CICE Hiroshima University, *Journal of International Cooperation in Education*, Vol.22-2/23-2 (2020) pp.31 ～ 56

International Cooperation in Teacher Training and the Supply of Qualified Teachers: Lessons from the United States Peace Corps

Thomas F. Luschei
Amanda Spiegelberg
Claremont Graduate University

Abstract

For the first time in the history of global education goals, the United Nations Sustainable Development Target 4c specified the increase of qualified teachers as a means to achieve important educational outcomes. Target 4c also identified international cooperation as an important lever to increase the supply of qualified teachers in low-income countries. But what is the evidence that international cooperation can be an effective strategy to increase the supply of qualified teachers in such contexts? We explore this question by examining the educational work of the United States Peace Corps, which has supported teacher quality improvement in over 100 countries. We examine the Peace Corps' philosophy and approach to educational improvement, the Peace Corps' efforts to improve teacher quality in low income countries, and evidence of the impact of the Peace Corps' work on the supply of qualified teachers in the countries where it works. Finally, we discuss important implications and lessons learned from the Peace Corps experience to strengthen the positive impact of international cooperation on teacher quality improvement in developing contexts.

Introduction

The United Nations' 2015 Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 4 marked a watershed moment in the evolution of global educational goals. Relative to the preceding Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and Education for All (EFA) goals, SDG 4 substantially expanded the scope of educational objectives. For example, SDG 4 calls for the expansion of educational opportunity to secondary and tertiary education and demands that educational provision reach beyond access and quality to attend to relevance (UNESCO, 2016). Further, SDG 4 included three "means of implementing" (MoIs) its seven outcome or core targets. These MoIs—which include targets related to education facilities and learning environments, scholarships for higher education, and enhancement of teacher quality—delineate guidelines for not only what should be accomplished, but how.

Like SDG 4 itself, SDG Target 4.c represents a breakthrough in the scope, reach, and specificity of educational goals. This target demands that nations "substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing States" (UNESCO, 2015, p. 21, Target 4.c). For the first time in the history of global education goals, Target 4.c specified the increase of qualified teachers as a means to achieve key educational objectives. Further, Target 4.c identified international cooperation as an important lever to increase the supply of qualified teachers in low-income countries. Although Target 4.c's explicit attention to qualified teachers was new, it rests on a solid foundation of empirical research on teacher quality and its relationship with student outcomes (e.g., Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, 2005). But what is the evidence that international cooperation can be an effective strategy to increase the supply of qualified teachers in low-income countries? Here the evidence base is more limited.

To shed light on the question of how international cooperation might influence—either positively or negatively—the supply of qualified teachers in low-income settings, we explore evidence from one of the oldest examples of international cooperation in education: the United States Peace Corps, which for 60 years has supported the improvement of teacher quality in over 100 countries. Specifically, we draw on eight Peace Corps impact studies to examine three research questions related to the impact of Peace Corps on education in the countries where it has worked:

1. What is the impact of Peace Corps projects on general education quality?
2. What is the impact of Peace Corps projects on teaching quality?
3. What is the impact of Peace Corps projects on the supply of qualified teachers?

Although SDG Target 4.c identifies the supply of qualified teachers as its primary focus, we differentiate between teaching quality and the supply of qualified teachers. The two are clearly related, but Question #2 refers to improvements in the ability of the existing teacher labor force, whereas Question #3 speaks more broadly to the composition and preparation of the teacher workforce in a given country. Although each is important,

increases in the supply of qualified teachers may lead to broader and longer-term improvements in educational quality.

In the section that follows, we review literature related to global educational goals, the importance of teaching and teacher quality, and international cooperation as a means to increase educational quality. We then provide a brief overview of the Peace Corps' history, philosophy, and approach to educational improvement. To assess the impact of the Peace Corps' educational improvement efforts on the supply of qualified teachers in low- and middle-income countries, we review eight educational project impact studies, in which we seek to answer the three research questions listed above. Finally, we discuss implications and lessons learned from the Peace Corps experience to avoid unintended consequences and strengthen the positive impact of international cooperation on teacher quality improvement in developing contexts.

Background

Global Education Goals and the SDGs

The establishment of the 2015 SDGs followed a 25-year history of global goal setting in education. In 1990, representatives of 155 governments and 150 non-governmental organizations met at the World Congress on Education for All (EFA) in Jomtien, Thailand to forge a plan to ensure global access to primary school and massively reduce illiteracy by the year 2000. After falling far short of these ambitious goals, educational leaders from across the globe met in Dakar, Senegal in 2000 to establish six Education for All (EFA) goals focused on improving educational access and quality by 2015. Although the accomplishment of Universal Primary Education (UPE) is most often associated with the EFA goals, these goals also called for improvements in early childhood care and education, youth and adult skills for the labor market, adult literacy, gender parity and equality, and quality of education (UNESCO, 2002).

In addition to the six EFA goals articulated in Dakar, the members of the United Nations established eight Millennium Development Goals conceived with the goal of halving world poverty by 2015. Two of these MDGs overlapped directly with the EFA Goals—MDG 2, "Achieve universal primary education" and MDG 3, "Promote gender equality and empower women." Although the goal of UPE was characterized as "pathetic" (Sperling, 2006) due to the limitations of aiming only for primary school and waiting 15 years to do so, much of the world fell far short of achieving this target by 2015 (UNESCO, 2016).

In 2015, education leaders from 160 countries met at the World Education Forum in Incheon, South Korea to articulate new educational goals which would be formalized as SDG 4 when the United Nations approved the SDGs at the UN Sustainable Development Summit later that year. The SDGs combined broad development and environmental goals with specific educational goals. Although only one of the 17 SDGs is explicitly devoted

to education, many of the SDGs contain targets related to education. Additionally, SDG 4 contains seven core outcome targets and three means of implementing the targets. Most significantly for our work, the SDGs, for the first time in the history of global education goals, identified the supply of qualified teachers as a measurable goal with a target completion date, in the form of SDG Target 4.c (UNESCO, 2016).

Importance of Teacher Quality

Of course, teachers had been a major theme of the global campaign to achieve the EFA goals. In fact, UNESCO devoted its 2013-2014 *Global Monitoring Report* to teaching and learning as a means to achieve quality education for all (UNESCO, 2014). This report identified teachers as a key input into the learning process, arguing that "an education system is only as good as its teachers" (UNESCO, 2014, p. 3). Further, the 2013/2014 GMR presented four strategies to ensure that all children have the best possible teachers: (1) selection of the "right teachers" to reflect the diversity of their students; (2) train teachers to support the "weakest learners"; (3) allocate the highest quality teachers to the most challenging regions and schools; and (4) provide teachers with proper incentives to remain in the profession and ensure that all children—regardless of circumstances—are learning (UNESCO, 2014, p. 3).

Given UNESCO's earlier emphasis on teacher quality as a means to achieve access and quality in education, it was not surprising that teachers were brought front and center into SDG 4. As described above, SDG Target 4.c called specifically for increasing the supply of qualified teachers in national education systems as a means to achieve the core SDG 4 outcome goals. To support the measurement and achievement of these goals, Target 4.c was accompanied by seven indicators measuring (a) the availability of qualified and trained teachers, (b) teacher motivation, and (c) support for in-service teacher education. Target 4.c and its associated indicators are as follows:

- Target 4.c By 2030, substantially increase the supply of qualified teachers, including through international cooperation for teacher training in developing countries, especially least developed countries and small island developing States.
- 4.c.1 Proportion of teachers in: (a) pre-primary education; (b) primary education; (c) lower secondary education; and (d) upper secondary education who have received at least the minimum organized teacher training (e.g., pedagogical training) pre-service or in-service required for teaching at the relevant level in a given country, by sex.
- 4.c.2 Pupil-trained teacher ratio by education level
- 4.c.3 Percentage of teachers qualified according to national standards by education level and type of institution
- 4.c.4 Pupil-qualified teacher ratio by education level
- 4.c.5 Average teacher salary relative to other professions requiring a

comparable level of qualification
- 4.c.6 Teacher attrition rate by education level
- 4.c.7 Percentage of teachers who received in-service training in the last 12 months by type of training (UNESCO, 2018).

Of these seven indicators, only Indicator 4.c.1 was deemed a "global indicator," or one of a "group of leading indicators to provide an overview of progress towards each target" (UNESCO, 2018, p. 8). Ironically, this indicator is somewhat misaligned with Target 4.c, which refers to qualified, rather than trained teachers. This is more than a semantic distinction. The term "qualified teacher" refers to teachers who meet a set of standards to work as teachers in a given education system, and could include the satisfaction of initial education requirements, assessment of knowledge of the subject they teach or pedagogical techniques, or the successful completion of performance assessments. In contrast, "trained teacher" refers simply to receiving training "required for teaching" at a specific level of education, and could include either pre-service training received before entering the classroom or in-service training given once a teacher is working in the classroom. In other words, the measurement of qualified teachers encompasses a broader set of qualifications that likely include but are not limited to pre- or in-service training.

The disconnect between qualified and trained teachers in the SDG Target 4 indicators illustrates a central question in the empirical literature related to teacher quality: what makes for a good teacher? Teachers are clearly a key ingredient in students' academic success, but it is not clear which measurable characteristics of teachers contribute to student learning gains (Goldhaber, 2002). For example, despite a vast literature attempting to link teacher characteristics to student outcomes, the empirical link between student achievement and teacher attributes like education, certification, training, and experience remains tenuous (Strong, 2011).

If it is not clear which attributes or qualifications matter for students' academic success, why is the distinction between qualified and trained teachers important to consider? The question of qualified teachers—those who meet local or national requirements to work as teachers—vs. trained teachers—those who have received required in—or pre-service training—is important because it speaks to the longevity and sustainability of educational reform efforts. Whereas the number or proportion of qualified teachers indicates the status and composition of the teacher labor market, the number of trained teachers may speak to shorter term needs based on teacher shortages. In the context of lower-income countries, this distinction could also relate to the difference between civil servant career teachers, and "contract teachers," who work on specific, short-term contracts, often with much lower salaries and few benefits (Chudgar, Chandra, & Razzaque, 2014). In such cases, contract teachers may be trained to work in a certain grade level or classroom, but they are not necessarily qualified to work in that classroom.

Given the important difference between qualified and trained teachers, in our analysis of Peace Corps education projects below, we examine the impact of these projects on both the number or proportion of qualified teachers and the teaching ability of

current teachers. In the first case, we assess the extent to which the project influences the composition of the teacher workforce, by for example recruiting, retaining, or certifying more teachers. Alternatively, if projects induce teachers to leave the profession to work in other fields, this could result in a negative impact on the teacher workforce. In examining the impact of projects on teaching quality, we are primarily interested in whether these projects have any influence on the teaching ability of the current teacher labor force. Although it is important, this impact may be less sustainable than broader influences on who goes into or stays in teaching.

International Cooperation in Education

According to Williams (2017), international cooperation in education includes "(1) the institutions and architecture of international organizations; (2) development assistance, which is closely related; and (3) international agreements to promote education and other development goals" (p. 1). Williams (2017) argues that, given a "100-year gap" in educational access and outcomes between industrialized nations and the developing world, achieving the goal of universal enrollment and learning will require "efforts on the part of national governments and international cooperation on the part of all nations of the world" (p. 1).

Although "South-South" international cooperation among lower-income countries has become increasingly prominent in educational development practice and research (Chisholm & Steiner-Khamsi, 2009), here we focus on traditional "North-South" relationships and the international cooperation mechanism of development assistance or aid. Such aid can take the form of technical or financial assistance to governments from UN agencies, bilateral or multilateral development agencies, or non-governmental agencies (Williams, 2017). Despite its apparent need, development assistance in education has had mixed results and has been criticized for various reasons. For example, in a review of literature related to foreign development aid in education, Riddell and Niño-Zarazúa (2016) argue there is a "considerable gap between what aid does and what it could potentially achieve, especially in relation to its contribution to improvements in educational quality" (p. 23). One key problem the authors identify is the tendency of aid agencies and actors to focus on short-term goals, such as increased enrollment, at the expense of longer-term sustainability. As a result, "development agencies which focus only on demonstrable short-term impact may well be contributing, unwittingly, to an undermining of long-term impact on the education systems and their deepening development, to whose progress they are trying to contribute" (p. 23).

Chapman and Quijada's (2009) analysis of educational projects conducted by the US Agency for International Development (USAID) sheds some light on why educational assistance projects may focus on short-term or measurable objectives at the expense of longer-term objectives. Based on their analysis, the authors concluded that although USAID projects made "important contributions to improving student access, retention,

and learning...more attention was given to tracking the extent that clients were satisfied and system-level inputs were delivered than in assessing projects accomplishments against stated goals" (p. 268). A focus on client satisfaction is not surprising if we note Chapman and Quijada's point that in addition to the technical purpose of improving educational access or quality, USAID projects have a political purpose, which is "to build goodwill and promote U.S. strategic interests" (p. 277). Further, "the balance between political and technical purposes differs across countries, and within countries over time" (p. 277), which may help to explain why projects seemingly designed to achieve a particular technical objective may not necessarily lead directly to technical success. However, impact evaluations may not acknowledge the implicit political objectives embedded within specific projects, leaving one with the possibly misleading conclusion that the project failed to achieve its objectives.

Peace Corps and Teacher Cooperation

Although the Peace Corps is not typically included in discussions or research related to international cooperation in education, the organization represents a type of bilateral assistance provided by the United States with the objective of supporting development in a variety of sectors, education paramount among them. Consequently, examination of the impact of the Peace Corps' work on educational outcomes represents an important avenue for assessing the impact of international cooperation on the completion of development goals.

Since its establishment in 1961, the Peace Corps has represented an ambitious promise by the Kennedy administration to change the US approach to public service and global citizenship (Gearan, 1996). Peace Corps is characterized by a collaborative, grassroots approach to development that takes place on the local level, as compared to the larger, top-down approaches of USAID projects. The Peace Corps articulated three goals to achieve its mission:

- Goal 1. To help the people of interested countries in meeting their need for trained men and women.
- Goal 2. To help promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served.
- Goal 3. To help promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans. (Peace Corps, 2000a)

The largest Peace Corps program area is education. The placement of Peace Corps Volunteers as teachers has been a foundation of the program since its origin in the 1960s. As Lowther and Lucas (1978) observe in their history of the Peace Corps:

> Almost overnight the Peace Corps became the principal supplier of secondary-school teachers in several African countries, where expanding educational opportunities were a compelling post-independence priority. Elsewhere—in Turkey, Iran, and Thailand, for instance—the Peace Corps established its presence by

sending thousands of English instructors (p. 84).

Currently the education program comprises 41% of all Peace Corps Volunteers, and as of 2018, more than 45,000 education volunteers had served in 131 countries (Peace Corps, 2018). Volunteers are placed in elementary, secondary, or post-secondary institutions, and teach in subjects including math, science, and/or conversational English. Some volunteers are also placed as resource teachers or teacher trainers, and some contribute to the development of libraries and/or technology resource centers.

In addition to classroom placements, Peace Corps states that volunteers also "play an important role in creating links among schools, parents, and communities" (Peace Corps, 2000d). Peace Corps prioritizes this cultural integration work during its 10-12 weeks pre-service training, explaining that "successful sustainable development work is based on the relationships you build by respectfully integrating into the host country community and culture" (Peace Corps, 2000b). Currently, nine countries offer Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) Certification as part of volunteers' training. Peace Corps markets this as the opportunity for volunteers to "earn a recognized teaching credential during Peace Corps service, a unique opportunity to meet global professional English standards" (Peace Corps, 2000c).

Peace Corps critics have argued that education is the placement option for volunteers who do not have other specialized experience or credentials that would otherwise result in assignments to program areas like health or agriculture. As far back as 1978, Lowther and Lucas argued that the "teaching programs have served the Peace Corps by providing easy placement for thousands of generalist volunteers. They have served host countries by providing a reliable and inexpensive source of degree-holding teachers to sustain expansion of their underdeveloped school systems" (Lowther & Lucas, 1978, p. 84). This accusation by two returned Peace Corps volunteers (RPCVs) raises questions around volunteer preparedness in the education sector that Peace Corps continues to face to this day. Reception of the Peace Corps and to Peace Corps volunteers has varied over the years. These reactions range from glowing reviews that characterize Peace Corps as "America at its best" to critiques that the Peace Corps is an expression of neocolonial development that creates more harm than good (Meisler, 2012; Geidel, 2015).

Examining the Evidence: Peace Corps Country Impact Studies

To assess the impact of Peace Corps work related to SDG 4, we examine host country impact studies commissioned by the Peace Corps Office of Strategic Information, Research, and Programs (OSIRP)[1]. OSIRP describes these host country impact studies as "the agency's broadest effort to date to learn about the Peace Corps' impact directly from the people who lived and worked with Volunteers during their service" (Rorbaugh,

[1] OSIRP commissioned and designed the impact studies. In each country, a lead researcher was hired and a local research team conducted the interviews and wrote initial reports. OSIRP then published the reports.

2016, p. 1). The studies span the period from 2009 to 2014; in addition to these discrete project reports, Peace Corps published a cross-sectional analysis of 21 of the reports in 2016 (Rorbaugh, 2016). Of the 21 studies included in the cross-sectional analysis, reports from eight countries explicitly studied the impact of education projects and education volunteers. These eight studies, which are the focus of our analysis below, cover a range of geographic areas that the Peace Corps typically serves, including East Africa, West Africa, Southeast Asia, and Central Europe (Table 1). However, the impact studies focused on education do not include Latin America, the South Pacific, and other geographic regions where Peace Corps has historically placed volunteers. These impact studies represent the most comprehensive attempt to evaluate Peace Corps education projects' impact on host communities in recent history.

Research on Peace Corps impact has primarily focused on the effect of the program on its American volunteers, and has missed the perspectives of Peace Corps community partners (Kerley & Jenkins, 2010). The Peace Corps Country Impact Studies are the first studies in recent history to attempt to understand the impact of Peace Corps volunteers from the perspective of the host site. The initial impetus for these reports came from the United States Office of Management and Budget's effort to examine the impact of projects on Peace Corps Goal 2, to promote the understanding of Americans within the host country, or essentially how the Peace Corps affects opinions of Americans abroad. The OSIRP described the development work and "the people-to-people interaction" of Peace Corps as interrelated and thus deemed it necessary to study the two in unison (Kerley & Jenkins, 2010, p. 3). Therefore, the first half of the studies focused on the success and relevancy of the Peace Corps volunteers' work (Goal 1). The second half of the studies asked respondents their perceptions of Americans based on their interactions with Peace Corps Volunteers (Goal 2). For all impact studies, a local researcher and research team were hired in each country to conduct the interviews and summarize the data. The reports were then published by OSIRP.

In analyzing the eight Peace Corps impact studies, we follow a similar approach to Chapman and Quijada (2009), who analyzed internal evaluations of 33 projects conducted by USAID between 1990 and 2005. Specifically, the authors examined design documents, intermediate and final project reports, and formative and summative evaluations of USAID projects. They limited the documents under review to those discussing interventions "aimed at strengthening the design or delivery of basic education in a specific country" (Chapman & Quijada, 2009, p. 269). Using content analysis to categorize the nature and frequency of themes emerging from the documents, Chapman and Quijada organized their results around four basic questions: (1) What goals and objectives did USAID seek to achieve? (2) What strategies did USAID fund? (3) Were goals and objectives achieved? and (4) What insights can be gained from these investments? The authors found first, that the primary goal of most projects was to increase educational quality (28 of 33 projects). Student learning achievement was generally deemed as the most important indicator of education quality in these reports. Second, only nine of the evaluations were able to draw valid

conclusions about impact on learning achievement, and only five of the evaluations found evidence of significant learning gains. Another three evaluations found mixed results according to the subject areas assessed. However, as we point out above, these projects also had political objectives, which are not necessarily articulated in project design documents and are not captured in evaluations of their technical success.

Given our focus on teacher quality and training, our research questions are somewhat narrower than those examined by Chapman and Quijada (2009). Specifically, we assess the impact of Peace Corps educational projects on general educational quality, teaching quality, and the supply of qualified teachers. Although these impact studies do not explicitly define the concept of qualified teachers, they do occasionally discuss issues related to the number or proportion of teachers who meet certain requirements.

Findings

The eight Peace Corps impact studies follow a similar format, including an introduction, the purpose of the study, methodology, summary of findings, and conclusion. All of the OSIRP impact studies are based on the data collected by the local researcher and their teams, who were under supervision of the local Peace Corps office. The data were collected through semi-structured interviews by the local research team. The interviews, which were conducted after PCVs had left, were done with beneficiaries, counterparts, and stakeholders in communities that had hosted at least one volunteer. Beneficiaries refer to students, teachers, and direct recipients of project activities. Counterparts include schoolteachers and administrators who worked most closely with the volunteers in implementing the projects. Stakeholders refer to additional members of the community, including host families and other school administrators. Three of the reports (Bulgaria, Cameroon, & Tanzania) included analysis of smaller comparison sites where interviews were conducted with counterparts and stakeholders who had never hosted a volunteer.

The number of interview participants in the eight reports ranged from 88 to 254, with an average of 152 respondents. The major research questions addressed in each study were:

A. Did skills transfer and capacity building occur?
B. What skills were transferred to organizations/communities and individuals as a result of Volunteers' work?
C. Were the skills and capacities sustained past the end of the project?
D. How satisfied were host country nations (HCNs) with the project work?
E. What did HCNs learn about Americans?
F. Did HCNs report that their opinions of Americans had changed after interacting with the Peace Corps and Peace Corps Volunteers? (OSIRP, 2009a, pp. 13-14)

The following analysis and Table 1 focus on questions A – D, which we examine against our three research questions related to the impact of Peace Corps work on general

education quality, teaching quality, and the supply of qualified teachers.

Impact Related to Our Research Questions

1. According to related impact studies, what is the impact of the Peace Corps on general education quality?

Overall, the most positive ratings by respondents were on improvement of general education quality. Beneficiaries, counterparts, and stakeholders were interviewed about how the education projects impacted their schools and communities. The respondents were asked to report their reflections on changes to education pre- and post-PCVs. Across the eight projects, over 90% of respondents consistently reported that the quality of education improved (Table 1). One of the most significant positive impacts reported was in English language learning and speaking at schools, regardless of whether that was a primary project goal. Both students and teachers across countries consistently reported English language learning as a primary benefit of the volunteers' work. Some reports also observed that in general, access to and opportunity to learn from a native English speaker gave students more confidence in their English skills (Thailand, Bulgaria & Ukraine).

In addition to English language skills, some project reports, including those from Ghana and Tanzania, reported a positive impact of volunteers on math and science performance (OSIRP, 2010a; OSIRP, 2012). While most of the interviews focused on the respondents' perception of improvements, there were some cases of respondents citing metrics of success like test scores. For example, one teacher in Ghana credits the community volunteer's work to organize extra classes and tutoring with a recorded "70 percent pass in Chemistry (in 2011) compared to a 10-15 percent pass rate in previous years" (OSIRP, 2012, p. 31). Indeed, of the interview respondents, 99% of students and 92% of teachers in the Ghana study reported that students who worked with a Peace Corps Volunteer showed continuous improvement in math and science (OSIRP, 2012). This is similar to Tanzania's report, where 96% of Secondary Education Project counterparts and beneficiaries reported improved student performance in math, science, computer, or critical thinking skills (OSIRP, 2010a).

Within the parameters of the data collected, we can conclude that from a counterpart and beneficiary standpoint, the impact on general education by the Peace Corps Volunteers in these projects was largely viewed as positive. The majority of respondents reported improvements across the interview questions in student performance and general impact in the classroom. However, there is evidence of dissenting opinions via some of the barriers cited by respondents. Some respondents reported concerns around the volunteers' pedagogical background and connection to the national curriculum. For example, 46 percent of Ghanaian counter partners reported that PCVs needed "a better understanding of the overall structure of the Ghanaian education system and typical methods by which exams are written and proctored" (OSIRP, 2012, p. 48). Acknowledging the potential

for positive bias in these interviews and the positionality of the publishing office, the instances of challenges and concerns, although not the majority, point to important lessons for how Peace Corps supports international cooperation and teacher quality. As many of the cited challenges cut across all three research questions, they will be reviewed in the *Challenges for Implementation* section below.

2. What is the impact of the Peace Corps on teaching quality?

As previously stated, the impact studies do not directly define teacher or teaching quality. Rather, each study focuses on various skills that connect to teacher quality as it relates to that project's theory of action. Depending on the country, this includes questions focused on lesson planning and preparation, English Language skills, student-centered teaching methods, and/or development of teacher resources. The perceived success of these teacher-focused goals was, on the whole, positively reviewed, but not to the same level as the 90+% improvement rating given in response to many of the questions assessing changes in general education quality.

Many of the projects focused on increasing student-centered teaching methods in the classroom. As a result, student-teacher relationships feature in the reports as a key impact of the volunteers' work. For example, in Thailand, 94% of project partners and 94% of beneficiaries (schoolteachers and administrators) reported adopting student-centered teaching methods as a result of the Peace Corps program (OSIRP, 2010b). With regard to sustainability, 77% of students reported that their teachers continued to use student-centered teaching methods after the volunteers had left (OSIRP, 2010b). However, the reports do not state a time period for when the volunteer left or how long the teaching methods continued afterwards. Respondents from Ghana also saw an improvement in student-teacher relationships and a reduction in corporal punishment during a volunteer's placement at the school. As a teacher in Ghana reflected, "[the Volunteer] toned down corporal punishment for students, but not completely. Students feel at home because they feel safe in the school since no one chases them around with a cane" (OSIRP, 2012, p. 31).

Access to teaching resources was often rated most positively (e.g.: Philippines, Thailand). Many project reports also cited new interactive teaching methods, creative lesson planning, and organization as successful focuses of the education projects. In some cases, as in the study in Ukraine, the resources were not sustained after the volunteer left, which negated the impact (OSIRP, 2010c).

A common question in these impact studies was to what extent these changes were sustained after the volunteers' service. The studies' design does not include timeframe to assess sustainability, but all did include questions asking to what extent teaching practices and/or resources continued to be used after the PCV left. In some studies, the respondents reported sustainable change. For instance, in Thailand, 88 percent of project partners and 93 percent of beneficiaries continued using, on a daily basis, the professional skills they learned from the Volunteer (OSIRP, 2010b). However, there is evidence that the change

was limited to the individual changes by teachers rather than sustainable school-wide or systemic change. For example, researchers in Thailand found:

> Teachers who had worked with the Volunteer had either retired or moved to another school, and therefore the changes were not maintained at the school where the Volunteer served. However, a few of the teachers who worked with the Volunteer and transferred to a new school, continued using the new teaching methods (OSIRP, 2010b, p. 50).

Reports from other countries showed similar concerns around sustainability. The senior researcher in Ukraine recommended "that a sustainability analysis of PCV work be carried out" and that volunteers restrict activities to projects that are strictly within the school's financial ability to sustain (OSIRP, 2010c, p. 48).

3. What is the impact of the Peace Corps on the supply of qualified teachers?

Seven of the eight impact studies included diagrams outlining their theories of change (Philippines was not available within the summary report). Of those seven studies, all but one, Thailand, included teacher shortages as one of the main problems addressed within the theory of change. However, project activities did not always attend directly to these problems, and teacher shortages were not always examined directly by the impact studies. The studies generally focused on hard-to-fill areas of teaching such as rural placements (e.g. Cameroon, Ghana, & Ukraine) or math and science education (e.g. Tanzania). Others, like Cape Verde and Bulgaria focused specifically on filling teacher roles in English education. However, despite the clearly stated intent for these projects to address teacher shortages, there is little evidence within the studies regarding the volunteers' impact on teacher supply. At most, the studies include reception of the Peace Corps placement of teachers on a short-term basis. There is still much to learn in addressing Peace Corps' impact on long-term teacher supply.

On a positive note, the authors of the Cape Verde impact report state that the Peace Corps education project started to meet the demand for English teachers at local schools:

> Prior to Peace Corps' involvement, the Ministry met the demand for TEFL teachers by contracting recent high school graduates who did not have any teaching experience, English-speaking Africans from other countries, and teachers from Portugal. This system led to unqualified teachers, high costs, contract disputes, and constant turnover in teaching staff at schools (OSIRP, 2011a, p. 16).

In assessing impact in Cape Verde, the majority of respondents reported wanting to have volunteers placed as teachers in their school sites again and reviewed the volunteers' presence positively. However, "two beneficiaries were unsure they wanted another Volunteer. One teacher commented that the Volunteers were not well trained or prepared to teach; the other believed Volunteers took away jobs from local teachers" (OSIRP, 2011a, p. 16). The impact report did not elaborate on this potential impact of Peace Corps displacing local teachers.

There is also evidence that there is high staff turnover in the communities where the Peace Corps Volunteers serve. In Thailand, a counterpart reflects on the issue of staffing turnover as a barrier to achieving the outcomes of the Peace Corps project, stating that "the school should be able to attract and retain qualified persons for a long time. I left because I wanted to be in the capital to be able to do further studies and get access to better facilities" (OSIRP, 2010b, p. 46, Counterpart). The Peace Corps' person-to-person nature of training and project implementation meant that often, sustainability did not occur on a systemic or school-wide basis. When the Peace Corps volunteer or their counterpart departed the school, they often left with the knowledge and skills critical to sustainability (OSIRP, 2012).

Other Impacts

It is common for volunteers to select and design voluntary secondary projects during their two years assigned to a community site. Most commonly, these secondary projects do not fall specifically under the education program goal and activities, but connect to overarching community needs and are worked on simultaneously to their primary work placements. Many of the reports included references to the Peace Corps volunteers' secondary projects. For example, many of the volunteers focused on HIV/AIDs education and gender equity work in addition to their primary jobs at their schools. A Tanzanian teacher reflected that in addition to the classroom impact, the volunteers' work also included HIV/AIDS education: "I am very satisfied … students have been taught the subjects for which the school previously had no teachers. They have been trained to protect themselves from AIDS." (OSIRP, 2010a. p.48). In Ghana, gender-focused projects showed a positive impact as reported by both teachers and students:

> The club he [the Volunteer] formed opened the eyes of the girls so much that they were competing with the boys. Presently, the girls do better than boys do and their performance in the subjects has seen [an upward] trend (OSIRP, 2012, p. 30, Teacher).

> The PCV sourced funds for the construction of a girl's dormitory…. Girls have taken much interest in education and we have a larger number of girls as compared to boys due to the dormitory he provided. Less of the girls are day students so truancy is reduced (OSIRP, 2012, p. 30, Student).

Challenges for Project Implementation and Impact

Common limiting factors across the impact studies were access to resources by the volunteer, language acquisition by the volunteer, the level of preparation of the volunteer prior to arriving at the community site, and the reception of the volunteer by the community. In some cases, the language the volunteer was trained in during pre-

service training did not match the language of instruction at their school placement (OSIRP, 2011a). In others, respondents noted that the lack of experience of the volunteers, including the lack of a teaching degree, was a barrier to success (OSIRP, 2009a). Multiple countries noted that the ability to implement and sustain some of the volunteers' work was hindered by lack of resources and local capacity. Finally, three reports included the community's expectations and reception of the volunteers as a major barrier. The reports from Cape Verde, Tanzania, and Ukraine all listed uncooperative administration and/or unrealistic expectations of the volunteers as barriers. The Ukrainian report states, "perhaps, the majority of schools were not interested in volunteers' assistance. In many cases, the school administration was uncooperative" (OSIRP, 2010c, p. 47).

Another major challenge listed in some reports was the alignment of the Peace Corps volunteers' teaching with the host country's standards and pedagogy. For example, the Thailand Impact Study found, "one quarter of the teachers and school administrators (25%) did not believe the new teaching methods supported the Thai curriculum and viewed the methods as 'just playing games'" (OSIRP, 2010b, p. 32). Similarly, the lead researcher of the Cameroon Impact Study reflected that the majority of respondents stated that the volunteers needed to learn the local language in which they worked and that the volunteers should be trained in pedagogy prior to placement (OSIRP, 2009b). In Ghana, 46% of counterparts stated that the Peace Corps volunteers "needed a better understanding of the overall structure of the Ghanaian education system and typical methods by which exams are written and proctored" (OSIRP, 2012, p. 48).

Discussion and Conclusion

Our review of eight Peace Corps education projects found that the impact on general education quality is most positively reviewed by respondents across all eight countries. Questions that spoke to teaching quality were also reviewed as successes, although not to the same degree as those that focused on general quality of education. There is little evidence that the Peace Corps placements impact the supply of qualified teachers, except on a short-term basis. That is, there was not substantial evidence that Peace Corps Volunteers either negatively or positively impacted the number of qualified teachers. A few respondents cited in the reports referenced fear of teacher displacement due to the presence of Peace Corps volunteers, but others reported that PCVs were placed in rural and high-need openings that needed to be filled. A deeper question raised by some researchers in the reports is whether volunteers should be seen as "qualified teachers."

Peace Corps Meeting the SDGs?

A primary lesson learned from the impact studies was that respondents and local researchers cited in five of the eight reports—Bulgaria, Cape Verde, Cameroon, Ghana, and Thailand—listed concerns about volunteers' preparedness, lack of teaching degree,

and/or the need for increased local pedagogical training as major barriers to project success. We could find little evidence of requirements for the Peace Corps education volunteers on Peace Corps admissions pages, but the average age of a PCV is 26 (PC Factsheet, 2019). Most in-country counterpart respondents in these studies had been teaching over five years, with the majority having over 10 years of experience in the field. This mismatch, along with some concerns voiced in the impact studies, raises the question of who is training whom, and weakens claims that the PCV is the expert, or capacity builder, in the relationship.

The relative lack of preparation of PCVs also raises the question of whether the presence and training of volunteers meet the standards of SDG Indicator 4.c.1, the proportion of teachers who have received at least the minimum pre-service or in-service required for teaching at the relevant level in a given country. Given that the Peace Corps pre-service training is a total of 12 weeks and of that time, many hours are dedicated to health, safety, culture, and language acquisition, pedagogical training is limited. The lack of training is compounded by the positionality of the PCV. Goal 1, to build local capacity, positions PCVs as volunteers bringing in technical expertise to support their counterparts. Evidence from these impact reports suggests a different story.

Technical Success, Sustainability, and International Cooperation

Considering the limited training and experience of PCVs and contrast with their host country counterparts, it is not surprising that many technical aims of the Peace Corps projects do not appear to have been met with unqualified success. The lack of evidence of Peace Corps impact on the supply of qualified teachers also suggests that the sustainability of Peace Corps project successes is limited. As we observe above in our discussion of the literature, increases in teaching quality may lead to some short-term gains, but improvements in the size and composition of the overall teacher labor force are more likely to support sustainability of educational improvements. Further, although some respondents cited in the project impact studies held positive views of project sustainability, it is not clear how long after PCVs had left that these respondents were interviewed, which casts doubts on conclusions related to long-term sustainability.

To some extent, our findings support the arguments of Riddell and Niño-Zarazúa (2016) related to preferences of aid agencies for short-term successes over long-term impact, as well as the findings of Chapman and Quijada (2009) that the goal of client satisfaction in aid projects often supersedes the completion of technical aims. Further, as Chapman and Quijada (2009) caution, we must also recognize that aid projects contain both technical and political aims. Focusing solely on technical objectives neglects the very real possibility that Peace Corps projects have positive, long-term influences on how host nations view the United States and its citizens. In fact, reflections of respondents cited in the Peace Corps impact studies offer some positive evidence of the improvement of person-to-person relationships. Most counterparts, in one case 100%, reported wanting

another Peace Corps Volunteer at their site (OSIRP, 2010a).

The overwhelming method of skills transfer listed by respondents was hands-on work with the PCV. This suggests that relationship-building and grassroots benefits are present, at least from the perspective of community stakeholders. Given the positive reviews of the Peace Corps Volunteers, it is important to further understand the actual impact and potential for the Peace Corps to be a vehicle for SDG development. As seen in the secondary project responses, Peace Corps may be uniquely equipped for community-based work that approaches integrating SDG 4 with connected goals like SDG 5 on Gender Equality and SDG 3 on Good Health and Well Being. The positive impacts reported by the study participants also present interesting questions around the ways integrated and collaborative teaching experiences, as compared to formal trainings, feature in international teacher cooperation.

Positive reports by community stakeholders on collaborative, hands-on work represent one aspect of the volunteer model that could apply to the format and nature of international cooperation in teacher training, as it relates to SDG Target 4.c. The Peace Corps impact studies also suggest that the impact of international cooperation may not solely move in a North-South direction. Although SDG Target 4.c poses a "North-South" orientation of skill transfer, the impact studies demonstrate little evidence that US volunteers contributed truly sustainable, schoolwide or systemwide impacts. In contrast, studies have shown positive benefits of Peace Corps service on the volunteers returning to the United States and specifically for those returning to a career in teaching (e.g. Garii, 2009; Wilson, 1986). This evidence suggests that, in the case of the Peace Corps, volunteers may be receiving as much, or more, training and professional development as they are giving.

Evidence of South-North skill transfer in Peace Corps education projects raises the question of why the SDG Target 4.c is not bidirectional when it comes to the benefits of teacher cooperation in achieving SDG 4 worldwide. It is likely that the neo-colonial tendency to value the teachers and teacher qualities of the Global North may limit the possible outcomes and impact of international teacher cooperation. A promising direction for future research on international cooperation and the SDGs is the application of South-South, South-North, and other postcolonial perspectives to understand the true long-term impact of programs like the Peace Corps, which often fail to achieve long-term sustainability in terms of technical impact in the countries where they operate.

Limitations and Areas for Future Research

Of course, the analysis we employ here faces several limitations, including little prior empirical evidence related to the impact of Peace Corps projects on educational quality, the small number of impact studies focusing on education, the self-reporting of study participants, and the potential bias of those conducting and writing the study reports. The methodology of the studies, with the overall project design by OSIRP, the conducting

of the studies by the local researchers and their teams, and the publishing of the reports by OSIRP, creates many junctions in which the data are summarized and presented. For this reason, whenever possible, we included direct quotations from the interviews as cited by the researchers in the studies and strove to include voices of the respondents, in addition to the aggregated survey statistics.

For all of these reasons, the conclusions and implications we draw here are tentative. However, we believe that we have identified an important set of questions for future research. Most importantly, future research must rebalance Peace Corps-related research from the current heavy emphasis on the experiences of returned volunteers and their professional and personal experiences, and toward (1) the impact the volunteers had during and after their Peace Corps experience, and (2) the positive impact that host country counterparts and experiences had on volunteers and their long-term success as teachers, administrators or other educational professionals in the United States. Such research could truly speak to the potential of international cooperation—both from North to South and South to North—for the completion of the SDGs across the globe.

References

Chapman, D. W., Quijada, J. J. (2009). An Analysis of USAID Assistance to Basic Education in the Developing World, 1990–2005. *International Journal of Educational Development, 29*, 268–280.

Chisholm, L., & Steiner-Khamsi, G. (2009). *South-south cooperation in education and development*. Capetown: HSRC Press.

Chudgar, A., Chandra, M., & Razzaque, A. (2014). Alternative forms of teacher hiring in developing countries and its implications: A review of literature. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 37*, 150-161.

Garii, B. (2009). Interpreting the unfamiliar: early career international teaching experiences and the creation of the professional self. *Journal of Curriculum Theorizing, 25*, 84-103.

Gearan, K. (1996). Introduction. In Anderson, P., Getchell, J. Coyne, J., Keeney, R., & Green, R. (Eds.), *At home in the world: The Peace Corps story* (pp. i-v). United States Government Printing Office.

Geidel, M. (2015). Introduction "The seductive culture of development" in Peace Corps Fantasies: How Development Shaped the Global Sixties. Minnesota, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1-20.

Goldhaber, D. (2002). The mystery of good teaching. *Education Next, 2*(1), 50-55.

Kerley, J., & Jenkins, S. (2010). *The Impact of Peace Corps Service on Host Communities and Host Country Perceptions of Americans*. Peace Corps OSIRP.

Lowther, K. & Lucas, C. P., (1978). Chapter Five, "Teaching for Teaching's Sake" in *Keeping Kennedy's promise: The Peace Corps: unmet hope of the new frontier*. New York, NY: Taylor & Francis, 81-96.

Meisler, S. (2012). When the world calls: the inside story of the Peace Corps and its first fifty

years. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.
OSIRP. (2009a). Host Country Impact Study Bulgaria.
OSIRP. (2009b). Host Country Impact Study Cameroon.
OSIRP. (2010a). Host Country Impact Study Tanzania.
OSIRP. (2010b). Host Country Impact Study Thailand: Teacher Collaboration and Community Outreach Project.
OSIRP. (2010c). Host Country Impact Study Ukraine.
OSIRP. (2011a). Host Country Impact Study Cape Verde.
OSIRP (2011b). Host Country Impact Study Philippines: Summary Report.
OSIRP. (2012). Host Country Impact Study Ghana.
Peace Corps. (2018, September 6). *Peace Corps teachers on track to reach nearly 300,000 students in 2018*. Peace Corps Office of Press Relations
Peace Corps. (2019 December). 2020 Factsheet. Peace Corps Office of Press Relations
Peace Corps. (2000a). *About*. https://www.peacecorps.gov/about/
Peace Corps. (2000b). *Preparation and Training*. https://www.peacecorps.gov/volunteer/preparation-and-training/
Peace Corps. (2000c). *Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) Certificate Program*. https://www.peacecorps.gov/volunteer/benefits/tefl-certificate-program/
Peace Corps. (2000d). *What Volunteers Do*. https://www.peacecorps.gov/volunteer/what-volunteers-do/
Riddell, A., & Niño-Zarazúa, M. (2016). The effectiveness of foreign aid to education: What can be learned? *International Journal of Educational Development, 48*, 23-36.
Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E. A., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools, and academic achievement. *Econometrica, 73*(2), 417-458.
Rorbaugh, K. G. (2016). Peace Corps Works: A Cross-Sectional Analysis of 21 Host Country Impact Studies. Peace Corps Office of Strategic Information, Research & Planning.
Sperling, G. (2006). Foreword, "The way forward for universal education." In Cohen et al. (Eds.), *Educating all children: A global agenda* (pp. xi-xvi). Cambridge, MA: AAAS.
Strauss, R. L. (2008, April 22). Think Again: The Peace Corps. Retrieved from https://foreignpolicy.com/2008/04/22/think-again-the-peace-corps/#:~:text=The%20Peace%20Corps%20claims%20that,schools%20in%20the%20United%20States
Strong, M. (2011). *The Highly Qualified Teacher: What Is Teacher Quality and How Do We Measure It?* New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
UNESCO. (2002). *Is the world on track? EFA Global Monitoring Report 2002*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNESCO. (2014). *Teaching and learning: Achieving quality for all. Education for All Global Monitoring Report 2013/2014-Summary*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNESCO. (2016). *Education for people and planet: Creating sustainable futures for all. Global Education Monitoring Report 2016*. Paris: UNESCO.
UNESCO. (2018). *Quick guide to education indicators for SDG 4*. Retrieved from http://uis.unesco.org/sites/default/files/documents/quick-guide-education-indicators-sdg4-

2018-en.pdf

Williams, J. H. (2017). International cooperation for education in developing countries, in G. Noblit (Ed.), *Oxford Research Encyclopaedia of Education*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-23.

Wilson, A. H. (1986). Returned Peace Corps Volunteers who teach social studies. *The Social Studies, 77:3, pp. 100-106*.

Table 1: Summary of Host Country Impact Studies

Country Project	Participants & Background	Project Goals	Impact on General Education	Impact on Teaching Quality	Impact on Supply of Qualified Teachers	Challenges
Tanzania: Secondary Education Project, 2010	101 respondents in 21 communities: 39 Counterparts 18 Beneficiaries 23 Host family members 21 Comparison group - "counterparts" (11) - "beneficiaries" (10) Since the 1960s, secondary education has been a key programming area of Peace Corps Tanzania. The current purpose of the Secondary Education Project is to support the improvement of the skills and knowledge of students at secondary schools and teacher training colleges through direct teaching by volunteers. (p. 10)	**Goal 1:** Secondary school students will expand their abilities in mathematics, science, and English, and will improve their critical thinking, problem solving, and life skills **Goal 2:** Secondary school teachers and TTC students will enhance their English fluency and abilities to develop and utilize a variety of educational approaches and resources **Goal 3:** Secondary schools and teacher training colleges will develop programs incorporating ICT resources relevant to the needs of Tanzania **Goal 4:** PCVs and counterparts, in collaboration with community members, will identify and address the needs in their communities (p. 17)	96% of Secondary Education Project counterparts and beneficiaries reported improved student performance in math, science, computer, or critical thinking skills. Secondary Education Project respondents, when compared with respondents from the comparison group sites, reported greater school-level changes in five of the seven areas asked about including student performance in English language skills; student performance in math, science, computer or critical thinking skills; teachers' use of "new "educational approaches; and student/teachers' use of computer or information technologies. 84% of the changes mentioned by Secondary Education respondents were sustained after the departure of the Volunteers.	98% of Secondary Education Project counterparts and beneficiaries reported improvements in English language fluency among teachers, in teachers' knowledge of HIV/AIDS prevention, and in students' performance on English language skills 96% of Secondary Education Project counterparts and beneficiaries reported improvements in their English language skills, 94% reported increased knowledge of HIV/AIDS prevention and 92% reported increased knowledge of math, science, computer, or critical thinking skills. 77% of Secondary Education respondents reported having built their capacity to continue the work **"The volunteers were hard working, so I used that technique to [organize] the community work and to ensure our own development." (Counterpart, p. 35)**	Respondents noted a positive impact in filling roles for much-needed math and science educators and positive perceived impact of those PCV teachers. Teachers on average had been teaching for 5-10 or over 10 years **"I am very satisfied, as my school has changed a lot. Students have been taught the subjects for which the school previously had no teachers. They have been trained to protect themselves from AIDS." (Beneficiary, p. 48)** [Would you want another PCV at your school?] **"Yes, because we have a shortage of science and mathematics teachers in our school." (Counterpart, p. 51)**	82% of Secondary Education Project respondents cited lack of funding as a main barrier. (p. 12) Comments from respondents suggested that, in some cases, communities and counterparts are not properly prepared for the PCV and that they tend to have unrealistic expectations of the PCV. For example, the project work is hampered when PCVs are perceived as "a special guest" at the start of their placement. (Lead Researcher, p. 62) The senior researcher recommended that a sustainability analysis of PCV work be carried out and that volunteers restrict activities to projects that are strictly within the school's financial ability to sustain them. **"We have a lack of finances/tight budget, inadequately skilled workers, for instance, teachers." (Counterpart, p. 56)**
Ukraine: TEFL, 2010	161 respondents in 20 communities: 65 Counterparts/project partners 76 Beneficiaries 16 Host family members 4 Stakeholders The TEFL Project started	**Goal 1:** Improve the English language ability of students and teachers **Goal 2:** Further teacher-to-teacher skills transfer between native English speakers (Volunteers) and Ukrainian English teachers **Goal 3:** Develop and/or enhance educational materials	95% of the teachers and students reported improved English language skills among students. (p. 8) 76% of respondents indicated that the change in the English language skills of students met their school's needs. (p. 9) **"I like the changes that are taking**	91% of the teachers reported improvement in their use of creative and student-oriented teaching methods. (p. 8) 23% of the respondents did not identify any training in which they had participated. (p. 33) Additional changes in the schools	As teacher placements, volunteers brought: New knowledge that helps students and teachers to learn English, as well as to improve the professionalism of teachers A global outlook The opportunity for children to socialize with people from different countries	Finances and access to resources were listed as major barriers. At times resources were not sustained after the volunteer left negating short-term impact. (p. 47) Cultural integration and training on working with the

	in June of 1993 when 23 Peace Corps Volunteers arrived in Ukraine. The Peace Corps/Ukraine TFFL project was originally developed in response to reforms in foreign language education. The Ministry of Education and Science (MOES) in the State National Program requested assistance from Peace Corps to address needs primarily with a focus on educational institutions in outlying areas where the demand for English language instruction is increasing.(p. 8)	**Goal 4:** Provide extra-curricular activities for students to strengthen their capacity and motivation to engage in community outreach projects (p. 8).	**place in our school, namely development of a team of active teachers and students able to initiate innovations and implement them." (Counterpart, p. 40)** **"It is interesting for students to work with a volunteer. Not all students are able to go abroad, and it is impossible to learn a language without contact with a native speaker." (Student, p. 43)**	included greater cooperation among teachers, increased participation and success in international competitions/grants, and growth in resource centers and libraries. (p. 9) Counterparts appreciated ... [their] attaining advanced career roles, more confidence and improved speaking skills, higher engagement in civic initiatives, creative teaching methods, the initiation and completion of community projects, and reaching professional development goals. (Lead Researcher, p. 30) **"My interaction with the Volunteer helped me advance my English skills. The training had a great impact. I use the knowledge gained in my classes with English teachers to conduct trainings on leadership and stereotypes. I taught other teachers how this information could be presented to children and how it could be used." (Counterpart, p. 31)**	The opportunity to converse in English with a native speaker Improvements in communication skills Added excitement to English lessons New knowledge about another culture and country New interest in local participation in civic activities (p. 41 - 42) Respondents were largely positive about the short term teacher placement of the volunteer (p. 19), but lack of data on long term impact of volunteers on teacher supply is not gathered. More than 50% of respondents stated that school-level changes were not sustained after the volunteer left (p. 47) **"Yes, we would like to cooperate with Peace Corps in the future. We would like to have a specialist in teaching English with experience working in a university." (Counterpart, p. 43)**	volunteer were also listed as barriers: **"I think we still do not have [a] full understanding of why the American Volunteers work here; the majority of the community does not trust them. The people of my age think they are spies and, therefore, they are reluctant to continue working with them." (Respondent, p. 46)** **"The training support was not adequate." They said, "We needed to receive clear information or guidelines about how to organize the work of the volunteer in the school. We relied on our own experience in communicating with foreigners via the Internet, our own knowledge about the American culture and way of life." (Respondents, p. 33)**
Bulgaria: English Language Education Project, 2009	98 respondents in 41 communities: 22 Counterparts/project partners 56 Beneficiaries 5 Host family members 5 Stakeholders 10 Comparison Group respondents In 1991, Peace Corps Bulgaria launched its English Language Education Project based on a Memorandum of Understanding with the Bulgarian government. Bulgaria's engagement with European and world markets, and its entry into	The Peace Corps' Education Project addresses needs in the following areas: **Goal 1:** English language instructors **Goal 2:** Development and enhancement of educational materials **Goal 3:** Teacher-to-teacher skills transfer between native-speaking educators and Bulgarian English teachers **Goal 4:** Extra-curricular activities for students (p. 9)	Respondents reported an increase in schools' ability to deliver high-quality English language instruction and credited Peace Corps' projects with their acquisition of new resources. (p. 64) 97% rated English language fluency among students as the outcome most frequently improved. 97% rated English language fluency among students as the outcome most frequently improved. 92% reported that the changes in their communities/schools were maintained to at least the fifty percent level after the end of the project 83% reported being very satisfied with the changes that had occurred in	64 % rated instructional planning, teaching skills and assessment practices as at least somewhat improved. (lowest or second lowest on the ratings) 74% rated teacher English language fluency as somewhat improved or higher (p. 20) Method of skill transfer: 87% of the counterparts and beneficiaries credit hands on work with the volunteer as major contributing factor (28% said training by the volunteer and 22% said training by Peace Corps) (p. 37) **"I use interactive techniques with the children to teach vocabulary more effectively. I use methods I**	73% of counterparts reported working in education field for 10 or more years. No respondents reported working in the education field for less than two years. (p. 23) Gained new opportunities was lowest in counterpart change out of the options, while gaining specific skills was the highest. (p 26) **The policy of the Bulgarian government makes it hard for us to maintain positive changes. They are planning to close schools. This endangers our school as well as making it difficult for us to plan for improvements. (Counterpart, p. 40)**	Finances was the top-listed barrier to success, with 26% of the respondents listing it. (p. 39) Other counterparts noted that **"the Volunteers' lack of a teaching degree, [as well as] the lack of discipline among students"** were factors that contributed to the difficulty of the project. Respondents cited language barrier and the housing requirements as secondary factors. (p. 38)

	the European Union, necessitated an increase in the number of English-speaking professionals. (p. 9)		their schools' English language programs, compared with 30% of the respondents that were members of the comparison group (pp. 9-10)	**learned …to make the lesson more interesting." (Counterpart, p. 28)** **"I haven't learned anything new about teaching but I improved my spoken English and this helps me every day." (Counterpart, p. 28)**	**"I don't know. We already have a good language teacher and the kids like her. I don't think it's so necessary to have a Volunteer in the school now." (Beneficiary, p. 28)**	
Cameroon: Education Project, 2009	The survey reached 113 respondents in 37 communities: 35 Counterparts/project partners (19 education and 16 community health) 31 Beneficiaries (16 education and 15 community health) 28 Host family members 19 Counterparts and beneficiaries who were interviewed about HIV/AIDS activities[1] Peace Corps Cameroon's Education Project began in 1962 with 20 Volunteers and has collaborated with the Ministry of Education for four decades. The Education Project was designed to help Cameroonian teachers, teacher trainees, and students increase their general academic knowledge and build skills. The project also integrates HIV/AIDS education. (p 10)	**Goal 1**: Secondary School Students will receive a gender-balanced, learner-centered education in order to increase their knowledge and skills in English, science, and computers, and meet the targeted competencies set by the Ministry of Secondary Education **Goal 2**: Teachers and teacher trainees will apply innovative, learner-centered, and gender balanced teaching methodologies and develop materials in the subjects of science, math, ICT, and English **Goal 3**: ICT teachers in targeted schools will assist the Ministry of Basic Education and the Ministry of Secondary Education to implement their newly adopted ICT curriculum in a gender-balanced way **Goal 4:** Cameroonian students, teachers, and community members will participate in the campaign to mitigate HIV/AIDS and develop strategies to change people's behaviors and attitudes (p. 17)	The most frequently mentioned change among Education Project respondents was improvement in English language skills (p. 11) 93% of Education Project counterparts and beneficiaries reported students had improved their knowledge of English, math, science, and ICT (p. 11) 71% of the respondents rated the increased retention of students, particularly of female students, as an important change that resulted from the Education Project (p. 11) More than 50% of respondents from both projects reported daily professional and personal use of the skills developed through the projects (p.11) **"Her presence in school has been positive. We have no regrets." (Counterpart, p. 46)**	70% of Education Project counterparts and beneficiaries reported improvements in their ability to share information with other teachers or Ministry staff, to promote school retention, and to teach and manage their classrooms (p. 29) The area showing less change (32%) was information-sharing between teachers and staff of the Education Ministry. (p. 29) 64% of respondents rated the change for both the general quality of English, math, science, and ICT instruction and in teachers' knowledge of the subjects as at least 'somewhat better' (p. 22) **"I can and I will be able to use a computer." (Beneficiary, p. 35)** **"Not at all, I learned nothing. She did not make any recommendations for her colleagues." (Beneficiary, p. 35)**	Senior researcher notes that the Peace Corps volunteers are the only rural development agents who exclusively work and live in the rural areas. This is not the case with development agents from other countries including France, Germany, Britain, Japan and Italy. (p. 93) **"There is a shortage of staff with the skills and training to maintain the change. " (Counterpart, p. 53)**	40% of respondents reported that lack of funding was a barrier to project success (p. 12) The senior researcher noted that the majority of respondents expressed the need for PCVs to know the local language of the community in which they work. He added that since the volunteers are teaching, some respondents think that there may be a need for them to have training in pedagogy before starting to work. (p. 54) Only 44% of the education counterparts reported receiving formal counterpart training (p. 36)
Cape Verde: Education Project, 2011	The study reached 93 respondents in 10 communities:	**Goal 1:** Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL): students and teachers will improve their English	70% of the student reported improved English language skills (p. 11) Both counterparts (95%) and	89% of the beneficiaries (including teachers and student-teachers) improved their English skills. (p. 11)	Approximately one-third of student teachers improved their research skills (p. 11)	18 respondents commented that the Volunteers did not speak Portuguese, which is the official language of

[1] Only Education respondents were included in this analysis of the Education Project Impact Study

	21 Counterparts 37 Beneficiaries 20 High school students 13 Host family respondents 2 Stakeholders The Peace Corps Cape Verde Education (CVE) Project began in 1988 as part of a joint program between the government of Cape Verde (GoCV) and PC Guinea Bissau. Since 1996, the program had been administered through Peace Corps Cape Verde, the British Council, and the Ministry of Education (MoE).[2] (pp. 16 – 18)	communication skills and develop/strengthen critical thinking skills through formal and informal education. **Goal 2:** Teacher training at the University of Cape Verde: student-teachers in the English Education Program will improve their English communication skills and implement more effective TEFL teaching methodologies **Goal 3:** Materials Development: students and teachers will develop relevant HIV/AIDS and gender equity teaching guides and resource materials **Goal 4:** Vocational Education: students and teachers in vocational education schools will improve their skills in renewable energies, civil construction, mechanics, and electricity through formal and informal education (pp. 16-17)	beneficiaries (89%) ranked "improved English language skills" as the outcome showing the highest rate of change, followed by using libraries and critical thinking skills. (p. 27) **"With her we speak only English, which is not possible with other professors. She motivated us in addition to teaching us with love. She does an incredible [job]." (Student, p. 28)** **"The way teachers relat[ed] to students. Teachers now talk more with students individually. Even when a student misbehaves, teachers now wait until the end of the class to point this out and have a talk with the students, instead of doing it in the presence of the whole class." (Counterpart, p 38)**	More than half reported adopting community content and student-based teaching methods in their work. (p. 11) **"(The) collection of teaching materials left by them that we continue using." (Beneficiary, p. 29)**	Prior to Peace Corps' involvement, Cape Verde Ministry of Education met the demand for TEFL teachers by contracting recent high school graduates who did not have any teaching experience, English-speaking Africans from other countries, and teachers from Portugal. The study asserts that the system led to unqualified teachers, high costs, contract disputes, and constant turnover in teaching staff at schools. Study implies greater success with Peace Corps volunteers as TEFL teachers in country (p. 16) In the responses, one teacher commented that the Volunteers were not well trained or prepared to teach; **another believed Volunteers took away jobs from local teachers. (p. 41)**	instruction in Cape Verde. All respondents noted the Volunteers spoke Crioulo, the local Creole language used outside of schools, and Volunteers tended to speak to students in this language and English. Three respondents commented that the training. Volunteers received did not match the local conditions in rural schools. (p. 38) **"It is difficult … because if he brought a project we don't have materials, we don't have audio-visual materials. We don't have dictionaries for the school library. As a result, it can hurt more than help." (Beneficiary p. 29)**
Ghana: Education Project, 2012	The study reached 106 respondents in 20 communities: 24 Counterparts 61 Beneficiaries 12 Students 2 Host family respondents 7 Stakeholders (p. 18) The GEP Project was designed to increase access to and improve the quality of education in support of Ghana's Vision 2020. The GEP placed Volunteers in schools to teach math, information	**Goal 1:** Junior high school students will be more successful in mathematics, visual arts, science, and English as a result of improved teaching and learning methods. **Goal 2**: Senior high school students in rural high schools will be more successful in science, ICT, and English as a result of improved teaching and learning methods. **Goal 3:** Volunteers working in junior and senior high schools will change the school to be a	98% of beneficiaries and 96% of counterparts reported the overall quality of education improved. (p. 11) Student Performance Improved: - Students working with a Volunteer showed continuous improvement in math and science, reported 99 % of the beneficiaries and 92 % of counterparts - The number of female students passing math and science exams increased - The physical environment in schools improved (p. 11)	96% of teachers began using student-centered teaching methods (p. 11) Teachers in some schools also adopted fair grading practices (p. 11) Many teachers learned alternate methods for classroom management and therefore reduced or eliminated caning (corporal punishment) in their schools (p. 11) 75% of the counterparts received training in teaching methods and developing teacher resources. 84% of beneficiaries and 78% of counterparts reported that training significantly enhanced their skills (p. 26)	The project targeted rural schools that historically have had difficulty attracting local teachers. (p. 9) A few respondents commented that the Volunteers fill the need for teachers in rural schools. Respondents requested Volunteers with skills in ICT and math, as well as an increased number of female Volunteers who could serve as role models to the female students. (p. 49) **"The staffing situation keeps on changing and I have reports from students of the low interest in math returning. The person**	88% of respondents cited lack of funding to implement projects resulting from the needs, other barriers were high staff turnover (67%) and need for more skilled community members (54%) (p. 12) 46% of counterparts also noted that Volunteers needed better skills in integrating into the local culture, and described Volunteers who were "too emotional" and needed "anger management" skills. (p. 47)

[2] Cape Verde Peace Corps program ended in 2013

	technology, science, arts, or English. The project also placed Volunteers in teacher training colleges and in junior and senior high schools for the deaf. (p. 9)	safer, more student-friendly school environment. **Goal 4:** Teachers in teacher training colleges will increase their knowledge of and skills in ICT as a teaching and management tool. (pp. 16-17)	**"The PCV sometimes organized extra classes for groups and individuals to raise their level. As a result, when students wrote the exams this year, we recorded a 70% pass in Chemistry (in 2011) compared to a 10-15% pass rate in previous years." (Counterpart p. 31)**	**"In 2006, I won the Best Teacher Award for the B/A region. This is a direct outcome of what I learned from working with the PCV. I apply the skills in the way I relate to people, in my work as a headmaster, and in my teaching." (Counterpart p. 39)**	**teaching ICT is not a trained professional like the PCV and me. To solve this, the school should be able to attract and retain qualified persons for a long time. I left because I wanted to be in the capital to be able to do further studies and get access to better facilities". (Counterpart, p. 46)** **People are transferred who have been trained by the Volunteer. This leads to problems of leadership and continuity. The leadership problem can be reduced if the Volunteer leaves behind a plan that the local people can follow or if more teachers are given the PC training in addition to the counterpart. (Counterpart, p. 46)**	The OSIRP evaluation team noted that several objectives and goals listed in the project plan were not supported by the activities. (p. 23) **The problem is staff turnover. For example, the counterpart and I have moved out of the school. The headmaster retired and left the town. The community did not provide any support by way of resources to the school to enable it to maintain the changes. (Beneficiary, p. 46)**
Thailand: Teacher Collaboration and Community Outreach (TCCO) Project, 2010	The study reached 254 respondents in 30 communities: 69 Counterparts 74 Beneficiaries 35 Primary school students 35 Host family respondents 41 Stakeholders The TCCO Project was designed to respond to the educational reforms instituted by the Eighth National Education Development Plan (1997-2001) and the 1996 Education Reform Act, which require an SCL approach. However, the curriculum issued by the Ministry of Education constrained the adoption of SCL methods due to its focus on grammar and	**Goal 1:** Thai English teachers in rural primary schools will improve and apply participatory and/or student-centered learning approaches, design creative lessons and materials that enhance the curriculum and establish community educator networks. **Goal 2:** Rural Thai communities will collaborate to enhance the quality of life of students and their families through the development of local learning opportunities and the promotion of HIV/AIDS, life skills, and sustainable, community-initiated development projects. (p. 9-10)	87% beneficiaries said their increased confidence in teaching and speaking English was the greatest personal change (p. 11) 100% of students reported they participated more in class (p. 11) Counterparts and beneficiaries note that the Volunteers' methods and lesson plans did not match state curriculum. (p. 44) **"A big difference. While the Thai teacher asks students to jot down words and memorize them, the Volunteer has a more fun teaching style—they use word cards, songs and games along with the content which keeps me amused." (Student, p. 26)**	92% counterparts their increased confidence in teaching and speaking English was the greatest personal change. (p. 11) 94 percent of project partners and 94 percent of beneficiaries (schoolteachers and administrators) adopted student-centered teaching methods (p. 12) 77 percent of students reported their teachers continued to use student-centered teaching methods. (p. 12) 94 percent of project partners and 91 percent of beneficiaries reported creating and using new teacher resources. (p. 12) **"I can develop lessons plans and prepare materials by myself, not just copy from books. Because I became more disciplined and keep strict deadlines, other teachers also [see] me as a role model." (Counterpart. p.41)**	Volunteers were viewed as substitute teachers who did not have the experience or training to teach (p. 16) Teachers who had worked with the Volunteer had either retired or moved to another school, and therefore the changes were not maintained at the school where the Volunteer served. However, a few of the teachers who worked with the Volunteer and transferred to a new school, continued using the new teaching methods (p. 50) **"The Volunteer stayed only two years. After the Volunteer left, the project was not continued because the school didn't have a budget to hire foreign teachers to teach English".**	One quarter of the teachers and school administrators (25%) did not believe the new teaching methods supported the Thai curriculum and viewed the methods as "just playing games" (p. 32) Additional factors included inadequate preparation of the Volunteers—poor Thai language skills and little teaching experience—and the age and gender of the Volunteers. (p. 13) In some cases, the Peace Corps Volunteer teaching even resulted in Thai teachers needing to hold make-up classes on the weekends to cover state testing content. These make-up classes interrupted informal religious courses students usually took on weekends associated with the local mosque. (p. 44)

	writing. The project is implemented in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Interior. (p. 9)			**I learned English by observing the Volunteer teaching in class. I didn't teach English but I applied his techniques to my science classes. (Counterpart p. 26)**		Peace Corps Thailand does not place Volunteers consecutively at sites harming project sustainability (p. 44). Although the Mid-Project Review recommended that Volunteers work with younger teachers who had less experience, schools may not have followed this advice due to Thai cultural norms (which would make it unlikely that a young or new teacher would be selected for such an honor). (p. 21) **Teachers do not have too much time due to a lot of work and activities. Teaching techniques are different; the Volunteer's style can't be used much for teaching in Thailand due to Thai education assessment system. (Counterpart p. 47)**
Philippines: Basic Education and Technical Assistance (BETA) Project. 2011[3]	As of 2011, 8,592 Volunteers have served in the Philippines since Peace Corps opened in 1961. (p. 1)	The goal of the Basic Education and Technical Assistance (BETA) project is to build the capacity of teachers, students, and community members to address their educational needs and implement sustainable school and community-based educational change. (p. 1)	96% of project partners and 92% of beneficiaries (schoolteachers, parents and administrators) said student confidence and competence in English were much better after working with the Volunteer. (p. 1) **"We used to concentrate on grammar while she taught us to focus on comprehension and speaking skills. The reading and comprehension skills of the students are better now." (Student, p. 1)"**	93% of project partners, 96% of beneficiaries, and 51% of students reported increased access to classroom resources and books after working with the Volunteer. (p. 1) 84% of beneficiaries reported using interactive teaching methods. (p.1) One of the most significant outcomes of the project was a better student-teacher relationship after working with a Volunteer. (p.1)	Not available in Summary Report.	Only half of students reported sustainable change in English skills: 50 percent of students reported they study more and speak English more often after working with the Volunteer. (p. 1)

[3] Only Report Summary available.