The Impact of Peace Corps Service on Host Communities and Host Country Perceptions of Americans

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INTRODUCTION

The Peace Corps traces its roots and mission to 1960, when then Senator John F. Kennedy challenged students at the University of Michigan to serve their country in the cause of peace by living and working in developing countries. From that inspiration grew an agency of the federal government devoted to world peace and friendship.

In 1961, the first Peace Corps Volunteers accepted assignments to serve in six countries. Since then, more than 200,000 men and women have served in 139 countries. Peace Corps activities cover issues ranging from HIV/AIDS education to information technology and environmental preservation. Peace Corps Volunteers continue to work with countless individuals who want to build a better life for themselves, their children, and their communities.

This paper focuses on preliminary findings from research conducted in ten countries about the views host country partners have of Americans before and after living and working with Peace Corps Volunteers.

The authors\(^1\) present aggregate data about:

- Host Country Nationals’ opinions of Americans prior to interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers
- The type of interaction that Peace Corps Volunteers have with host country partners
- Changes in Host Country Nationals’ opinions of Americans after interacting with the Volunteers
- Ways in which opinions of Americans change

The paper further explores the relationship between the type and frequency of interactions with Volunteers and the increased understanding and opinions of Americans expressed by host country partners\(^2\).

The Peace Corps’ Development Model

The Peace Corps defines development as “any process that promotes the dignity of a people and their capacity to improve their own lives.”\(^3\) Peace Corps country programs are designed with

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\(^1\) The authors would like to thank Cathryn L. Thorup who provided insightful comments during her review of the paper.

\(^2\) The authors’ views expressed in this report do not necessarily reflect the views of The Peace Corps or the United States government.

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three stakeholders’ considerations in mind: national priorities, local needs, and Peace Corps programming. The intersection of these three “spheres of influence” is where Volunteers are expected to identify priorities, strategies, and activities to develop sustainable local capacity (Figure 1).

**Figure 1: The Peace Corps Model of Development**

- Peace Corps Volunteers help people develop the capacity to improve their own lives.

A major contribution of the Peace Corps stems from the unique characteristics of the Peace Corps Service experience. Three key elements define this model:

- **First.** Peace Corps service is grassroots and long-term. During their twenty-seven months of service, Volunteers live in the community where they are serving, at the economic level of their partners.

- **Second.** Volunteers must learn the local language of their community.

- **Third.** Volunteers work both to make a difference by building local capacity (Goal One) and promoting a better understanding of Americans among host country nationals (Goal Two).

The interdependence of Goal One and Goal Two (third element above) is central to the Peace Corps experience. Host Country partners develop both professional and social relationships with Volunteers who are able to communicate in their language. Host families and colleagues share everyday experiences. They see each other on a regular basis in common daily situations – eating

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3 Information about Peace Corps’ approach to development was adapted from *The Role of the Volunteer in Peace Corps’ Approach to Development Staging: Director’s Guide* Course Number: CEN003.

4 Volunteers receive approximately three months of pre-service training and serve for two years.
the same food, living in the same types of houses, speaking the same language, and using the same transportation.

The interpersonal relationships built between Volunteers and friends, neighbors, and colleagues and the acceptance of Volunteers within communities is the framework through which the mission and goals of the Peace Corps are carried out. The Peace Corps expects that the long-term and often intense experience for both the Volunteers and their host country partners leads to transformational empowerment of both parties, and that personal interaction, seeing each other on a regular basis, in common daily situations leads to improved cross-cultural understanding.

**Host Country Impact Studies**

The Peace Corps has carried out extensive research within the agency, particularly on the impact of the volunteer experience on the Volunteers (see attached bibliography). The Peace Corps currently surveys Volunteers\(^5\) annually and that perspective provides critical insights into Volunteers’ motivations for joining the Peace Corps, observations on their work, and opinions about the impact they believe they are having. In addition, the Peace Corps has been the subject of many external research studies.

What has been missing from the majority of the research about the Peace Corps, especially in recent years, is the perspective of the agency’s partners - host family members, beneficiaries, and counterparts who live and work with the Volunteers - on the extent to which the Peace Corps is achieving Goals One and Two:

- Do host country individuals think Peace Corps Volunteers and the community projects on which they work meet locally defined needs?

- Does Peace Corps Volunteers’ work increase community members’ understanding of Americans?

In 2008, the Peace Corps embarked on a series of studies in countries where the Peace Corps is currently active to answer these questions. One part of the research focuses on the development impact of the work undertaken by Volunteers. A second part of the research searches for answers about the mutual learning that occurs among the Volunteers and members of their host communities.

The overall approach taken in this research recognizes that the development work of the Peace Corps (Goal One) and the people-to-people interaction (Goal Two) are interrelated and cannot be studied in isolation. Goal One provides a reason for Volunteers and partners to work together; Goal Two defines the Peace Corps’ approach to the work.

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\(^5\)The Peace Corps has surveyed Volunteers periodically from 1973 to 2002 when a biennial survey was instituted. The survey became an annual event in 2009.
The impact studies follow that approach as well. The research documents the local partners’ perspectives on the impact of Peace Corps Volunteers on capacity building and on changes in host country nationals’ understanding of Americans. The studies are unique for their focus on learning about the Peace Corps’ impact directly from host country nationals.

The goal of the research is to discover the extent to which Volunteers provide host country individuals with a deeper understanding of Americans, the extent to which the interaction with volunteers has a positive or negative impact on individuals’ opinions of Americans, and which aspects of interaction with Volunteers are most related to a positive or negative change in their opinions of Americans.

The hypothesis examined in this paper is that the Peace Corps’ development model of intense, long-term contact between Peace Corps Volunteers and local partners leads to community integration and therefore to greater understanding and more positive opinions of people from the United States among the individuals with whom Volunteers live and work.

METHODS

The research was designed by Peace Corps’ social scientists and, in collaboration with the Peace Corps Country Director at each post, implemented by local senior researchers and interviewers. Ten country studies have been completed to date. An additional seven country studies are ongoing and four more are planned for federal fiscal year 2010. Nine studies will be undertaken in fiscal year 2011.

Interview Methodology

The local research teams conduct semi-structured interviews with a range of individuals who have worked with or lived with a Peace Corps Volunteer. Interviews typically last between 30 and 75 minutes. An overview of the types of questions asked is found in the Appendix.

Respondent Selection

A representative, rather than random, sample of approximately 25 Volunteer work sites within a country is selected. Both sites that have Volunteers serving in them as well as sites from which Volunteer(s) departed as long as four years ago are included in the sample. Approximately four to ten people are interviewed at each site. Four categories of people are interviewed at each Volunteer work site.

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6 Although the Peace Corps’ Host Country Impact Studies collect data about the impact of Peace Corps’ Goals One and Two, this paper reports only on selected Goal Two results. Stakeholder data also focus on Goal One impacts and therefore are not reported in this paper.
Definitions

Project stakeholders are individuals who have a major involvement in the design, implementation or results of the project such as ministry officials, Peace Corps staff, and community and local leaders.

Project partners or counterparts work with Peace Corps Volunteers, such as co-teachers in a Teaching English as a Foreign Language program, community health workers, women and youth group leaders, and staff of community-based and non-governmental organizations. Volunteers may work with multiple partners and counterparts during their service. Partners also benefit from the projects, but when they are paired with Volunteers in a professional relationship, they are considered partners or counterparts.

Project beneficiaries receive direct or indirect assistance from the project. Individuals who live in a community that receives clean water from an aqueduct, students who learn English from their PCV teacher, and youth participating in business or life skills clubs are beneficiaries.

Host family members invite a Volunteer to live in their home during his/her training and/or service. Immediate family members (host mother, father, brothers and sisters) as well as extended families (grandparents, aunts and uncles, or cousins) are included in this group.

Demographics

The data presented in this paper were collected in two Caribbean nations, three West African countries, one country each in East and North Africa, and three Eastern European countries. The Peace Corps project counterparts and beneficiaries interviewed worked in six major sectors:

- Health (non-HIV/AIDS focus)
- HIV/AIDS
- Education
- Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL)
- Small Enterprise Development
- Non-Governmental Organization Development

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7 Caribbean: Dominican Republic, Jamaica; Africa: Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Mali, Tanzania, and Morocco; Eastern Europe: Armenia, Bulgaria, and Romania.
The largest percentage of respondents (40%) worked with Volunteers on health-related projects (including those with a specific HIV/AIDS focus). Nearly the same number of respondents (38%) worked with Volunteers on TEFL and other education projects.

The results reported in this paper represent information from 974 counterparts, beneficiaries and host family (Figure 2).

**Figure 2: Percentage of Respondents by Categories**

Analyses

Categorical data were analyzed by calculating frequencies and creating correlation tables. The qualitative data were analyzed using the SPSS Text Analysis software.

**FINDINGS**

How and to what extent did Volunteers promote a better understanding of Americans among local residents with whom they worked and lived? The discussion begins with information on host country partners’ self-reported understanding of Americans and their opinions of Americans prior to their interaction with a Volunteer. The discussion continues with a description of the level of contact that respondents had with Peace Corps Volunteers and a discussion of the changes in the level of understanding and opinions of people from the United States. The article concludes with an analysis of the nature of the opinions that respondents held after interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers.
Level of Understanding and Opinions Before Interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers

Respondents were asked to think back\(^8\) to the period before they knew any Peace Corps Volunteers and to report both their level of understanding\(^9\) of people from the United States as well as their opinion\(^10\) of people from the United States.

The largest percentage of respondents (40%) reported limited understanding of people from the United States (Figure 3). This group was followed by 33 percent who reported a moderate understanding and 11 percent who reported a thorough understanding of people from the United States prior to interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers.

Figure 3: Understanding of Americans Prior to Interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers

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\(^8\) Collecting data from individuals about their understanding and opinions of people from the United States before they interacted with Volunteers is preferable to asking them to recall that information after the fact. However, based on time and logistical constraints, baseline data collection was not possible.

\(^9\) Understanding is defined as achieving a grasp of the nature, significance, or explanation of something. Respondents were asked to rate their “understanding of people from the United States” using a four-point scale: 1=Thorough, 2=Moderate, 3=Limited and 4=No understanding.

\(^10\) Opinion is defined for this study as a view, judgment, or appraisal formed in the mind about a particular matter, in this case, people from the United States. Prior opinion of people from the United States was measured by asking respondents to rate their opinion using a five-point scale: 1=Very positive, 2=Somewhat positive, 3=Neutral/Neither positive or negative, 4=Somewhat negative, and 5=Very negative.
At the same time, a majority of respondents reported either positive or neutral opinions of Americans before their interaction with Peace Corps Volunteers (Figure 4). Specifically, most reported very positive (17%) or somewhat positive (37%) opinions; 33 percent reported neutral opinions. Only 13 percent reported negative (9%) or very negative (4%) opinions of people from the United States prior to interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers.

**Figure 4: Opinions of Americans Prior to Interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers**

Many respondents reported stereotypical views of Americans when asked for their opinions of Americans prior to interacting with a Volunteer. The most frequently mentioned comments were that people from the United States were arrogant and self-centered (28%), but they also noted that Peace Corps Volunteers were eager to have new experiences and be independent in their actions (22%) (Figure 5). This latter comment referred to people who are viewed as not being satisfied with what they have and who are constantly seeking adventure. While there was some level of admiration among some respondents for this attitude, it was still generally considered a negative trait. When Americans were described as hard-working, this characteristic was actually intended as a negative comment implying that Americans have an uneven work-life balance. To a lesser extent people described Americans as friendly and helpful and “the same as me” (3%).
Figure 5: Characteristics of Americans Prior to Interaction with a Volunteer

Respondents’ Opinions of Americans Prior to Interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers

**Uneven work-life balance**

*I thought [people from the United States] were cold, and that it was difficult to communicate with them. They are focused only on their direct responsibilities at work and very proficient only in one sphere of knowledge.*

*I thought they were workaholics who don't pay attention to other people and don't know how to have fun or entertain themselves. They were cold people.*

**Independent**

*[They are] individualists, modest from an intellectual point of view and lazy. ...they don't realize how much they have, and they don't know to take advantage of what they have.*

**Friendly and Helpful**

*Very open-minded people who try to support and help smaller communities. The U.S. is a big country ... and it is eager to help other countries to develop.*
Degree of Contact with Peace Corps Volunteers

In order to understand how much interaction respondents had with Peace Corps Volunteers, respondents were asked the number of Volunteers they have worked with and over what period of time. The majority (71%) have interacted with more than one Volunteer, while 35 percent of the counterparts and beneficiaries had interacted with two Volunteers and 16 percent had interacted with three Volunteers. While there were several outliers, less than five percent of respondents had worked with more than 7 Volunteers (Table 1).

Table 1: Number of Peace Corps Volunteers with whom Respondents Worked

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Volunteers</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
<th>Cumulative Percent</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29.1</td>
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<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>99.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most (78%) had worked with Volunteers for at least 12 months. Approximately half of the respondents indicated that they had worked with Volunteers for at least 24 months. Regarding frequency of work contact with Peace Corps Volunteers, 40 percent of the respondents reported daily contact with Volunteers through work and an additional 30 percent reported work-related contact two to five times per week with 16 percent reporting such contact once a week (Figure 6). Additional analyses showed that the level of work contact was correlated with the type of work, with Volunteers in teaching assignments being most likely to report daily contact. Regional differences in the frequency of work contact are explained by the difference in the projects.
The amount of social contact varied more widely; nearly a quarter of respondents (24%) reported daily social contact with Volunteers. An additional 27 percent reported social contact two to five times a week (Figure 7). At the same time, nearly one-third of the people reported less than monthly social contact with a Volunteer. Some regional differences were observed. In the Dominican Republic, social contact was monthly, whereas in Jamaica, social contact was weekly.
Level of Understanding and Opinions After Interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers

After interacting with Volunteers, a sharp increase in the percent of respondents reporting a thorough or moderate level of understanding is evident (Figure 8). After the interaction, 90 percent of the respondents report a thorough (36%) or a moderate level (54%) of understanding of Americans, compared with 44 percent who reported a moderate or thorough understanding of people from the United States before interacting with a Peace Corps Volunteer.

Figure 8: Level of Understanding of Americans Before and After Interaction with Peace Corps Volunteers
While most individuals reported a positive or neutral opinion of Americans prior to interacting with Volunteers (Figure 4), most (73%) still reported having an even more positive opinion after the interaction (Figure 9).

Further, 18 percent of respondents did not change their opinion of Americans. Among those who reported no change in opinion, none reported a prior negative opinion of people from the United States and thirty percent of them reported a “very positive” prior opinion of people from the United States. Respondents reporting no change in opinion were also more likely to have reported a more thorough understanding of people from the United States prior to interacting with a Volunteer. Specifically, 58 percent of this group reported at least a moderate level of understanding of people from the United States prior to interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers as compared to 44 percent of respondents overall. They also reported having had significant interaction with people from the United States outside of their interaction with Peace Corps Volunteers. A small group (5%) reported more negative opinions.

**Figure 9: Opinion of Americans After Interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers**

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11 In order to determine whether opinions of people from the United States changed as a result of interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers, respondents were specifically asked to rate whether their opinions were: More positive, The same/unchanged, or More negative. Responses from respondents who had indicated in an earlier question that they did not have an opinion of people from the United States prior to interacting with a Peace Corps Volunteer were coded as “Not applicable/respondent had no prior view”.
Across countries, the patterns are similar, with most respondents reporting more positive opinions. One difference occurred in the Dominican Republic which had the most respondents who said that they had no prior opinion of Americans against which to compare their later opinion. The respondents from the African countries had the highest opinion of Americans after their interaction with Volunteers (90%).

Analysis of respondent comments indicates that their opinions after interacting with Volunteers reflected a greater understanding of people from the United States. After interacting with Volunteers, many people kept similar opinions, as supported by the earlier data showing that 18 percent did not change their opinions. The explanations of their changed opinions show that there is now a new context for their opinions. They are less likely to be stereotypes. Rather, as a result of intense and sustained interaction between the Volunteers and their friends and coworkers, cultural misperceptions are erased. What emerges is a clarification of the meaning of behavior.

For example, prior to interacting with Volunteers, the stereotype of people from the United States as hardworking is viewed from a local context and describes people who are perceived as not valuing personal interaction, family and the social and cultural elements of life. After interacting with Volunteers, respondent comments suggested that they saw hardworking in terms of positive elements of dependability and the ability to get things done. In addition, through their social interaction, respondents were able to see that people from the United States also value social interaction and personal relations, even if it is expressed in a way that is different from the host culture.

**Host Country Partners’ Opinions of People from the United States After Interacting with Volunteers**

- They are different than I thought, more like us, in their individuality.
- They are not focused only on financial stuff.
- They are more genuine people than I thought before.
- [The experience] made me know them better and my opinion of Americans is better.
- People like us, but they are more driven and have the desire to do things.
- Same perceptions but with more precision.

Based on the hypothesis that it is long-term interaction with Volunteers that increases understanding and improves opinions of people from the United States, respondents were asked to describe their most memorable interaction with Volunteers. In general, the data show that the strongest memories are derived from getting to know the Volunteers overtime and gaining
insight into their characters. Specifically, 26 percent of the comments were about the respect that Volunteers showed to other people (especially people different from them or typically looked down upon in the host culture) and 22 percent of the comments were about the hard work and determination of the Volunteers (Figure 10).

**Figure 10: Opinions of Americans After Interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers**
Correlates to Greater Understanding and Improved Opinions

The level of understanding of people from the United States after interacting with a Volunteer is correlated with a respondent’s original level of understanding (r=.342 p<.000). Other factors strongly related to improved understanding are the level of contact with the Volunteer both through work (r=.169 p<.001) and socially (r=213, p<.001). Further analysis revealed that 36 percent of respondents who reported more than monthly social contact also reported greater understanding of Americans as compared to only 24 percent of those who reported less than monthly social contact.

Among counterparts and beneficiaries, changes in opinion after interacting with Peace Corps Volunteers was correlated with change in the level of understanding (r=.227, p<.001). Change in opinion was not directly correlated with the frequency of either work or social interaction.

As opinion before the interaction was correlated with the opinion afterwards (r=.296, p<.001), we compared whether positive prior opinions were associated with more frequent contact, thus, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy (i.e., did respondents with the higher opinions before interaction with Volunteers, seek out more contact and then develop even more positive opinions?). Prior opinion, however, was not correlated with the level of contact between respondents and Volunteers. Prior opinion was also not correlated with respondents’ level of understanding either before or after their interaction with the Volunteer.
CONCLUSIONS

Frequent contact led respondents to a greater understanding of Americans. Respondents reported becoming more open-minded about people from different cultures and adopting new ways of doing things. Greater understanding led to improved opinions about the United States.

These data show that contact, particularly social contact, is correlated to greater understanding, and that greater understanding is correlated to improved opinions. These relationships are represented in Figure 11.

Figure 11: Pathway to More Positive Opinions of People from the United States

As understanding precedes opinions, this suggests that the Peace Corps’ model of integration and relationship building is successful for improving understanding of Americans.

The Peace Corps brings a unique value-added role to development. Integration into the community is a key element of the model. Volunteers who are integrated gain the trust and respect of the people they work with and often serve as a functional link between communities and technical resources that otherwise might not reach them. In this manner, the Peace Corps complements the development efforts of other organizations and agencies. In this model, social contact may be the proxy measure for integration.

By living and working within local communities, Peace Corps Volunteers foster positive relationships with host country nationals, dispel myths about Americans, provide a broader context for understanding stereotypical American characteristics (e.g., being hard working). Volunteers reflect the diversity of the United States, and represent many characteristics of the American people: a generosity of spirit, a strong work ethic, a commitment to service, and an approach to problems that is both optimistic and pragmatic. During their service, Volunteers share and represent the culture and values of the American people and, in doing so, earn respect.
and admiration for the United States among people who otherwise may have limited contact or exposure to Americans and American culture.\textsuperscript{12}

**NEXT STEPS**

Based on the interrelation of the Peace Corps’ Goals One and Two, the next step in this research is to determine the effect of the project work on promoting sustainable development and the effect of that work on the level of understanding and opinions of host country partners.

METHODOLOGY APPENDIX

Research Model Goal One

Host Country Impact Study Research Model:
Peace Corps Goal 1:
Helping the people of interested countries meet their need for trained men and women

We expect to learn whether:
1. The changes reported match the identified project need and whether there are needs that are not being addressed or met as well as whether other important, but unidentified, needs that are being met,
2. The project built community/organizational/individual capacity to sustain the changes after the Volunteer leaves, and
3. There are lessons learned through this project that can be used for project improvement at this and other posts.
METHODOLOGY APPENDIX

Research Model Goal Two

Host Country Impact Study Research Model:
Peace Corps Goal 2:
Helping promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served

We expect to learn the extent to which:
1. Volunteers provide host country individuals with a deeper understanding of Americans,
2. Whether interaction with Volunteers has a positive or negative impact on individuals’ opinions of Americans, and
3. What aspects of interaction with Volunteers are most related to a positive or negative change in opinion of Americans.
METHODOLOGY APPENDIX: Overview of the Interview Questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent Type</th>
<th>Question Categories</th>
<th>Approximate Length of Interview</th>
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| Counterpart     | Goal 1  
1. Clarification of the project purpose  
2. Respondent’s work history in the field and with the Peace Corps  
3. Frequency of contact with the Volunteer  
4. Project orientation  
5. Project outcomes and satisfaction with the project  
6. Community and individual-level changes  
7. Maintenance of project outcomes  
Goal 2  
1. Source of information and opinion of Americans prior to the Peace Corps work  
2. Type of information learned about Americans from interaction with the Volunteer  
3. Opinion of Americans after interaction with the Volunteer  
4. Particular things that Volunteers did that helped improve respondent’s understanding of Americans | 45-60 minutes |
| Beneficiary     | Goal 1  
1. Clarification of the project purpose  
2. Frequency of contact with the Volunteer  
3. Project outcomes and satisfaction with the project  
4. Community and individual-level changes  
5. Maintenance of project outcomes  
Goal 2  
1. Source of information and opinion of Americans prior to the Peace Corps work  
2. Type of information learned about Americans from interaction with the Volunteer  
3. Opinion of Americans after interaction with the Volunteer  
4. Particular things that Volunteers did that helped improve respondent’s understanding of Americans | 30-45 minutes |
| Host Family Member | Goal 2  
1. Source of information and opinion of Americans prior to the Peace Corps work  
2. Type of information learned about Americans from interaction with the Volunteer  
3. Opinion of Americans after interaction with the Volunteer  
4. Particular things that Volunteers did that helped improve respondent’s understanding of Americans  
5. Behavioral changes based on knowing the Volunteer | 30 minutes |
Selected Bibliography


Selected Bibliography (continued)


