

Paul L. Doughty – John van Willigen Oral History Interview

The following is an oral history interview with Paul L. Doughty for the Society For Applied Anthropology Oral History Project. The interview was conducted by John van Willigen on March 8, 2002 in Atlanta, Georgia. This interview focused on Paul Doughty's path into applied anthropology and his experience as a participant in the Cornell-Vicos Project. Paul Doughty has had a distinguished career as a researcher in the Peruvian Andes and other locations. He is currently retired from the Department of Anthropology at the University of Florida. He was recipient of the Society's Bronislaw Malinowski Award in 2005. The Society's web site includes a short biographic essay and bibliography of his work. The url for that page is <http://www.sfaa.net/malinowski/doughty.html>

[An interview with Paul Doughty]

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... oh here it is, an interview with Paul Doughty. I'm John Van Willigen and this is over in Atlanta, it's the 8<sup>th</sup> of March, okay. Paul ... Paul ... I want to start by asking you about ... how you got into anthropology and if you kind of go through the basic ideas there and maybe some of the influences actually.

**DOUGHTY:** After I found anthropology after I graduated with a bachelor's degree in Business Administration and Extracurricular Activities at Ursinus College ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Ursinus College!

**DOUGHTY:** ... College of Pennsylvania in 1952.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Whew.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and I got a job with the Liberty Mutual Insurance Company as a workman's compensation investigator, and just imagine this almost brutalish young oaf running around on a Philadelphia Waterfront dealing with stevedores [chuckle] and there was ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah. Okay.

**DOUGHTY:** ... yeah, and you get the idea. Anyway, we ... I went ... they took us up for training at Boston, all the new recruits who all looked like me ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and the first thing they did, they ... they said, "You guys looked too young and hardly any of you shave very often." So they took us all out to the haberdashers and they bought us all fedoras to wear ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... at least in that way you guys will look older.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** It's Philadelphia fedora.

**DOUGHTY:** No, no, it's a Boston fedora.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, a Boston fedora, I'm sorry.

**DOUGHTY:** But in Philadelphia I ... it rained a lot and we all had postnasal drip and other things that goes with Philadelphia so we ... I used to have to do a lot of ... actually, we did sort of detective type stuff, we used to follow people who were collecting workman's comp who we thought were cheating ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and there ... and there was a lot of that. And there were guys ... and back injuries were an impossible thing to verify. So we had guys who were on back injury relief for

ten years and presumably not working. So we do ... once a year we do a ... a check just to see what was going on ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and there was this one guy who came into the office and he was an Afro-American guy and he had no known home address and he used to pick up his checks in the office and every time he'd come in the suspicion was that this guy was certainly not very disabled if at all and it ... he was ... he needed to be ch ... really checked out. So we ... we did a 48-hours surveillance [chuckle] ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So, you're on ... you're on the surveillance team?

**DOUGHTY:** That's so, I was on the surveillance team so we ... we ... I picked the guy up when he came to get his check in the office hiding behind a desk and we were sneaking down through the desks kind of crawling along and got in ... I got in the elevator with him, he hadn't seen me, went down and gets on the trolley. We go up Chestnut Street, get off and we got down to South Philly on another trolley, we changed trolleys ... I mean so it's about five o'clock in the afternoon, everybody is going home and this trolley is packed to the gills with people standing [inaudible] and as we got further into South Philly the population became more and more Afro-American and less and less people who looked ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Like you.

**DOUGHTY:** ... like me and so all of a sudden here I was being extraordinarily conspicuous and feeling very awkward and ... and we were separated ... I was separated from this guy by quite a few people a fifteen feet or more and he was by the back door and all of a sudden the trolley stops and he jumps out, I couldn't get out in ... in time and so I stopped at the next corner and I got out and went racing back to the ... where he got off at the corner, I turned the corner and we ran right into each other ... I ran right into him, nearly knocked him down ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And he hurt his back? [both laughing]

**DOUGHTY:** That thought did occur to me at that time.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I'm ... I'm sorry, I'm sorry.

**DOUGHTY:** No, no, the thought did in fact occur. But it was out there ... we were ... so I had to keep ... what did I do? I think I keep running of course [chuckle] otherwise why was I running? I was gonna shake his hand and say ... or I said, "Excuse me, I'm sorry," and all that but I had to keep running, you know, keep going. So then I snuck back to the corner to see where he ... and I saw him going to a house and that was it. And ... and it's all those row houses in South Philly and, you know, it's a ... in fact, I stood there on the corner, there's no place to hide, there was no newspaper stand or a corner store or nothing and I'm standing there in the corner and it starts to rain and I'm stand ... and I had my ... my rain hat on, my rain fedora and all of a sudden I felt this rain fedora shrinking off the top of my head, it was getting smaller and smaller [chuckle] and I ... it was a disaster. Of course, we ... that was one of my first field investigations I think you could say.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So, did you ever use ... use

**DOUGHTY:** Hilarious.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... stories from your insurance company days in ... when you teach field methods?

**DOUGHTY:** Yes, I do. I use ... I use that one just as a ... as a thing ... dumb thing not to do and, of course, we were completely inept in what we were doing and needed to have somebody who was a really ... a real pro to check this out. It turned out the guy was a professional gambler and was doing all kinds of things. Anyway, [inaudible] I did a thing which at the time seems like an

incredible thing to have done which I use as an ethical problem when I do it. And that was ... that was ... there was another we were checking up on who had silicosis. And I'd gone out to his house to pay a visit there and his house was for sale and ... and this guy had never been very cooperative with people going out to check so I said, oh, I can pull this as a house buyer. So my wife and I were recently married and I said to ... to Polly, I said, "Let's ... do this with me." So we went out at night and made an ... you know, went in and [inaudible] the house and they showed us all over the house and I discovered a number of things and one of them was, the guy was ... he was ... he did have silicosis and he was in effect disabled and he had an oxygen tank in a couple of the rooms that he would tap into when he needed to but down the basement I discovered ... he showed me proudly he had a big work ... woodworking shop and no dust protection.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** And I asked him about it, I said, you know - he had told me that he had this problem - and I said, "Well, doesn't the dust ..." "Oh, no-no," he says, "I'm covered by insurance." [both chuckling] And so ... and so I went back to the office the next day and I wrote all this up and ... and this made a huge hit with my supervisor. They thought this was the best thing they'd seen in eons. And ... and it was ... and it didn't really hurt this guy's insurance ... in fact, it helped him because they made him stop, you know, they made him, you know, get respirators and stuff to ... if he was gonna do this and kind of forced him to ... so that they would be paying more insurance, I guess, but it was a thing ... but, you know, the ethical problem was, we'd done this under false pretensions and had really tricked him into ... into telling us things that he probably should have told us anyway but he didn't do and ... and so I ... I always pose this kind of thing ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh, I see. I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... in my classes, something, would you ... should you be getting information under false pretensions pretending you're this and you're really that and ... and getting information that you really wouldn't have been privy to when it was without permission obviously. And ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And so how ... how long did you do this?

**DOUGHTY:** I did it for almost a year and ... and my background ... at that time I was a very strong practicing member of the Quakers Society of Friends and I had registered as a conscientious objector in the draft of 1952 and I ... I thought this through, but what I wanted to do was international ... some kind of international relations sort of work ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... rather than work in a mental hospital or ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, this ... oh so ...

**DOUGHTY:** ... was for alternative service.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah. Okay.

**DOUGHTY:** When you're drafted then you were given a draft card but then you were assigned to do some alternative activity for two years and ... in ... in lieu of going into the military.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah. If you were a doctor you could've become ...

**DOUGHTY:** They would send you to work in some medical thing but people like me who were BA generalists they would find some place where ... or I'd be an orderly in a mental hospital or something which I didn't ... the thought of which didn't have any appeal to me nor did it relate to my interest in being a CO. So, I ... I ... so I opted for that and then I finally got a ... my ... my local draft board at Poughkeepsie, New York I was the first person in the state of New York to request the ... this status under the new Selective Service Law.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So were you from Poughkeepsie originally?

**DOUGHTY:** I'm from Beacon, New York.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Which is ...

**DOUGHTY:** Dutchess County, home of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Hans Morgenthau, James Forrestal, and a whole host of people from the Roosevelt [inaudible]. I had nothing to do with any of them of course but [chuckle] the county always claimed a certain amount of notoriety because of that and voted Republican.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I figure you could get an aircraft carrier named after you possibly?

**DOUGHTY:** Right. Anyway, so I ... I ... so I ... I ... my local board asked for guidance from this ... from the New York State Selective Service Board and they asked for guidance from the National Selective Service System, General Hershey ... Lewis B. Hershey ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Sure.

**DOUGHTY:** ... used to sign all these draft cards. And ... and Hershey's policy was to not assign anybody to conscientious objector status because he didn't want to show any record that there were any.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh. Okay.

**DOUGHTY:** And ... and so they never answered and we diddled along like this for several months and my local board was becoming antsy and wanted to do something and I in the meantime since I was working in Philadelphia had gone into the American Friends Service Committee office in Philadelphia and they had a draft counselor person there and I talked to him and I said, "I'd like to work in the Service Committee because they had international programs in Mexico and in other ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** That was one of the alternative services?

**DOUGHTY:** ... and that was something I was thinking would be appropriate for me to do and ... and so I said that and they said, "Well, we ... if the service ... the Selective Service has some ... will assign you to us we'll be very happy to ... to take you on and ... and work ... have you work with us." So my local draft board finally got mad at General Hershey [chuckle] and ... and local boards are autonomous and they can do whatever they wanted basically and so they just up and assigned me to work with the American Friends Service Committee for two years.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Ohoh.

**DOUGHTY:** And ... and so gleefully I did and off we went to Mexico and it was April 1953. Polly and I we'd been married, what? eight months at that point and off we went naive ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** There was a place to ... that you ... to travel to in Mexico?

**DOUGHTY:** Oh yeah, oh yeah. The Service Committee had your long ... your permanent sort of projects or a series of projects going on in rural [inaudible] and we got on a bus in Philadelphia, five days later we were in Mexico City. I point out that in 1953 nobody thought of flying.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I went to ... went to Mexico City in 1960 and I took the train.

**DOUGHTY:** And we could've taken the train but that ... we took the bus because it was cheap.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And ... and in Mexico City ... didn't eat till after we left Laredo because ever ... we had all this fear of getting a Aztec two-step ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... I remember we ... we ... the first place we stopped was in a little town in the desert south of Laredo ... I mean there was a bus stop and there's an old guy with a ... a crippled guy with a crutch and he is playing the violin and the kids were begging and selling chicklets

[inaudible] and then there was a stand of food and sausages there covered with a ten million flies and ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and we got off the bus and took one look at this and got right back on the bus. Our culture shock was fabulous. And ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Did you speak any Spanish?

**DOUGHTY:** No, I ... I had a little ... I had some in high school ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and one semester in college and Polly didn't speak any and we got ... we got to Mexico City. In Mexico City we got the Service Committee people and we went to the center and so on and ... and the director of the program in Mexico, Ed Douglas, was a great guy. He'd been working in Mexico for quite a few years ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and he drove us out to the project out in Santiago Ixcuintla Nayari on the West Coast ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, that's ...

**DOUGHTY:** ... in the hot land of Mexico on the West Coast.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... that's quite far away.

**DOUGHTY:** All the way across, just south of Mazatlán which is now famous, at that time wasn't but ... and we started working with a program which the Service Committee had with the Mexican government which was Comisiones Culturales, cultural mission ... rural cultural missions which is a I think maybe the world's first program in rural community development. They were started in 1925 as a product of the Mexican Revolution and [inaudible] they sent multi-talented ... multi-faceted teams of local people to work in the new ejidos and farm communities ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So you worked in both, ejidos and non-ejidos communities.

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah, we worked in a lot of different places. And ... but anyway, we worked with this and then this project was also a co-project with the United Nations program in fundamental education which was centered at CREFAL which is a training center for Latin America for community development workers.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I've heard of the [inaudible] ...

**DOUGHTY:** And it's still in existence actually ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** ... but it's very minimal at this point. But at that time Mexico was one of three such centers in the world and CREFAL was ... and this was *the* Mexican project.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So fundamental education meant ...

**DOUGHTY:** Meant community development ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, I see. That's literacy?

**DOUGHTY:** ... that was ... that was the term.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Literacy?

**DOUGHTY:** Included literacy, agriculture, health, primary education, adult education, anything at all, construction, health facilities, schools ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** There is that transition elsewhere where ... what the root ...

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... the roots of what was called community development wasn't something that ... educational like adult ...

**DOUGHTY:** This was called fundamental education and that was the buzz word at that time.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah. Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And if you look at this old ... the old pamphlets that the UN, you know, were putting out in 1951 ... '50-'51 which is the start of all of this stuff this is what it was and this is what it's called.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And so inadvertently and quite accidentally I got involved with a very significant experiment really in international development at the grassroots level participatory program run essentially by local people ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and with very little top-down sort of thing other than broad cool type of stuff.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And you were just this kind of generalized Americans ...

**DOUGHTY:** I went out and I carried cement on the top of my head ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and we poured it and we dug ditches and [inaudible] through solid shell and [chuckle] all kinds of things ... things ... I was the coach of the local baseball team and we won the ... all this kind of stuff.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Can ... can you say a little bit about the ... kind of trace the intellectual roots of that? Could you recall the ... you know, citing anybody particularly that was ...

**DOUGHTY:** You mean the Mexican government program?

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah. Yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** Well, it began ... it was sort of sui generis, I mean they began in 1925 right after the revolution.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** It was started by [Moise Saintz] who was an anthropologist ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and an educator.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I'm ... and I've heard of him. He ... was he alive at that point?

**DOUGHTY:** No, I don't ... I don't think so. But anyway ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I mean it was a sort of ...

**DOUGHTY:** This was ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... like something way in the past?

**DOUGHTY:** ... it was 1925, see this is 1953 so ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... I don't know whether he is alive or not, I just don't remember and I ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** He didn't show up ...

**DOUGHTY:** He was not ... no-no, he was not ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Okay.

**DOUGHTY:** ... he was so far up in the ... I mean he was a minister in the government, you know, he was ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Because this is a person that I've heard of but I am totally ...

**DOUGHTY:** And he's ... he's ... back in the '30s he made two very or several actually ... the Mexican government was very interested in indigenous rights at that time largely under the interest of science and ... and ... oh, I'm having a senior [inaudible], the ... the other anthropologist who was a [Boli] student, a very famous guy ... oh, phh ... he did the Valley of Teotihuacan study in the early 1920s ... oh, it'll come to me in a minute, [inaudible] very well

known ... well known.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Not [inaudible]?

**DOUGHTY:** No-no-no, he was a ... he was an artist and writer but ... Miguel Covarrubias but I can't think ... it will come to me. Anyway, but ... and he was very, very influential in setting Mexico's regional post-revolutionary indigenous policies. And [Saintz] was in ... played a very important role in ... in getting education out ... out of the cities and into the rural areas because of course, the illiteracy rate was very, very high and so on. And they'd have all kinds of interesting programs like they made inexpensive and published ... the government published inexpensive copies of the world classical lit ... classic literature ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... Greek and Roman writers and so. The result of this is, all their ... various parts of Mexico, I don't know whether it is still true, you find peasant kids named Arastaphenis and [chuckle] things like this but ... and it was a direct product of this program where they put that kind of literature in the hands of farmers and people in the ... in these [inaudible] school.

Anyway, so we were there at the time when that kind of sense was still very present in Mexico. And the ... the director of our program in ... in the village was a woman I do remember very well. She was a very dynamic lady, Felice [Monterro Monteron], in English and she was great and she blasted our gang around and all of the other folks that were associated with the project and [inaudible] this great talk in the community ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** She wasn't ... she wasn't an anthropologist?

**DOUGHTY:** No-no-no, I don't think so. I mean I ... I doubt if she was but I don't really know. But she was an awfully good worker with people and so anyway, so that ... that was ... and that's how I sort of got into this whole thing, living in villages and eating beans and tortillas and I wore huaraches and we were paid five dollars a month for two years [chuckle]. And ... and it was a ... a great experience, I wouldn't trade it for anything. I mean it ... it totally changed our lives and we worked in Nayari and we worked in the Vera Cruz and we worked in the state of Puebla and we worked in Hidalgo in [inaudible Mesquital] with the Patrimonio Indigeno of [inaudible Mesquital] which was another Peru ... or Mexican government program to work with indigenous populations and then Nayari was with the [inaudible] recent colonizing Mestizo population that had come down from Jalisco and ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So they ... they would ... they would place you on ...

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah, the projects would have ... you know, the one in ... in Nayari would run until the raining season started. Then everything stopped [chuckle] because you couldn't get out of the ... you couldn't move or any. So we went on and we did other projects, short ... some short term projects and then in the ... in the ... when the rains and the climate would change then the larger projects would ... would start kicking in now for a four-five month stretch.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** So we worked there and then we went back to Nayari the following year actually, worked in a different place in the same [inaudible] and that was quite a successful project. And you know, really a good time working there and I thought it was quite ... well anyway, we worked for the ... the ... the ... the Otomi Indians and as we ... [inaudible] project, the Patrimonio was a ... was a project which was a very significant one. The Otomis at that time were thought to be the poorest people in Mexico and they lived in the desert and it was ... obviously they were extremely poor. And the Pr ... the Patrimonio was working all over the Otomi area which was quite a large area covering three different states, parts of three different states, Hidalgo, Puebla, Veracruz, oh, and also Guerrero so four states. And we were just in the ... the one so I ... and that

was another very different experience. That's where I first really came in contact with anthropology as a ... as a ... as a discipline.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Okay, what were your first encounters like?

**DOUGHTY:** Well, it was a ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** What ... what was ...

**DOUGHTY:** ... I was a director of the ... of our little pro ... of our group ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... there were about ten or twelve of us and we were working with the Patromonio wherever they assigned us to work and to do what they wanted ... they wanted us to do and ... but since I was the director I got to go around and ... and look at locales where things were going on and make commentary and the guy I went around with was a Mexican guy named Mario Muñoz who himself was a Otomi but had a master's degree in anthropology from the University of Chicago. And Murio and I did a lot of tramping together up and over the hills ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Was he quite famous?

**DOUGHTY:** Murio became quite well known later on. And ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** But at that time ...

**DOUGHTY:** At that time he was a flunky, sort of a little bit above me ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** ... but he was a troubleshooter because he was Otomi and he was very able person in terms of dealing with communities and talking to people, he was an anthropologist ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and good at it. And ... and I kind of followed him around and he talked to me and kind of got interest ... well, he said, "You're not gonna go back and being an insurance adjuster?" And I said, "Well, you know, I've haven't thought much about it." He said, "What you ought to be is an anthropologist?"

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And so ... so he ... he ac ... actually ...

**DOUGHTY:** He put the seed in my head, yeah. And see, and I didn't, you know, do anything about it because I was still there and so ... and ... and then we later after we finished the Otomi project ... we hadn't finished it but my ... our [inaudible] because they moved us, sent Polly and I down to El Salvador to work in an earthquake redevelopment project in Eastern El Salvador.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And this is also part of the ...

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... Service Committee?

**DOUGHTY:** And I stayed on another six months actually, I ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So, your total is two and a half years?

**DOUGHTY:** About two and a half years that I did this with ... and in El Salvador we directed a ... part of ... we were ... our little part of a much larger program of earthquake redevelopment which had been designed by the IBEC, which is the International Basic Economy Corporation which is a Rockefeller Brothers thing and this is ... they were some of the early designers of development type projects. And Rick Adams had been the designer of the social portions of it.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Rick Adams?

**DOUGHTY:** But I never knew Rick Adams at that time and ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see. You later ... later on ...

**DOUGHTY:** ... later on I ... I met Rick of course, many years later ... several years later ... five years later. But I mean it was ... and ... but Rick had been part of the design team, had ... had been hired by [inaudible] a recent Ph. D. for going down to ... to ... to do this. And ... and so we

got to work in what he had helped design in ... in [inaudible] Guadalupe, Guapa, Chinameca, all little towns in San Miguel ... near San Miguel. Anyway, so that was another eye opener, was a complete different kind of project and it introduced me to post disaster problems. And it was from there that I applied to go to an anthropology program.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see, at some point you just said, that's what I want to do.

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah, well, we were finish ... I was finishing up my obligations to the Friends Service Committee and it was time ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And what ...

**DOUGHTY:** ... it was time to move on at that point so I ... and I wanted ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... nineteen fifty ...

**DOUGHTY:** It was 1955 ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... spring of 1955 so I applied to Cornell which at that time ... my grapevine of information had told me that it was the only place I could study applied anthropology in the world ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Did you ... did you ... you ... you

**DOUGHTY:** ... and it ... it actually was so ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... had ... you had this phrase, applied anthropology?

**DOUGHTY:** I got that because I'd picked that up somewhere along the line. I'm trying to remember ... of course, one of the books that we found in the library was a ... was a Margaret Mead book, you know, was it *Human Problems and Technological Change*? It was a paperback ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** No, I ... I know it ... you *Human Problems and Technological Change* is the [inaudible] Spicer ...

**DOUGHTY:** No, that's a different ... I'm ... I'm thinking but it's a name ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** It has a title like that ...

**DOUGHTY:** ... [inaudible] I'm ... I'm forgetting what it is.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... and it was ... it was a book written for what probably ... probably called plain [inaudible] ?

**DOUGHTY:** Yes, exactly. And ... and that was in our library and then Haverford College at that time had a very innovative program for giving people a master's degree in development studies. And they had put together quite an amazing program for that time, it was the only place I'm sure they could do ... do that anywhere in the world and I'd known some people who were involved in that and I got some reading of ... of that, their booklist and stuff. Anyway, I ... I'd gotten to the conclusion what I needed to do is to do anthropology. So, not ever having had an anthropology course and having kind of ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Did you consider other places besides ...

**DOUGHTY:** Well, Cornell was the only place that I was told that you could actually ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... do a program in applied anthropology.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** You were told, who told you that? No, okay.

**DOUGHTY:** I can't remember whoever it is, it's kind of ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Okay.

**DOUGHTY:** ... but ... so I applied and I got turned down [chuckle] and so we went back to Philadelphia and Polly got her own job back at the university hospital as a hematology researcher and I got a job selling toys at [inaudible] Clothier Department Store and got my body into to talk

to the University of Pennsylvania, at the College [inaudible] And I ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Which was not an applied ...

**DOUGHTY:** Certainly not, and ... and the chair of the department was one Lauren Eiseley ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and I went into his office and he was sitting in his office there at Bennett Hall by himself reading and I went in and he interviewed me and I said I was interested in becoming an anthropologist and he said, you know, "Where have you come from and why are you interested? Where did you get your bachelor's degree?" He went through a list and he was sort of interested in my background and he said, "Well," he said, "I like you to ... to sign up for some night courses at Penn here this fall and," he says, "and I want you to read these two books." And he reached around and he pulled up ... off the shelf behind him, A. L. Kroeber's 1948

*Anthropology* and a book by L ... Alexander Goldenweiser ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uhmhm, I probably read them [inaudible].

**DOUGHTY:** And he said, "Why don't you read these and come back in a couple of days and we'll talk about them." Well, [chuckle] a great stack of fa ... you know, the Kroeber book is about as dense as it comes ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and so I [inaudible] and he says, "You ... enroll in my Introductory course." Eiseley was teaching ... in night school teaching Introductory Physical Anthropology and then in the spring Introductory Cultural Anthropology. And ... and then I signed up for a social course and I signed up for Froelich Rainey's Introduction to Archeology in the museum. And Rainey was kind of a bon vivant ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** He was head of the museum, director of the museum, Pennsylvania ... University of Pennsylvania Museum, [inaudible] kind of guy so ... so [chuckle], all this was very new to me and here I was kind of raw right of the field with, you know, the tortillas in my back pocket as it were. I mean I was [chuckle] ... but ... so I sat, I read those books and went in and we chatted and I was taking his course and I was finding ... yeah, I had no ... I had no inkling of what physical anthropology was and Eiseley was maybe one of the ... one or two best lecturers I have ever sat in a course with. This guy was phenomenal and there was a big class full of people who were being required to take it to fill some [inaudible] requirement and a big dark room with ... upstairs at Bennett Hall and he ... by the end of the first week everybody was sitting in the front of the room, he was just too damn interesting. And it was quite amazing to see this ... we were bringing dictionaries to class ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** ... I mean he was erudite and made no concessions to our ignorance and ... and it was just fascinating to listen to.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** What ... do you recall any of the readings from that ...

**DOUGHTY:** Oh, the readings, gosh, I don't even know what they were at this time ... I have a ... I have the list at home. I saved my notes ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Goodness!

**DOUGHTY:** ... and I ... I just wrote copious notes, I became absolutely enthralled with it. And I had no idea, anthropology ... this is anthropology. And so all of a sudden my horizons began to go, expand quickly and ... and ... and so I ... I did very well in his course, I pulled an A and he said, "You're in." And I was in the graduate school.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** And I should ... I should confess that one of the reasons I ... I chose to apply at Penn and chose to apply at Cornell was they did not require the GRE exam ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and I figured I could never get a good score at the GRE exam because I was terrible at mathematics and had last ... had had 10<sup>th</sup> grade algebra and I figured I would just never ever get a ... get any kind of a score that anybody would like but neither Penn, nor Cornell required the GRE so that solved that little problem. And ... and it was all history after that. So I ... I ... the second ... I started the sec ... the second semester with graduate school. And got ... took another archeology course with ... with Alfred Kidder, Jr., I'm sure [inaudible] and got introduced to Peruvian archeology.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh, and that ...

**DOUGHTY:** And that ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... this is ... this is important in terms of your biography. This ... I know Peru is important but this is the starting point with that?

**DOUGHTY:** And this is ... starts ... well, it starts my ... really my graduate interest and broadening of my graduate interest significantly. And, of course, [inaudible] Ward Goodenough and Jim Giddings and the [inaudible] American Indians and archeology and Pete Hallowell who I really enjoyed tremendously in Psychological Anthropology and I kept a course of him. Then I had a course with Tony Wallace when he had ... just after he published his article of Revitalization Movements, like he tried that out on the class and we [inaudible] writings about using his ideas and see how it worked in the context and so ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So, he ... he gave a lecture on revitalization?

**DOUGHTY:** Oh yeah, the whole class ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and the whole class was Revitalization Movements ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and the whole semester. And Ray [Fogelson] and Paul [Kutschy] and I all ... and they were kind of [chuckle] ... they [inaudible] and a lot of us got together, you know, was ... was great. We had ... it was a small group of people at Penn and ... and a lot of us are still friends after all these years. And so it ... but we ... and then I was there for two years. I'd worked in the library shelving books and helped [inaudible] stuff [inaudible] and researchers, I was in charge of the HRAF file at Cor ... at Penn for a year, four semesters ... a year I guess, but very funny things happened there. Anyway, [chuckle] but [inaudible] HRAF and so ... and then I decided that I had exhausted Penn's offerings as far as my interests were concerned so I again reapplied to Cornell and transferred this time successfully so ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Sure. And so at Penn your interest in applied anthropology wasn't really addressed by anyone?

**DOUGHTY:** No ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Not even Goodenough?

**DOUGHTY:** No-no-no.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** This was ...

**DOUGHTY:** It was interesting because Ward was an assistant professor at that time and was ... he and Jim Giddings were the workhorses of the department ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** Giddings later went to Brown and he was a really good teacher too, he was excellent and he died very young and his wife became director of the museum at Brown but he

was ... he ... Ward was a very stern task master and everybody sort of ... [chuckle] and I've ever tried to talk to him ... I remember walking up the street with him one day, in ... in a class he mentioned something about applied anthropology and I said, "Oh," I was really interested, that's what I ... my interests were really there and he'd been involved as a rapporteur for the Russell Sage Conference that Spicer had organized on the Human Problems of Technological Change.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yes. Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And he was in charge of putting that together in a book which eventually became Cooperation and Change.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yes. Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And he started talking to me a little bit about that and I said, "Whew ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So ... so, he had ... he had done that ...

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah, but that wasn't really his interest.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** My impression at the time - and I may be wrong - but my impression at the time was that he was just doing it because it was sort of a good opportunity not because he was really interested in it. Anyway, he never gave me that impression because he never offered a course in that, at least when [inaudible]

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And he wouldn't necessarily in the course of his non-applied courses kind of use examples or anything ... I see ...

**DOUGHTY:** Never, very, very little.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And you probably have thought about this a lot because of his ...

**DOUGHTY:** Well yeah.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... subsequent career and your subsequent career ...

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah. Right. I mean later we've talked a lot about that sort of stuff but after, you know [chuckle] ... and so ... so anyway, I ... I went to Cornell and it was a complete different environment so I ... with ... I was very happy to have had the ... the grounding and the basics in the sort of classic anthropology at Penn because it got me into ethnography, it got me in different [inaudible] and I had a good course from Carlton Coon for example, was one of those fascinating people to hear in a little classroom like I imagine. And, you know, and so I had some really courses, learned a tremendous amount and got a whole idea this [inaudible] anthropology and a holistic perspective. [inaudible] Cornell is a total different department.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** Cornell at that time was a combined anthro, social, and social psych department.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uhmhm. But you got a master's degree at ...

**DOUGHTY:** No.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... at Penn?

**DOUGHTY:** No, I didn't.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** You got course work at Penn?

**DOUGHTY:** I got course work and I would've have to take another course or two to get the master's exam and I just wasn't interested in taking a Human Paleontology course and ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... I wanted to get on with it and I got impatient. So ... I mean I ... so I went to Penn and there was nobody there doing Latin America. In Penn ... and just to give you an idea ... it tells you something about universities because we students had no idea what the faculty was doing or what kind of people they were thinking about recruiting.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And ... the ... and so I went to Cornell partially because I ... I ... there was no applied anthropology and partially because there was nobody that did anything in Latin America. And I got up to Cornell and the ... the very ... the semester I ever got at Cornell Ben [Rainey] started teaching at Penn.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Ben ...

**DOUGHTY:** Ruben [Rainey]

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, I see. And Ruben [Rainey] was a Guatemalan expert with interest in applied [chuckle] but they never ... nobody knew, we were totally disconnected and uninvolved ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... with the recruitment process.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** And had I known that I may actually have stayed at Penn and become Ben's first graduate student.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Hmm. That's ...

**DOUGHTY:** But I ... I didn't know that and so ... and also it tells you something about, you know, departments involving their students [chuckle] in things. That stayed with me. I always ... I always took that as something that we ought to ... you know, running graduate programs without ... you know, make sure the students know what we're doing and be a participant in the ... in their own career development basically by ... by the recruitment process. But anyway, so I went to Cornell and ... and got engaged with Allen Holmberg's classes and he was my advisor and began taking courses in ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** What ... what were your first impressions of him ... him?

**DOUGHTY:** Of Allen?

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** He was a very quiet, soft spoken man, quite intense in some ways but ... but very ... sort of gentle in his sort of demeanor and ... but very direct also. You did ... not a dissembler but ... but ... and a very ... a person who you immediately felt was sort of a leader and he ... he had that ... something about him that ... that you knew that he was ... you know, he was somebody you ... you ... it was important to talk to and ... and he had a huge number of students and ... and was a very popular lecturer, excellent teacher, very well prepared, spent a lot of time in class preparations, at least that was my impression because everything was very orderly and worked out ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** It was all written out in hand but ...

**DOUGHTY:** I guess yeah, but I mean the way just his whole ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** ... presentation was going somewhere. I mean you had a sense of [inaudible].

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And I had a minor in Rural Sociology because I had a feeling that ... because my applied interest and my experience in the field I thought you had to ... have more than one field that you were conversant with.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Who ... who were some of the rural sociologists?

**DOUGHTY:** Well, I worked a lot with Robert [Polson] and ... forgetting the name ... I forgot ... uh, there were a couple of people in rural socio I worked with, Alf [Larrison] ... Alfred [Larrison], Robert [Polson] were the two that I took ... I did most of my work with. And [Polson] was on my committee. And through them actually I got a ... I guess some work ... I was the assistant ... or associate director of the New York Migrant Labor Survey one summer of

which the Socio Department had a contract with the US Department of Labor and that was terrific.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So, this is an early ... for you an early involvement in actual funding ...

**DOUGHTY:** Field research, you know, and I ... and it was fairly large scale, running questionnaires and I did all of the footwork setting up the interviews. We did about four hundred labor camps ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... all over the state and we drove ... and I would go and interview the owners ... farm owners and the crew leaders and then the team would come in and interview the ...

**MS. X:** Hi.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Hi. That ...

**MS. X:** I'll come back later.

**DOUGHTY:** It's ... it's okay. Sorry, I took these courses with Allen and my original intend ... and ... and, you know, as I worked there and got this ... this background I ... I originally ... the plan was to go back to El Salvador and do a study of coffee plantations ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... which had never been done and so I ... I applied to ... there were very few grants available, Woodrow Wilson and I ... I don't remember now but there were only like a couple of sources of funds to [inaudible] working in Latin America that were available to anthropologists

...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uhmhm.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and maybe about six or eight something like that, total.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And I applied and wanted to do this ... this gra ... pro ... plan, do a study and I had the place picked out in my mind in El Salvador, I knew some places. And I thought I had some in's to do it. And I applied and my ... the answer I got back was, this wasn't anthropology.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, who did you get that answer from?

**DOUGHTY:** From I can't ... it was a Woodrow Wilson ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... response but whoever had reviewed the project was a very conservative anthropologist who felt that they weren't ... because they were Spanish speaking they weren't appropriate subjects, probably somebody from Harvard I would guess.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, I see, they ... they had to be a native ...

**DOUGHTY:** They had to be a native speaker, yeah.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh I see. Whew.

**DOUGHTY:** And ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** That's really ... well ...

**DOUGHTY:** ... and I ... so I ... so I didn't get any money and I was terribly disappointed and I was just wondering what the ... how the heck I would ever fund myself to ... to do this. And Holmberg at that time got his second Carnegie grant for Vicos ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Just ...

[End of Tape 1, Side 1]

[Begin of Tape 1, Side 2]

**VAN WILLIGEN:** You want some wine?

**DOUGHTY:** Is that [inaudible] recording this ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh [both chuckling]

**DOUGHTY:** Sure, bring it on. [both chuckling] ... [inaudible] had just received the second Carnegie grant [both chuckling] which I think ... I ... I don't remember how much it was but at that time it seemed like a lot of money. Today in retrospect it [chuckle] it sounds like nothing. But anyway, it was like about a little over ten thousand dollars [chuckle] I can't remember, it may have ... it may have been more than that, I ... but ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... it's not ... not much different today. Anyway, so ... and the Vicos project had been in a sort of a lullaby because they'd sort of run out of money but Holmberg had talked about Vicos all the time in the classes and ... about all of that but ... but ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** At ... at that ... based on the first ... the first grant that ... that was like a research project?

**DOUGHTY:** Well, the project was underway. I mean it started in ... in '52 and it had come forward for the first five years and had been funded jointly ... well, Cornell paid for its own folks and then the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs paid for the Peruvian staff and the Ministry of Education paid for the teachers and ... so there were a lot of funds going in that weren't Cornell. Cornell paid for actually only a small part of ... of ... a very small part actually.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** I think the impression that many people have is that Cornell forked in a lot of money, Cornell actually put in very little money ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** ... most of it was Peruvian money from regular ministerial budgets doing things they should've been doing all along ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... but were now because of the way the project brought them together and focused them was doing it now in its place.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see, so ...

**DOUGHTY:** And that was sort of the genius of the project, in a way it got people in the provincial offices of the ministries to actually do what they were being paid to do.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uhmhm. And ... and someone was working on that all the time getting the ... getting those resources?

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah, well once they made the commitments they got put into the budgets and then ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... so once Vicos had a school the ... the Ministry of Education was obliged to pay the schoolteachers and so that was just an ongoing event thereafter so it didn't have to be sought after once the original commitment and school had been approved. And so ... and the same for the agronomist and ... and other things. So anyway, so I ... Holmberg had ... had gotten a second grant and the idea at that point was to expand the little area of research and to do some more comparative things so I was interested in doing something comparative and I thought it would be interesting to do a study of a community of small farmers ... not necessarily fairly short in stature but ... but people who had small amounts of land.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And so this was the plan to be from the beginning, your dissertation?

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah. And so I ... and ... but I would want it to do it in ... around ... near Vicos but not at Vicos, I always wanted to contrast the hacienda serf-environment to the non-serf independent farmer environment, the small farmer environment. So, that was my kind of proposal and another person who went down under the grant was Dave Andrews and Dave did a dissertation project in a place called Paucartambo in ... in the Pasco Department which is a different department from where we were in Ancash but it was ... a ... a program that was being sponsored by the Ministry of Labor and Indian Affairs theoretically at least emulating Vicos ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uhmhmm.

**DOUGHTY:** ... theoretically I say because actually ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... it ... it didn't very well but ... but Dave was doing a study in the community where the ... the Ministry program was taking place, where there was no Cornell involvement at all, it just strictly came from the Ministry and they had a series of activities and Dave went and was gonna do a study basically in that community about what was going on in the project. And so we went down in ... in 1960 and my ... all of a sudden I was gonna be a Peruvianist and not work in Central America which is what I intended to do [chuckle].

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see. And so that ... you're ... it sort of fit some of your criteria ...

**DOUGHTY:** It fit my interest my in terms of applied work and ... and this sort of thing but not in the place I thought I was gonna be doing where I had all my background, in Mexico and ... and in El Salvador. Retrospectively, of course, thinking about El Salvador my project would've become I think maybe almost a classic had it ever been finished because the El Salvadorian Civil War [chuckle], ten year of revolutionary activity was all rooted in the rural problems of El Salvador ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and there was nothing written about these things, I mean there was nothing, I mean absolutely no research at all to ... to deal with so ... so and I'm often thought, you know, all of a sudden El Salvador became extremely relevant. At the time I applied for the grant it was not [inaudible] relevant but not anthropological. So looking back on that I've often kind ... sort of ... and anyway, so I went down and ... and ... and Polly and I set up shop in a ... in a village ... district about fifty miles away from Vicos at the other end of the valley, a place called Huaylas, H-U-A-Y-L-A-S. Huaylas is about as different from Vicos as you could find within a radius of fifty miles. It was a community of small independent peasant farmers who were quite vigorous and independent and had ... were a very successful community and ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Was it up the valley?

**DOUGHTY:** It was north ... the northern end of the valley, far northern end of the valley. And ... and there were no serfs in Vi ... in Huaylas ... I don't know, no peonage, and the community was getting electricity put in for the first time through their own grassroots efforts and it was very exciting to be there. They were just doing stuff and they had terrific local leadership and were very effective. And they had a migrant colony of ... that's what they called ... referred to the [inaudible] the Migrant Colony at Lima [chuckle] for their ... for urban migrants who had left the community ... a big migrant colony of Lima who ... which was busily raising money for the hometown community and badgering and lobbying in the halls of the government to get projects done up in Huaylas and so on. This is a very different place than ... than Vicos and ... and so I ... [inaudible] became engaged to the idea of, you know, okay, well let's see now, let's look into why these two communities are so different and what ... what ... what makes them ... this

difference and how can this be ... be ... be made use of? So I ... that's what I ... then I would ... I'd go up to Vicos constantly because Mario Vascos who was the ... the field director of the project was up in Vicos and was a very good friend and had helped me find Huaylas as the place to redo the research.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So you'd considered other locations?

**DOUGHTY:** Oh, yeah. We considered several places. We visited them and I ... we had a Jeep ... old Jeep station wagon that we'd brought down to Peru, we toodled around in that, a lousy car, [chuckle] all the dust would pour in through the ... through the ... through the windows and doors, it was this ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** One of those jeepster things?

**DOUGHTY:** No-no, it was a Jeep station wagon, a square box of a car with, you know, was ... was just a rattletrap, strong but it was a rattletrap. Anyway, so we ... we did tour around and visited quite a few good places as possible research sites and Huaylas was just one that just seemed to fit what I was interested in and what kind of place I wanted to look into and it would be very good for a way to contrast it with ... with because ... because I did. And then the summer of 1960 we had a group of ... the ... the Cornell ... Cornell-Harvard-Columbia Summer Field Program for st ... undergraduate students was organized and I had ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I have never heard of this.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and I had six ... well, this is a very interesting and important program, I had six students come down, two from each school, and I would ... directed them in a field ... in a field research program. Well, I had one ... let's see, two in ... in Vicos and I had four ... four was it ... no, had three in Vicos and three in Huaylas. And ... and I ... so I was ricocheting back and forth between these two places all summer long running their field projects and looking at their [inaudible] ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Did anybody from their continuous ...

**DOUGHTY:** Oh, yes. Jim Fox, who was in Huaylas with me got his Ph. D. in anthropology at Harvard and became an Indonesia teamwork specialist. Alice Kasakoff who was with me in Huaylas and did a paper on Huaylas education is now professor of anthropology at the University of South Carolina and Garry Parker who was with me was a linguist and got his Ph. D. in linguistics and was teaching at the University of Hawaii. And at Vicos one guy, Norman [Fein] I think went into law, he escaped. And the other guy, Tom [Lynch], became an archeologist and was professor and chair of the anthropology program at Cornell eight years later. And I'm missing somebody, I'm not forgetting ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** It sounds like the ...

**DOUGHTY:** ... somebody ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... many ... many ... they all except for the lawyer ...

**DOUGHTY:** ... uh, Bill [Touwy] who got his Ph. D. in political science although he ... at Stanford under Richard [Fagon] wrote a book with Dick [Fagon] and then couldn't get a job, he got caught in the ... in the ... that slow period where there were no jobs around and he now runs a white-water rafting company in Northern California [chuckle] as far as I know. But anyway, and then the next year in 1961 I had another group come down and I had them all in ... in ... in Vicos and that group included Richard Price you may know. He works now in the Carribean with ... uh, ex-slave populations in ... in Suriname and the ... the ... [Simorones] ... Maroon communities and has published quite a few books. He was at Hopkins for years and then there was Brenda Beck who was ... went on to get a Ph. D. and worked in India ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and then there was [inaudible] Hoover and then there is David ... David ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Quite ... quite ... quite famous in that [inaudible].

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah, well, Rich Price is too in Carribean. He is one of the big Carribeans. Anyway, and ... let's see whom I'm leaving out [inaudible] people ... Steve Nelson became a lawyer, a very successful lawyer in Boston. Let's see ... a big tall I can't ... I can't remember his name, How ... his last name ... who was the brightest guy of the whole bunch. He'd been a ... an anthro major at Cornell and in his senior year decided he was gonna go to med school and he had ... he was, I think the class valedictorian at Cornell [chuckle] and he went to med school and now practices in Atlanta ... Hal [Skalka] gosh, I should look him up.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Hal [Skalka].

**DOUGHTY:** I should look him up. Anyway, so it's a ... I think he's in Atlanta, I have to look in the book. Anyway, and ... and ... and then David Barkin who ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** David Barkin?

**DOUGHTY:** David Barkin was my student and David is extremely well known, of course, as an economist losing Mexico and ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** ... is a general all-around rabble-rouser and ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah, just as an aside, one winter I had a Super Bowl party in Lexington and David Barkin was there.

**DOUGHTY:** Now these ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** He just kind of happened he was visiting Bill DeWalt.

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah. Well, Billie was ... David and I have crossed paths again subsequently [inaudible] more than any of the others actually. And so this was a very, very good group. And on the other one was Jane [Furer] ... Jane [Furer] has her Ph. D. from Columbia and is married to [Maury] [Shriver] CBS news and she works at the American Museum Natural History and writes books ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, great.

**DOUGHTY:** ... on esoteric anthropological topics. So these were ... this was an extraordinary summer program.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** You can see the productivity of the people that came out of it. These were all juniors in college when they went there.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Whew.

**DOUGHTY:** And so it was just ... they were great kids to work with, you know, and I ... I was ... it was just before my Ph. D. of course but I was sort of older ... looked quite a bit older and a lot more experienced than they were because I'd been around in Latin America and so ... and so ... I mean it ... and so ... and they were just great. And I've kept tabs on quite a few of them as ... as I visited Alice in South Carolina and I see David, I see Rich, and, you know, so it ... it's kind, you know, to look back ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and they're ... they're sort of my first batch of students, let's put it that way and I ... I hope I had a sufficient influence on them ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** That's really a great, great story.

**DOUGHTY:** So anyway, so and then I finished my research there at ... in Huaylas and I got back ... oh, well, one of the significant things that happened at Vicos at that time, in the 1960 we were in a ... the Vicos project had reached a ... a ... a critical point. The community was

organized, operating, and the Peruvian government had had a commitment to ... a written commitment to permit the purchase of the estate ... of the hacienda by the people of Vicos and they were re-negging ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and ... and ... and there was no way to ... for us to move this [inaudible] and the owners of the Vicos estate were ... was the Public Welfare Society of the city of Huaraz which is the regional capital ... department capital. And we ... we were really ... Hank Dobyns was the director ... the country director of the project and he'd been working tremendously hard in Lima trying to get some leverage on this so we could ... you know, get this thing to go through and we were ... we just ... Mario was working ... and ... I mean we just ... there was no seam that we could see to get into ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... to ... to do anything here and so we started looking for ways to get money, get a loan big enough. Well, the community had money in the bank but we needed to have a big loan so that we could pay right off front as much as we could on the estate and make a big enough cash offer to the Public Welfare Society, the Beneficencia Publica de Huaraz so that they'd buy it, they'd take it. And they kept raising the price and ... and so we went through all kinds of shenanigans trying to get people ... we got ... some private donor had come up and I drove him up and the guy was ... had a weak heart and Hank and I had gone out ... got an oxygen tank and oh jeez we went through this whole business and I drove him up to the ... thing in my jeep, you know, and we ... I had to stop every ... once he started the altitude and give him breaths of oxygen, you know. We got him up there and he goes to Vicos and he [inaudible] it turns out he is an Evangelist [chuckle] and he starts lecturing these people about God, you know, this and that and the other thing and ... and ... and oh, gee, and so all the Vicos [inaudible] photographs and [inaudible] all Vicos seeing, they're all standing around saying, "Si señor, si señor." It was awful. And ... and, of course, he said, "Well, I'll be happy to make you a loan only at 20 percent interest a year." [chuckle]

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Thank you.

**DOUGHTY:** Thank you very much. A great Christian! So anyway so we ... we hustled him back and leave it, said, "Thank you very much and ciao." So we were at that stage. Well, in the summer of '60 ... 1960 when Norman [Fine] was doing the study of coca chewing and this is the first field study of coca chewing ever done, of people actually chewing coca and see when they did it, how much they did it, and so on, and nutritionally what it [inaudible] and all that, the first such study ever, sort of a field project for a junior at Cornell.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uhmhm.

**DOUGHTY:** So he was doing the study and was out in Vicos and there was a group of psychologists from the Sullivan Institute in New York there doing psychol ... one guy doing a psychological de ... Ph. D. Anyway, the police show up, a detachment of thirteen or fourteen police show up. Well, this is an unheard of event, first of all the ... the indigenous folks are pretty much afraid of the police ... I mean it ... it ... it is long and ... and very well documented historical reasons for this. These guys marched through Vicos and went to the estate on the other side of Vicos, they had to walk through Vicos to get to it, a place called [Huapra] which is right across a little river from Vicos. And the people of [Huapra] were sort of all related to the Vicosinos through marriage and kinship so ... and ... but the people in [Huapra], the [Huaprinos] were on an hacienda which was not part of the project and ... and their hacienda was a pretty bad place. They were required to work five days a week for no pay in exchange for, you know, a

little 2x4 square land on which they eked out a living and they had seen what was going on at Vicos and they decided they wanted to have a primary school ... there was no school ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... in this place. So they ... the hacienda ... the owner of the estate was a parish of the ... uh, in Huaraz and ... and this was rented out to a guy, a typical [inaudible] type or landlord type in Huaraz, a real SOB who never went out there himself but collected the ... the ... the results of the harvest ... well, they never planted all the land and so these people had planted on a piece of ... of unused hacienda land some wheat which they were gonna raise, sell, and then get money to put a roof on this building that they were constructing for a school.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And this ... they were obviously being influenced by Vicos because they saw what was going on and their relatives were all, you know, talking and so on and some of their kids were going across the creek and over down into Vicos to the primary school so they ... so there was a sense [inaudible] the hacendado, the landlord, found out about this and said, this is gonna stop, they're stealing my ... my land and my product. So he got the police to come up, the prefect of the department was a friend of us and he got the police to come up and they marched through Vicos and went up to [Huapra] and they caught the men in the field who were harvesting the wheat and they shot them. And Norman [Fine] took photographs of it ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Whew.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and one of the psychologists also had done ... they were in different places but they saw the police and they both kind of watched to see what was going on and they got ... they took pictures [inaudible] and the police just left them lying there and ... and left. And so Norman came running down to the ... to Vicos, the little community center, you know, spread the word and people ran out and began, you know, to help and they brought the ... the wounded ... there were three dead and four or five wounded and they brought them into the clinic at Vicos which unfortunately was unstaffed because the doctor ... we could never keep a doctor in the clinic, they just stayed there about a month and didn't want to work with Indians so they would take off.

So we ... you know, and ... and so the ... the ... our staff, you know, the students and various people were bandaging wounds and that sort of thing. And we ... well, the whole place was gonna go up and ... and ... and the Vicosinos were just rising up ... I mean grabbing their hose, you know, and, you know, you see some medieval uprising going on here and ... and Mario was there at the time. Mario got the film out of ... from Norman and ... and the other guy and took off over the mountain literally, he went by foot. He didn't dare go down through the town because he was afraid they'd grab him because the ... the locals never liked Mario because they ... they never touched the Americans but they would only ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Sure.

**DOUGHTY:** ... but Mario was the guy that used to take the heat and so he said, "Man, they're gonna ... they'll throw me in jail even though I've done nothing but they'll take the opportunity."

So Mario went on foot over the ... over the ridge of the next hill and down to the road on the other side and then kind of careened into Huaraz and took a taxi to Lima, an overnight taxi to Lima and he hit Lima about 10 o'clock at night, went over to see Hank and ... and ... and he and Mario went down to the Peruvian Museum ... Metro Museum where the ... [Abram Guyenne] who was a great Peruvian photographer worked and is a real good friend of Holmberg an artist, and so [Abram] stayed up all night, developed the film, and blew it all up into enlargements so ... and then Mario and Hank went back and wrote up a ... the report, got that together with the photos, made several copies of this and then at 8 o'clock in the morning they had one on the

desks of all kinds of people at Lima, US ambassador, and Minister of Education, the Prime Minister's office, and so on ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Whew.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and ... and it was a good thing they did it because ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So, it was ... it was Mario Vascos, Hank Dobyns, yourself, the photographer

...

**DOUGHTY:** [Abram Guyenne], uh-huh.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... and anybody else?

**DOUGHTY:** Well, then my students and some who were at Vicos [inaudible] and so ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** That's right.

**DOUGHTY:** And I was in Huaylas when this happened so I wasn't in Vicos when it happened but a friend of mine in ... in Huaylas who was a policeman, he was a Huaylino, a guy from Huaylas actually and he came to my house and he said, "You know," he said, "there's something you want to know."

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** He said, "You know, there's been ... there's been shooting in ... in Vicos," he says, "I don't know, you know, what's going on but there's ... there's been people hurt and," he said, "they're calling up all the police from all over the valley and I have to go to Carhuaz which is the big provincial capital in which Vicos is located ... in the province where Vicos is located." He says, "They want us all to go to ... to Carhuaz," and he said, "and I think they're gonna ask us to go up and shoot people," and he said, "you want to know this." And so I got in my jeep and took off and I went up to Vicos and, you know, told ... you know, I said, this is what's happening but they already got ... also got the word from somebody else. And apparently what had happened, the police had gone ... gone up and gathered up in the provincial capital and they indeed were gonna up and they were gonna shoot up Vicos because they had figured Vicos was the ... had perpetrated this assault on the land rights of the haciendado, you know.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And ... and then somebody ... somewhere along the line the word got passed, somebody said, if you guys go up there you're not coming back because the Indians are gonna stone you to death. They happen, you know ... this happens in these villages, you know, it could happen and it has happened. And they were sufficiently afraid that they didn't do it. And the ... the cop from Huaylas told me all this when I got back to Huaylas and so ... so anyway, so that got held off but then what happened was the project almost went down ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... because the political ... they were just really charged and ... and there'd been hacienda shootings and uprisings in other parts of Peru as well so this was especially important because Vicos was so well known in Peru and it'd been tough for the government to ... to have dealt with so there was ... everything went on freeze. And so this was ... this was another complicating factor in [inaudible]. In 1960 the US ambassador made ... the first US ambassador ever to visit Vicos came up, Hank got him to come up. It was James [Laub] publisher of the *Li ... Latin ... Latin Classic Gazette* or whatever it was but the man ... an interesting man who was a Kennedy appointee ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uhmhm.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and ... and a old-time liberal Democrat ... Roosevelt Democrat. And he did things very unorthodoxly in ... in Lima including like going out to visit places like Vicos and ... which ambassadors never did.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And [Laub] came up and we set up an interview with him with the people from [Huapra] who had been shot up and the people from Vicos and so we did some other things for him and he came back and he just said ... he said, “Bastards,” you know, and he was ... he was really got into it. But the embassy had never had anything to do with ... with Vicos and it was completely independent of the US government. The only thing we did ... the government did ... that we did with them I guess you’d say was we borrowed educational films from the library showing public health and things like that which the embassy had to loan out.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** So nothing happened at that point but ... but the embassy became sort of interested politically in the thing. And the next year in the summer ... when the summer students were there Teddy Kennedy came through ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... the famous Kennedy, you ... you’ve read about this [inaudible] tell you about. But anyway, but the ... the ... Kennedy came through and it was in this context so we took him around, we had all kinds of hilarious adventures. I really need to write up [chuckle] some ... some separate things, I ... there’s actually very funny things that happened. And we took Teddy up and basically we gave him the same tour that we gave [Laub] at Vicos and he met with the people from [Huapra] who had been shot at a year later and they were all in jail, the guys that were shot were put in jail ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh.

**DOUGHTY:** ... for attacking the police ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and Kennedy became quite incensed and marched back down to Lima a couple of days later and went in to see the president of Peru and said, you know, “When are you guys gonna fulfill your obligations [chuckle] to the ... to the project at Vicos?” and Prado kind of dissembled and did ... you know, said, “Well, we’ll look into it, you know,” and he knew damn well what it was, you know, and ... because they’d been stonewalling the thing as a policy matter and so ... and Kennedy as I understand it from Henderson ... Dough Henderson who was the US the chargé d’affaires ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uhmhm.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and he was with Kennedy and he said, “Well, Kennedy basically threatened him with removing US foreign aid from Peru.” [chuckle] And Kennedy, of course, he was ... he was any ... he was nothing at that time, he was assistant DA of Walton, Massachusetts or some place like that ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, I see, he wasn’t ...

**DOUGHTY:** No, he was getting ready to run for the senate ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... as a Latin American expert and he was accompanied by John [Plenk] who was a political scientist at Harvard ... Latin American specialist who was ... he’d hired to take him around Latin America and it was through [Plenk] they got to Peru and then Kennedy got in and he wouldn’t talk to the people in the embassy, he wanted some independent thing because he was afraid the embassy was gonna give him a lot of baloney ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and so Henderson who was the chargé had called Hank up and said, “What am I gonna do here and can we send him up to visit the project and go up to ... to Callejón de

Huaylas?” And Hank said, “Sure.” You know, so Hank calls me up or send me a telegram - there were no phones in Huaylas - and I get this phone it says, “Kennedy coming, go, you know, it’s ... come down here and call me on the phone and we’ll ... I’ll tell you what you need to do.” So I got my ... got in and went to a phone in the provincial capital and called him up and he said, “You know, you wouldn’t get ... you and Carlos [Tsweika]”, who was the agronomist, he said, “you guys set up visits for Kennedy with village leaders in the valley and set him up with Vicos and get him to Huaraz where the prefect of the department will then take over the thing.” So we spent a day in this ... this hilarious trip taking Kennedy to ... to ... I mean some of the funniest things happened ... anyway, but it turned out that when they stepped off the plane Kennedy burst out laughing ... and this is 7 o’clock in the morning in Curaz, at this little rinky dinky airport and at the bottom of the sl ... steps of the DC-3 went to greet him is the prefect of the department and Kennedy comes out and burst out laughing in his face ... what the hell is this? And I looked at the prefect and this guy could’ve been Lyndon B. Johnson’s twin brother [both laughing] ... I ... I mean it was phenomenal and I [inaudible] give him a picture [inaudible] and ... and it ... just incredible and I ... and I ... oh, so he comes down and he shakes his hand, you know, and then we gone off and talked to village leaders for an hour and then we went to the mayor’s house of Carhuaz and we’re sitting around in the livingroom in a typical Huaylan livingroom, all the chairs were all around [inaudible] to the wall, nothing in the middle ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and everybody is sitting stiffly in these little chairs all around [inaudible]. The mayor of the city of Carhuaz, the pr ... provincial capital comes out with a ... with this trays full of large goblets full of whiskey ... I mean like [chuckle] ... and a big bottle of White Horse Scotch in the ... in the middle of it and he is passing that around and it’s like 8:30 in the morning or 9 o’clock or something like this, you know, and Kennedy looks at it, he says, “What’s this?” I said, “It looks like Scotch to me.” [chuckle] He says, “Well, are you we gonna be drinking this?” I said, “We’re gonna drink every drop.” [both laughing] And so we ... you know, because this guy had bought it out of his pocket, you know, we [inaudible], the biggest thing that happened to the city of Carhuaz, since Bolivar had been there. And so ... and it ... well, the other thing about Kennedy was that he’d come up and [Plenk] comes up and I didn’t know [Plenk] was with him ... I knew [Plenk], he had worked with the American Friends Service Committee in El Salvador.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh, I see.

**DOUGHTY:** And so I’d known John several years before in El Salvador [inaudible] so we got up to [Plenk] and big abrazos and Kennedy says, “You know this guys?” and John says, “Yeah, he’s an old buddy.” He says, “Do you have a car?” I said, “Yeah.” He said, “I’ll go with you.” So that’s ... that’s how we ... we got launched on this thing and ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So was ...

**DOUGHTY:** ... I was able to talk to Kennedy the whole way about the project and ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and about the land situation and all this and so we had him all primed by the time he got to that one.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So, Kennedy was the person that you ... your response to him was pretty positive?

**DOUGHTY:** Oh yeah. I mean he was ... he didn’t ... he didn’t know anything. I mean he was learning, you know, and I mean he was [inaudible] young guy, you know, a couple years younger than me and also I ... I’d say well, you know. And so we got up to Vicos and here’s all these students from Harvard and Cornell and Columbia and, of course, they’re all over him, you

know. I mean it's ... and he just thought this was great, you know, and he thought Jane [Furer] was pretty neat, you know, and there was this [both laughing] ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Potential voters.

**DOUGHTY:** More than that I think.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** And so ... you know, and so we took him all around Vicos, you know, Rich Price and Jane and all ... the whole gang, you know, they were all around him and he was asking ... grilling them, you know, what they knew and ... and, you know, so it was ... it was ... it was pretty neat, you know, and so ... and we had a big thing and he had the same thing that we had with [Laub], you know, and he got ... talked to the ... the folks and people talked to him, you know, directly. And ... and then he said he was really shaken, he said, "Boy, this is hard to believe, you know, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century that this kind of stuff is going on, you know." But ... and so ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And so ... and so ... and then ... this is ... this ... this event somehow broke loose this ...

**DOUGHTY:** So Kennedy when he got down to Prado he said, you know, "You ... you guys got to deal with this." Well, of course, he had no official status or whatever but he was the brother of the president and in Peru that ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** It's like a big deal.

**DOUGHTY:** ... that ... that's something, you know.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** So, Prado said, "Okay, we'll ... we'll look into it." So he ... and Henderson was there and he was the chargé of the US, there was no ambassador, Henderson was the chargé ... [Laub] had been dismissed because he was too involved and other things. So anyway, so Mario and [Vascez] and then Carlos [Monche] who was our other co-project director ... but [Monche] was sort of a sponsored patron rather than director but Carlos [Monche] was a very significant person in Peru. He was a medical doctor but ... who was the originator, world pioneer leader first ever to do high altitude biological research and was very, very well known. Was Peru's ... probably at that time Peru's most outstanding scientist. And he had been the personal phys ... physician to two or three Peruvian presidents and ... and he was a close personal friend of Alan [Holmberg]. [Holmberg] had very good connections with [Monche] and [Monche] was the president of the Instituto Indigenista Peruano, Peruvian Indigenous Institute. And [Monche] had real access to upper levels and Mario, of course, was a really effective sort of hard-nosed kind of guy who delivered messages. So we had [Monche] the silk-gloved and Mario the [inaudible] [chuckle] coming in and ... and they lobbied thereafter. And in September ... see, I think it was ... Kennedy was there like in July and then kind of opened that seam up that we needed and then in September the government agreed to ... that they would allow this but then the details had to be worked out and that took us from September to in the following June to get that worked out and Mario and [Monche] just kept ... otherwise it would've died, you know [chuckle] which ... I mean they kept hammering and hammering. And on June 13<sup>th</sup> 1962 they signed the papers of sale to Vicos and the Vicosinos in cash carried five hundred thousand solas across the Plaza Huaraz and delivered them to the Beneficencia Publica in a box and said, "Here ... "

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Whew.

**DOUGHTY:** And ... and I mean it was real dramatic. So ... we, you know ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So you were there at that event?

**DOUGHTY:** No, I was ... I was back finishing my dissertation [chuckle] at Cornell.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, I see, too bad

**DOUGHTY:** And [chuckle] ... and Hank was there and Morio was there of course and [Holmberg] was there and Bill ... William White was there and ... because White had gotten ... [Holmberg] had taken White to Peru to start ... to do industrial research. That was how ... because nobody had done any urban research of any sort ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... basically in all of [inaudible] Latin America, you know, and ... and [Holmberg] was very interested in getting, you know, that involved with and so White had gone down with Alan and they'd written a [inaudible] together in Human Organization back in the mid '50s and so [Holmberg] had ... finally got White down there - really, I don't remember when it was, maybe from the first time was I don't know - but anyway, but White finally got some money and came down to start a research so he ... he was there at the time. And that's another whole big story as well. But anyway, and so that was, you know, and the signing went on and the Vicosinos were there, put their sign on, you know, and then there's ... they sold it. And that was the ... the dramatic sort of combination exactly ten years pretty much in getting ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So, when ... and then when did you finish ... when did you finish your dissertation?

**DOUGHTY:** '62. Oh, I didn't get the degree until '63, I was finished in the fall of '62 but they only gave degrees in the spring and fall.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right. And then you ... from ... from ... from there you went ...

**DOUGHTY:** I went back to Peru because we then in the spring of '62 we trained a group of Peace Corps volunteers ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh yeah.

**DOUGHTY:** ... a hundred volunteers for Peru. And then ... and I directed country training for that group of volunteers and then Hank and Alan and I had the idea doing a ... a evaluation of the Peace Corps, a study of the Peace Corps in the field ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** This is one of the very first ...

**DOUGHTY:** It is the first ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... Peace ... Peace ... Peace Corps training?

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah, there's a Peru-3 group and so it would have been ... the other two were also the same time so they were all sort of simultaneous. This was ... the Peace Corps had just begun basically. I don't know how many teams were out in the field, it couldn't have been very many. I know Bob Texter had tried to get me to join the Peace Corps staff. I know Bob was a recruiter for Sergeant Shriver ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Oh, yeah, that's right. That's right.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and Bob ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I ... he's really interest ... I ... I also have an interest in the things that he did in the Peace Corps.

**DOUGHTY:** So Bob had ... Bob had ... oh, [chuckle] anyway so we ... we ... and Bob had got me to go down there and I ... I was interviewed by Shriver and all ... they made me a job offer but I ... I wanted to finish that dissertation ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Sure.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and so I ... I said, "Look, if I take this [inaudible] finish the dissertation, you know, I'll be up ... you know, get involved it'll be five years or whatever the commitment was gonna be and ... and I just, you know, I've already done all this work and I won't ... won't have ..." so I said, "I'll be happy to come on after I've finished the dissertation." And Shriver said,

you know, anyway, [inaudible] I had this interview and then he ... and then I went back and then he called me on the phone and made me the offer and I was sitting at my desk in my [inaudible] apartment in Ithaca and he says, "Paul," he says, "you got a chance to serve your country," you know, and he goes on and he says, "we're making you this offer, Paul, and I sure hope you're gonna be with us." And I said, "Sorry, Sarge, I'm gonna finish my dissertation [chuckle]," he says, "you ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Now, who ... who is talking to ...

**DOUGHTY:** Sarge Shriver.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see, whew.

**DOUGHTY:** And so he says, "You know, you're missing your chance to serve your country, you know."

**VAN WILLIGEN:** He was used ... he was used to people saying "yes" at that point? [both laughing]

**DOUGHTY:** And so anyway, so I turned him down, that I finished the dissertation. But then the Peace Corps thing came to ... the contract came to Cornell to do the training to this big group of volunteers, it was the biggest group.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** And so I directed the country training and in the process of that Hank and Alan and I got the idea, well, why don't we do a ... a project that looks at the impact of these volunteers on Peruvian villages and places they're working. So we put together a proposal and we sent it in to the Peace Corps and they said, "Yeah."

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh. And sort of a ... it ...

**DOUGHTY:** So ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** ... it seems to me ... I've read some of the things from the ...

**DOUGHTY:** There's not too much to read but there's a ... a ... we wrote a huge, big, fat end report, it's a two-year ... a little over two-year study and it was the only such field study I think ever done like this, a long-term ... there have been a lot of little studies but nobody that sort of followed a group from training ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... till after they left and ... and that I know of.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** And do you ... do you have ... do you have an article in hi ... Tre ... [Texter's] ...

**DOUGHTY:** [Texter's] book, yeah. It is an article in Texter's book, it's about how the Peace Corps got thrown out of Vicos.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Yeah. That's ... that's ... that's the one that I am thinking of.

**DOUGHTY:** Yeah. But we have ... we have a big, fat, you know, report that we did which was country wide, it was the whole country and then we ... we ... and the Peace Corps published ... put that out in an offset edition about 350-page offset edition and they had five thousand copies, it went everywhere and so ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** So, who is the author then?

**DOUGHTY:** It's Dobyns, Doughty, and Holmberg ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Umhmm, I see.

**DOUGHTY:** ... and we ...

**VAN WILLIGEN:** I may track that ... that ...

**DOUGHTY:** I can give you a copy if you need one, I may have one at home.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Uh-huh, that ... that would be good.

**DOUGHTY:** It is a very . . . it's something you could easily Xerox . . .

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** . . . and . . . and . . . because it's not a . . . it's . . . but we never published anything more of it . . . out of that, we should have . . . should have because we developed a couple of instruments . . . at that time the . . . the evaluation research was in its diaper stage . . . I mean . . .

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** . . . we looked and looked and looked at that time – this is '62 - and we couldn't find any models [chuckle] to . . . to utilize.

**VAN WILLIGEN:** Right.

**DOUGHTY:** I mean . . .

[End of Tape 1, Side 2]

[Begin of Tape 2, Side 1]