboration between the government and the Peace Corps. The government has not seriously involved itself in the administration of the programme.

The programming of the volunteers service in the country is carried

out by the Peace Corps officials only. Besides consulting government officials and initial site visits, there is no important role that the Kenyan officials play. As a result the Kenyan government continues to request for volunteers without appreciating the limitations of the Peace Corps. It insists on high qualifications without appreciating what the volunteers actually do particularly from the point of view of the immediate recipient communities. In short, there seems to be no clear government policy on volunteer assistance. Demanding for skilled workers only is not enough. It rests upon the government to see to it that the volunteer services are utilized to the benefit of Kenyans. There is lack of appreciation of the need at the grass-root level with respect to volunteer services. By emphasising skills government official assume that volunteer assistance is valid only when there is a shortage of skills.

This is what the Peace Corps emphasises. But it should be stressed that the same government officials acknowledge that the country is self-sufficient in middle and high level manpower. And that the communities and institutions that go for volunteer services are, in most cases poor. Finally, there is no policy or machinery to facilitate the provision of volunteer services to the target communities. The Peace Corps and other volunteer agencies operate under unpredictable circumstances that hamper their programming process.

The Peace Corps programming process starts with consultations with government officials and then site visits to verify the expressed need for volunteers. The inadequacy of this process is seen at this initial stage by the absence of any emphasis on the lack of resources in general. Peace Corps volunteers are recruited basically because both the agency and the government officials agree that the need is for manpower.

As it has been pointed out in this chapter, lack of funds is a crucial factor in understanding requests for volunteer assistance. Besides, these initial visits, rarely are there any follow ups. Sites are visited in the first three months. There were no records to the effect that government officials ever visited these places again. This means that both the agency and the government are not continually updated on the needs and the performance of volunteers in the field. Volunteers have complained of lack of support in terms of information and transport. After being posted, they have questioned whether they were really needed.

Some of us wondered about the site's desire to have us, and their willingness to give us support. Other constraints included lack of tools, transport, and lack of information on sources of funds.⁴⁴

An evaluation report on Peace Corps Small Projects Assistance notes that volunteers often feel that they are not receiving adequate support from Peace Corps/ Kenya. This report points to the lack of support and poverty that Peace Corps and the government

should respond to. Ineffective administration of the programme affect the volunteers in the field adversely. For instance, the 18 volunteers interviewed in Kakamega complained of the following:

4.6 TABLE 4 VOLUNTEERS' COMPLAINTS

<u>No. of Volunteers</u>	<u>Complaint</u>
3.....	No funds
5.....	No equipment/facilities
3.....	No Response from PC/GOK
2.....	Misdeployed
2.....	Underutilized
2.....	Approach/ Difficulties with the Kenya work systems
1.....	No complaint

[Source: Field Research in Kakamega District]

This are situations that demanded for quick administrative attention to enable the volunteers play their roles effectively.

However it is apparent that after the initial site visits the government tends to abandon its interest in what the volunteers do around. It is interesting that from December 1964, the government has not carried out any evaluation of the Peace Corps assistance. The agreement provides that "The Government of Kenya and the Peace Corps shall each furnish the other such information as may be needed to determine the scope of the Peace Corps functions in Kenya and actually evaluate the effectiveness of such functions." Peace Corps/Kenya and the Kenya government have been reluctant to carry out such evaluation exercises.

One reason for this reluctance is the fear that the consequences of

such an evaluation may be the end of Peace Corps volunteer assistance. However, this fear pre-supposes that there is need for volunteer assistance. Rather than traditionally assume that there is lack of skills and therefore emphasise the need for skilled workers, joint assessment of the need for and the role of volunteers would greatly enhance the administration of the programme.

With little government involvement in the subsequent programming stages, the Peace Corps faces a number of problems. For instance, previously the Peace Corps used to decide on where to be involved and who to bring in. But now the requests have to go through the district and provincial offices before getting through to the different ministries. Although this process is seen to be effective in so far as verifying the need for volunteers is concerned, it is not conducive to the programming strategies of volunteer agencies. Getting curriculum vitae of a volunteer assessed for employment is a difficult and long process.

Some ministries do not respond to requests by volunteer agencies to provide volunteers or process their curriculum vitae. To the Peace Corps and other volunteer agencies, this process is time consuming. Some ministries even require volunteer agencies to write a separate letter stating all reasons why the vacancy cannot be filled by a Kenyan.⁴⁵ Ministries have very often declared that they no longer need volunteers only to put in requests for volunteers.

This could be to the same agencies or to different ones. Peace Corps for instance, was requested to stop recruitment of education volunteers.

We learned about four weeks ago from Mr. Kiplagat that the GOK was looking into all volunteer organizations and were mainly concerned about volunteers who do jobs that Kenyans can do.⁴⁶

However, it is notable that volunteers still work in the country. The absence of any definite policy and approach with regard to volunteer assistance leads to a general feeling that the climate for this assistance in the country is difficult. This is also an indication that volunteer services are not really appreciated by the Kenya government. Commenting on this situation the Director of the Peace Corps/Kenya described the Kenya Government policies " as confusing as before".⁴⁷ In other words there has never been any clear government direction on volunteer assistance.

An Associate Director of the Peace Corps observed that the country's manpower needs have changed. Therefore the importance of the Peace Corps as a manpower source with the generalist volunteers is debatable. But there is still a need for volunteers. However, the government seems not be aware of this need. It has to be "pushed" to see the need.⁴⁸ The Peace Corps has decided to "market their programme without hard sell." Which can be interpreted to mean the government will not be compelled to see the need for volunteers.

Kenya government officials are not co-operative when it comes to planning for Peace Corps assistance. The agency has got procedures whereby it reviews the programme development, accomplishment, and bench marks. But it has been difficult and frustrating to have constructive discussion with the Kenya government officials on this. Which, according to the Peace Corps, makes its operations difficult as the agency cannot plan properly. But the Peace Corps planning system excludes host country participation. This planning system was designed unilaterally by the Peace Corps. Reggie Hodges argues that;

While Peace Corps efforts have concentrated on maintaining good relations between Peace Corps and the host country, true host country direction for Peace Corps have been minimal,.....Peace Corps 1045, 2045, CMPBs and long range Peace Corps' assistance plans are often prepared in the confines of the Peace Corps office. Seldom is the host country direction sought or included in Peace Corps plans.

What is apparent is the fact that the involvement of the Kenya government in volunteer activities is very minimal. In particular, it appears that after processing the requests, the government's interest wanes. According to a Peace Corps Associate Director, this lack of interest is due to the fact that, to the government, the Peace Corps is "not considered seriously. The Peace Corps presence could be done away with and there would be no difference."

The Peace Corps is maintained because the country benefits in many other ways from the U.S. It is therefore diplomatically necessary

to Kenya. Interfering with the Peace Corps would affect the bilateral relations with the U.S. especially in the economic sense. As Adrian Moyes has observed, it does no harm to accept a few Peace Corps volunteers than to annoy the U.S.

However, it should be observed that from its inception the programming was done centrally by the agency. The host country has not been used to participating in the administration of the programme. The disinterest of the Kenyan officials is aggravated by the bias towards the qualifications of Peace Corps volunteers. Where it is held that the volunteers are not qualified it is hard to expect any serious co-operation and collaboration in the planning and implementation of the programme. This is compounded by the view that Kenya has got enough qualified personnel and that the country emphasises the "Kenyanization policy"; Jobs have to be manned by Kenyans.

Basing on these two positions i.e the adequacy of locally trained personnel and the Kenyanization policy, a Peace Corps evaluation report concludes that the agency should phase out its operation by 1986. It is now 1991 and the Peace Corps has not phased out its programmes at all but continues to emphasise the importance of these two aspects in its PCPB. It does no harm to highlight these in their planning manuals. But the need for additional resources at the grass-root level shows that it is not appropriate to treat the relevance of volunteer assistance on the basis of the adequacy of

skilled manpower and the Kenyanization policy.

This one sided view is due to the fact that both the agency and the government have not realistically acknowledged the relevance of volunteers. It is a different thing to have qualified Kenyans and quite another to want Kenyans only to be employed as a matter of policy. Likewise, it is quite a different thing when considered that harambee schools, youth polytechnics and women groups cannot afford to employ these Kenyans. With limited resources at their disposal they have but to go for volunteers who are in most cases free of charge.

4.7 CONCLUSION.

In this chapter we have argued that the Peace Corps volunteers play a public relations function for Kenya. This is seen not only in the statements by leaders, but also in the fact that volunteers are accommodated even when they are regarded as not qualified enough to work here. The Peace Corps keeps the good bilateral relations between the two countries going. This is why at the ministerial level volunteer assistance is treated as a "Government Issue". It is so important that the ministries have always accepted volunteers who are not suited to their needs.

The reservations over volunteers' qualifications notwithstanding the Peace Corps assistance expresses United States friendship with Kenya. In spite of the increasing pool of skilled local personnel,

Kenya do appreciate the diplomatic aspect of the Peace Corps assistance by welcoming the volunteers. Kenya has never expelled peace Corps volunteers on the basis of lack of necessary skills.

It is, therefore, evident that Kenya has been motivated by political factors in accepting Peace Corps volunteers. We therefore conclude that hypothesis one which states that "The involvement of governments in volunteer assistance transforms it from a humanitarian and voluntary concern to an instrument of foreign policy, a form of aid and education for their nationals," valid in the case of Kenya. The effect of the Peace Corps on Kenya as an instrument of the U.S. foreign Policy is in the sense that Kenya has recognized its diplomatic importance as playing a public relations function for both countries. It is in the interest of Kenya to maintain good relations with the U.S. by welcoming Peace Corps volunteers to spend here two or three years. Besides the political factors, with time, lack of material and financial resources at the grass-root level have emerged as the major reasons why volunteers are requested.

Notwithstanding the reservations with regard to volunteers qualifications at the Government level, it has been demonstrated that volunteers are relevant to the socio-economic development of the communities at the grass-root level. These communities lack the necessary resources to realize their development goals. The volunteers provide the much needed services free of charge. This

proves our hypothesis Two valid which states that " Volunteers who are sent to developing countries infuse skills which are essential for the socio-economic development of the recipient countries".

We have also seen that the position of the volunteers in the field is affected adversely by lack of administrative support both from the Government of Kenya and the Peace Corps Office in the country. Volunteers have complained of lack of information on sources of funds, lack of transport, problems with work systems in Kenya, and lack of equipment and other tools of work, which should have been addressed administratively. The failure to attend to these situations hamper the performance of volunteers. Volunteers interviewed in Kakamega indicated that they were not being utilized fully. Despite the fact that it was not possible to assess the performance of individual volunteers, it is evident that ineffective administration affects the contribution volunteers aim at achieving. We therefore conclude our hypothesis Three valid which states that " The effectiveness of volunteer programmes in developing countries is a function of the management of the programme in the developing country".

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CHAPTER FIVE

VOLUNTEERS AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

In this last part of the thesis the following will be dealt with:
a summary, conclusion, and recommendations.

5.1 SUMMARY

Arthur Gillette observed that ex-colonial powers tend to see volunteers as a fresh expression of their long-standing responsibilities. Glyn Roberts contends that volunteer service is meaningless where it is not based on a "critical moral and political philosophy". These observations points to the political connotations in international volunteer service and the diversion from the ideal of voluntary work.

Basically, voluntary work refers to the concern with the underprivileged people in society. It is a moral obligation to help the less fortunate members of a community. At the nation-state level, the need to develop and the desire to improve their people's living conditions on the part of the under-developed countries justified the establishment of volunteer programmes. After the first and second World Wars volunteer service was justified in terms of service for peace and world order. Free labour was to be used to help the under-developed countries towards the realization of peace and world order.

However, both the donor and the recipient countries have tended to treat volunteer service in terms of their national interest: As playing a public relations function, educating the youth, and contributing to development. With the establishment of the U.S. Peace Corps, volunteer programmes took a new turn; they now received government financing. Even those that depend on charitable organizations for funds, do receive government support. Where the governments do not fund the programmes they influence where volunteers go. In short, the religious or humanitarian philosophy of action has been abandoned, that "the idea of sacrifice is outdated non-sense".

On the surface, the ideal of voluntary work is seen in the very fact of having volunteer programmes. In practice, volunteer programmes are subject to national interest of the countries involved. All governments which support volunteer programmes consider that it serves their national interest to have such a programme. The emphasis on the ideal of voluntary work, and development is nothing more than salesmanship to the recipient countries.

Following the creation of the Peace Corps, it was fashionable for a developed country to have a volunteer programme. Many of them did not want to be left behind in answering the "obligation" to help the under-developed ones "catch" up with the developed states. We are saying it was "fashionable" and "obligation" because volunteer

programmes were established without knowing exactly what volunteers were going to do abroad. Nevertheless, it was perceived as a call which had to be answered.

However, viewed from their national interest standpoint, these programmes were meant to develop their youth, express their political interest in the receiving country and even used to stress economic linkages. It is emphasised that the programmes were meant to transform their youth for the donors believed that "people will be better citizens when they spend a year or two working in developing countries."¹ This is clearly seen in the words of a Peace Corps Country Director who once said that:

The Peace Corps was not an answer to what the world needs most. It is an answer to what Americans needs most. To learn how to relate sensitively and empathetically with each other and with other persons in other cultures.²

Young people in developed countries displayed very little knowledge of the Third World countries. For instance, the Africa they knew was the romanticised "Dark Continent". One volunteer said that he used to think Africa was a wild jungle full of wild animals and "darkened people hiding behind bushes with spears and poison dart."³ Another one, Al Wiesel, said that he heard stories about Third World countries on poverty and hunger, and he therefore "wanted to experience something like that and see if I could handle it"⁴

This clearly shows that education for their youth was a very

important factor in creating volunteer programmes. But the donor countries had to justify these programmes in terms of "development" to win the acceptance of the Third World countries. To this end, volunteers were depicted as gallant young people living in mud huts with little or no pay. Their cause being to help "back-ward natives to emerge from the iron age". Francis Luzzatto underscores this point.

No matter how difficult it is to accept and no matter how much we believe our own mythology, we must face the fact that over the years we have come to rely more on technical assistance arguments to sell ourselves to our host countries and to justify ourselves to the Congress.⁵

Third World countries accepted volunteers not because they believed the simple "technical assistance" rationale, but because it was of diplomatic importance. This is seen in the fact that though they doubted the credibility of Peace Corps volunteers as skilled personnel, they welcomed them. President Nerhu of India said:

In a matter of spirit, I am sure young Americans will learn a good deal in this country and it could be an important experience for them. We will be happy to receive a few of them - perhaps twenty or twenty - five. But I hope you and they will not be disappointed if the Punjab, when they leave is more or less the same as it was before they came.⁶

The programme was created partly as a "goodwill gesture" to the recipient country. Besides, discussions over volunteer assistance in the early 1960s was carried out at the highest level of

diplomatic contact. For instance, Sergeant Shriver, the first Peace Corps Director, travelled all over the world selling the idea to presidents and heads of governments of the Third World countries. Being aware that the Peace Corps was at the heart of President J.F. Kennedy, it was diplomatically valuable to accept these volunteers than to refuse them.

In Kenya the agreement providing for the Peace Corps assistance followed discussions between the President and the then U.S. Ambassador to Kenya. Being a Young country out to make friends, and particularly with the West, it would not have been easy to reject such a goodwill gesture. The importance of volunteers diplomatically is well illustrated by the relations between Tanzania and the Peace Corps. In 1969, President Nyerere expelled Peace Corps volunteers saying they were "undesirable" but later, in 1979, the Peace Corps was again operating in Tanzania.

The reason for the expulsion was too distant from the aspect of being skilled on the part of the volunteers. They might have been undesirable but the expulsion was due to deteriorating relations between the U.S. and Tanzania. President Nyerere disagreed with the U.S. over her involvement in South East Asia. Therefore the re-entry of the Peace Corps in Tanzania pointed more to the normalization of relations than the need for technical assistance. For, if volunteers were undesirable in 1969, then they were more undesirable in 1979. At this stage the country is expected to have

been better off in terms of skilled manpower than in 1969. In fact the re-entry in Tanzania was hailed as " another indication that president Jimmy Carter's foreign relations are restoring America's credibility in the Third World."7

Reservations with regard to the qualifications of volunteers have been raised both by scholars whom we have referred to in this study and the Kenya Government officials. It has also been questioned whether the Peace Corps has the ability to supply the Third World countries with skilled personnel.

However, this notwithstanding, our findings indicate that the Peace Corps volunteers role is highly appreciated at the grass-root level in Kenya. The communities at the village level are not in a position to generate the resources they need to realize the many development projects that they initiate. The Government on the other hand, is not in a position to fund these projects as well as attend to macro-development projects at the national level.

The Peace Corps provides personnel who assist the target communities in trying to meet their development objectives. The recipient communities appreciate the fact that the agency provides someone to keep their projects going. Our own Kenyans with university qualifications are not willing to provide the needed skills and services at this level.

5.2 CONCLUSION.

It will be insufficient to conclude this thesis without clearly touching on the purpose of this study. The study aimed at inquiring into and explaining the presence of volunteers from the developed nations in the under-developed world. Young people come, live and work for host communities in the Third World without the latter understanding why. In spite of the criticism levelled at volunteers, both the developed and developing nations and the communities in the latter countries seem to be religiously in support of the continuity of these programmes.

Even the fact that the "development rationale" is becoming untenable has not had significant impact on the continued existence of these programmes. We therefore broadly hypothesised that political factors account for the deployment and acceptance of volunteers by the countries concerned. With regard to the recipient countries and their communities at the grass-root level, we interpreted their continued acceptance of volunteers to be based on the latter's relevance to development. We therefore hypothesised that volunteers provide skills essential for the socio-economic development of the recipient countries. We advanced three specific hypotheses. Our findings were as follows:

HYPOTHESES.

- [1] The involvement of governments in volunteer assistance transforms it from a humanitarian and voluntary concern to an instrument of foreign policy, a form of aid, and education, for their nationals.

Our testing of hypothesis One with regard to the United States is contained in Chapter Two , section 2.3, under the sub-heading THE PEACE CORPS AND U.S INTEREST. From the U.S. point of view, the formation of the Peace Corps was basically for domestic political consumption. It was a campaign strategy adopted by President John F. Kennedy's campaigners during the race for the presidency. The Peace Corps was formed without any tangible evidence that such young people were needed in the Third World. It forced the first director of the agency to travel around the globe to convince Third World leaders of need for Peace Corps volunteers.

It is not suggested anywhere that Third world leaders triggered off the establishment of the Peace Corps by requesting for such assistance. But Kennedy's allegation that the Soviet Union was spearheading this kind of assistance in the name of communism, and that the West would be left behind in this, points to the political motives. In forming the Peace Corps the U.S. wanted to counter the spread of communism. For Kennedy argued that if these less privileged developing countries were not helped to help themselves they would very easily fall for communism. In other words the Peace

Corps was formed against the Cold War background.

The creation of the agency was a reaction to the characters portrayed in The Ugly American. The novel simply stated that because of the posh life Americans led in underdeveloped countries, they were resented by their hosts. That the U.S. foreign aid programmes were a failure. This assertion caused concern to the U.S. as a world power. As an antidote to this image the Peace Corps volunteers were sent out to live simply and help people in the underdeveloped countries. This explains why the agency has resisted attaching funds to volunteers and permitting them to use vehicles. Even motor bikes which were initially in use, were phased out to avoid the negative impact of being seen to lead a posh life in the midst of poverty.

Besides, the pervasive impact of this novel, there was a growing concern over the degeneration of the American youth. Because of the affluence of the American society, it was feared that the youth were no longer capable of sacrificing for any other cause beyond personal interest. For instance, the society was not producing long-distance runners which meant it was not a hard race. The society was but producing soft and spoiled youth. It was therefore necessary for their youth to undergo a hard life. It was necessary for the young Americans to have the Peace Corps experience.

This explains why the agency was least concerned with skills at its inception. It concentrated on the "Numbers Game" i.e. pumping more

and more volunteer overseas without the necessary skills or proper and genuine assignments. It was important to have so many volunteers overseas to justify the existence of the agency and to enable as many Americans as possible to undergo a hard life. It was the Peace Corps experience that was valued greatly than the need for skilled manpower in developing countries. The aspect of skills became relevant when it was realized from returning volunteers that skills were necessary to enable volunteers do something as they underwent a hardlife.

Over the years the Peace Corps has tried to include skills as a priority in order to keep abreast of the changing needs in the host countries. This is through emphasising the recruitment of skilled volunteers and training of generalist volunteers in specific skills, basically for application abroad. Nevertheless, this demonstrates the centrality of political factors than the technical assistance arguments.

The training of volunteers for three months to have basic skills to apply overseas is more meant to enable young Americans have the Peace Corps experience than answer the need for skills in the recipient country. In fact the training of generalist volunteers for a period of twelve weeks does not give credit to the agency as a serious development agency. Instead of training generalists for such a short time it would be more logical to train the locals directly. But because of the salient political agenda, Volunteer

programmes prefer spending the money on their youth than on the youth of the under-developed nations. However, from the statements of American Presidents and senior government officials, it is very clear that the Peace Corps is a very important diplomatic tool.

The testing of hypothesis One with regard to Kenya is carried out in Chapter Four, section 4.2 under the sub-heading; PEACE CORPS IN KENYA - U.S. RELATIONS. In Kenya, the government has had a strong stand with regard to the presence of Peace Corps in the country. But at the same time, there seems to be a lot of reservations with regard to the qualifications and performance of volunteers.

However, apart from official statements praising the Peace Corps volunteers, there is very little in existence that could point to how the country treats this assistance. In spite of the heavy involvement of non-governmental organizations in Kenya's development, the role of volunteer organizations is not appreciated by being shown in our development plans as a source of resources that contribute to the country's development.

Though it is apparent that immediately after independence there was need for manpower, political interest featured in the acceptance of Peace Corps volunteers. The acceptance was meant not only to welcome this friendship gesture but also to stabilise relations with the West, particularly the United States. This is clearly seen in the fact that at the time these volunteers were being welcomed,

the country was expelling nationals of the Eastern bloc. This pointed to Kenya's intended close links with the West than the East.

The presence of the Peace Corps was seen to be more diplomatic than a technical assistance programme. Government Officials interviewed did not take responsibility for the presence of volunteers under them. They referred to the programme as a "Government Issue", meaning it was more relevant to government to government relations than the need for skills in the ministries. If anything, Peace Corps volunteers were found incapable of answering the needs of some ministries. But nevertheless, they were accommodated because of their diplomatic importance. Unlike other countries which expelled Peace Corps volunteers, Kenya has always been cordial and soft to their presence.

The diplomatic importance is also seen in the fact that there is lack of serious interest on the part of the government in volunteers activities. No thorough evaluation of the Peace Corps programme has been carried out by the government. It is therefore not easy for the government to assess the agency's contribution to development. As such the government shows very little or no commitment to the development role of the agency. For, without any meaningful assessment of the Peace Corps programme, any appreciation of the volunteers presence is but an act of diplomacy on the part of the government.

Without a proper appraisal of the agency's role, ministries make demands which the agency cannot meet, particularly with regard to qualifications. The standards set by, say, the Ministry of Technical Training and Applied Technology cannot easily be met by the agency during its recruitment process. This makes it impossible for the agency to go on with its recruitment process as scheduled yet its projects in the country have to go on for they have not been officially phased out. As a result there are strained relations between the hosts and the agency. However, such a strain does not reach the inter - state level because of the diplomatic repercussions.

The Peace Corps continues to operate under friendly conditions and the relationship with government officials is "very good". In spite of the praises made about the Peace Corps, lack of serious concern with its activities points to its least importance as a source of manpower. We therefore concluded that hypothesis One is also proved valid in the case of Kenya.

[2]Volunteers who are sent to developing countries
infuse skills which are essential for the socio-
economic development of the recipient countries.

It should be stated at the outset that "development" of the recipient country is given as the main objective of most volunteer programmes including the Peace Corps.

However, we found out that the relevance of the Peace Corps assistance is highly questionable at the government level and welcomed at the grass-root level. In other words the Peace Corps are treated from two perspectives in Kenya i.e official and grass-root. From the official point of view the Peace Corps are not suited to the needs of this country. The views against the volunteers right from their first appearance in 1960s still obtain.

They contend that there are a lot of factors that make Peace Corps volunteers unacceptable. All along that agency has supplied very young people who do not have any working experience. They are not knowledgeable in technologies that suit the Kenyan environment. That is why they are always placed in simpler projects like the 4K clubs, and tree nurseries among others. Even in these areas they are said not to be of any advantage to their Kenyan counterparts.

With regard to teaching, many volunteers in this area are not trained teachers. Worse more, some of them are reported to be involved in teaching subjects which they never learned at college. For instance, a B.A graduate of political science teaching carpentry in a youth polytechnic. Nurses provided by the agency have to undergo extra training to meet the Kenyan requirements. Generalist graduates who are trained say in forestry for three months often find it difficult to handle anything out of the scope of their training.

All Peace Corps volunteers have to be taught or "grilled" on what to do in the country at their Naivasha Training Venue. This demonstrates that when they come in they are not fully aware of what they are supposed to do. In addition, the young Americans are not familiar with Kenyan systems and environment.

Although there was concern at the grass-root level that some volunteers are bogus, the general attitude was of appreciation. There is a strong feeling at this level that volunteers are necessary. The aspect of skills notwithstanding, volunteers are seen as necessary because they are free of charge. The immediate host communities do not incur any costs [monetary] in engaging the services of Peace Corps volunteers.

There are a number of reasons why volunteers are welcomed at the grass-root level. The same reasons account for the belated acceptance of volunteers by the government. It is true there is need for skilled manpower at this level. The harambee schools, the youth polytechnics, the women groups, the small businessmen, and small town councils need skilled manpower. But the shortage of skilled manpower is not wholly due to unavailability of skilled personnel in the country. If anything genuine shortage of skilled manpower is only in some areas. For instance, the country does not have adequate number of French teachers.

However, the basic reason why volunteers are welcome is lack of

financial and material resources. Most of the recipients of volunteer assistance have limited resources at their disposal. The government does not support them financially. This has been worsened by the Structural Adjustment Programme whereby the token assistance that was extended to some of these institutions have been withdrawn. Cost - sharing is being introduced in areas where the government had taken full responsibility in its development strategies.

In reality the government does not have enough resources to finance both macro and micro - development projects. The expenditures of many ministries partly depend on loans and grants from outside. [See appendix 2] Therefore against any other considerations, financial limitations on the part of the government and the recipient communities at the grass - root level, makes both accept volunteers.

There are other factors that contribute to the acceptance of volunteers such as the attitude of educated Kenyans, and that of the recipient communities towards foreigners. It is generally given that educated Kenyans do not like working in the rural areas and leaves harambee schools and youth polytechnics without graduate teachers. The communities at the grass-root level to some degree accept volunteers because of the prestige associated with having a foreigner on their staff in the harambee school or youth polytechnics. This is said to contribute to attracting students to

these institutions.

It is a fact that harambee schools or youth polytechnics are not the best employers of graduate teachers in terms of salaries. This, besides being in the rural areas mostly, makes them less attractive to graduate teachers or any other skilled personnel. This, however, creates a gap which volunteers occupy. It is not the case that volunteers do anything that Kenyans can not do. But educated Kenyans are not ready to work where volunteers are willing to venture.

Our primary data collected in Kakamega District indicated that Peace Corps volunteers had at least university education. The general background of the volunteers was adequate to render services to the target communities. For instance, one volunteer had a masters degree in mathematics, with 12 years working experience as a teacher and she was assigned to teach mathematics. Several had first degrees in Business Administration, or Economics and were involved in teaching business education, and community development. One volunteer had a masters degree in Urban Planning with ten [10] years working experience and he was involved in assisting small towns in their development and expansion strategies. One volunteer did not have university degree but he had nine [9] years working experience in welding and was assigned to teach this subject in a youth polytechnic.

With such qualifications, the volunteers were involved in helping the communities at the grass-root level realize their development goals. Without the funds to pay Kenyan University graduates, the communities rely on volunteers to keep their development projects going. Because educated Kenyans do not prefer working in the rural areas where these community based projects are, volunteers provide services that are essential for the socio-economic development at the grass-root level. With strict reference to the role volunteers play at the grass-root level, we have demonstrated that our hypothesis Two, which states that " Volunteers who are sent to developing countries infuse skills which are essential for the socio-economic development of the recipient countries", is valid.

[3] The effectiveness of volunteer programmes in the developing countries is a function of the nature and performance of the management of the programme in the recipient country.

This hypothesis was derived from the fact that though volunteers are criticised as irrelevant to developing countries they are still welcome. We therefore, assumed that it is possible that through efficient administration, volunteers were effective in carrying out their duties. And this effectiveness made developing countries welcome them the criticisms notwithstanding. The testing of this hypothesis was undertaken in Chapter Four section 4.5.

As far as the administration of the programme is concerned, we found out that there were some limitations. Besides Peace Corps consulting relevant government officials in various ministries, there is very little that is done jointly. The Plan Budget for the programme in Kenya is the business of Peace Corps/Kenya. There tends to be a struggle with regard to programming. The agency would prefer to bring in people of the calibre certain ministries do not want. The ministries may delay in accepting visas for volunteers and therefore end up affecting the programming pace on the part of the agency concerned.

Both the Peace Corps and the government clear volunteers to work here on the premise that there is a shortage of manpower. Yet in reality most of the recipients have limited human, financial, and material resources. This makes the programme in Kenya rest on a weak foundation. Because in reality both the government and the Peace Corps deceive themselves that it is manpower that is needed. The host communities go on emphasising the need for personnel and underplaying their other problems. Yet government officials know that these other problems exist.

The Government has pointed out the need for funds but it is not emphasised that the Peace Corps incorporate funds in their programme strategies. What is needed is a holistic approach to assist the people at the grass-root level; personnel, financial and material resources are needed.

On the part of the government, there tends to be lack of seriousness and interest in volunteer activities. This does not affect the Peace Corps alone but also other agencies operating in the country. Volunteer activities have been abandoned as the sole responsibility of the agencies concerned. For instance, some have to look out for areas which are in need of assistance, approach the government to request to be allowed to assist, struggle to have volunteers permitted to work here, and co-ordinate with the local communities in facilitating the volunteer services.

The least concern on the part of the government is seen in the fact the volunteer agencies have gone to the pain of co-ordinating their activities in Kenya. Besides other objectives, the Volunteer Agency Committee [VAC] aims at avoiding duplication of their services in the country. The government would have been expected to have a body to carry out this function.

For the Peace Corps in particular, you find that its volunteers complain of lack of support in terms of transport, facilities, and information on the sources of funds. Both the government and the Peace Corps fail volunteers in this respect. Even if the agency tries to help, the government involvement is not always seen. For instance, the financial support or transport pleaded to the agency towards its volunteers by the government has not been forthcoming.

Volunteers cannot effectively contribute to development in

situations where the basic tools of work are lacking nor where information on various inputs is absent. The administrative process should take into account all factors necessary to create an enabling environment for volunteers to play a more positive role.

In view of the shortcoming noted in the administration of the programme, particularly, the absence of any meaningful joint approach between the GOK and the Peace Corps, and the problems that the volunteers undergo in the field, we conclude that hypothesis three is valid. The hypothesis states that "The effectiveness of volunteer programmes in the developing countries is a function of the nature and the performance of the management of the programme in the recipient country".

A more effective way of managing the programme could have a positive impact on the performance of volunteers in the field. The present poor co-ordination of the programme in the country account for the problems volunteers encounter and therefore the charges that volunteers are not qualified to work here. If the volunteers were given adequate administrative support then any shortcoming in their performance would be of great concern. Ineffective management of the programme undermines the role volunteers play in development.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS.

In our thesis we have demonstrated that the initial cause of voluntary work has been turned into a tool of inter-state relations. It has come to be regarded as a technical assistance programme. To serve their national interest, donor countries have tried to justify volunteer programmes in terms of development aid than the humanitarian cause.

There is room for volunteers to come and share in the development of the Third World, and because of their access to sources of aid, their presence is of great importance. In doing so the volunteer would be at the same time enhancing relations between the two states. For donors, and recipient countries, the agencies, particularly the Peace Corps, and volunteers to benefit we recommend the following:

[1] Since the government values the presence of volunteers diplomatically, and the communities at the grass-root level need the volunteer's services, the administration process, both on the part of the government and the volunteer agencies, should aim at managing the programme more effectively for the country to benefit both politically and in the development sense. An enabling environment should be created for the volunteers to play a more positive role.

[2] To be relevant as an agency for development the Peace Corps

should adopt a holistic approach i.e address the manpower, material, and financial problems of the recipient communities.

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APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEWS - THE NEED FOR VOLUNTEERS.

1. Manpower:
 - [a] 36.4 percent of government officials interviewed stated that there was a shortage of skills.
 - [b] 50 percent of the volunteers interviewed found no Kenyan doing what they embarked on, meaning there was a shortage of manpower.
 - [c] None of the Kenyans at the grass- root level, especially headmasters and managers of Youth Polytechnics, attributed their requests to need for manpower as such.
2. Diplomacy:
 - [a] 66.6 percent of government officials stressed the importance of volunteers diplomatically.
 - [b] 50 percent of the volunteers interviewed stated that they were U.S. "Ambassadors at large".

[c] 10 percent of the people interviewed at the grass - root level showed awareness of the diplomatic function.

3. Financial & Material Needs.

[a] 63.6 percent of government officials interviewed stated that volunteers were requested because there was lack of funds and material resources. Officials of various ministries expressed concern that the government does not have enough resources to do everything it may want to do.

[b] 70 percent of the volunteers interviewed acknowledged the need for funds and material resources for development.

[c] 60 percent of the people interviewed at the grass- root level stated categorically that they requested for volunteers for they lacked funds. They are in most cases unable to hire the necessary manpower in addition to the task of developing the infrastructure with the scarce resources at their disposal.

APPENDIX 2

ESTIMATED DEVELOPMENT EXPENDITURES. 1987-1988 IN KENYA

<u>GOK FUNDS.</u>	<u>FUNDS FROM DONORS</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>%OF TOTAL</u> <u>BUDGET.</u>
1. <u>Ministry of Agriculture:</u>			
47,204,350	34,643,123	81,147,473	13%
2. <u>Ministry of Livestock Development:</u>			
6,299,360	6,512,311	12,811,771	2%
3. <u>Ministry of Transport and Communication:</u>			
43,463,070	41,419,300	84,882,370	13%
4. <u>Ministry of Energy and Regional Development:</u>			
5,468,690	68,355,260	73,823,950	12%
5. <u>Ministry of Health:</u>			
17,515,080	22,889,620	40,404,700	7%
6. <u>Ministry of Water Development:</u>			
17,051,080	20,832,529	37,884,529	6%
7. <u>Ministry of Education:</u>			
19,869,100	12,311,100	32,180,200	4%

8.	<u>Ministry of Culture and Social Services:</u>			
	13,566,510	2,941,050	16,507,560	3%
9.	<u>Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources:</u>			
	16,452,560	8,372,004	24,824,564	4%
10.	<u>Ministry of Works, Housing and Physical Planning:</u>			
	9,139,640	4,166,800	13,306,440	2%
11.	<u>Ministry of Local Government:</u>			
	4,167,750	4,989,375	9,157,125	1%
				or below
12.	<u>Ministry of Co - operative Development:</u>			
	2,400,400	4,297,191	6,697,591	"
13.	<u>Ministry of Information and Broadcasting:</u>			
	5,847,200	—	5,847,200	"
14.	<u>Ministry of Commerce and Industry:</u>			
	4,779,480	1,034,500	5,813,980	"
15.	<u>Ministry of Lands and Settlement:</u>			
	2,722,140	902,850	3,624,990	"

16. Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife:

1,341,860

1,202,794

2,543,654