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The politics of life cycles: Service as a rite of passage to adult citizenship

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THE POLITICS OF LIFE CYCLES:

SERVICE AS A RITE OF PASSAGE TO ADULT CITIZENSHIP

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While the influences have been many and diverse, this work is completely of my authorship. I take both the responsibility for its contents, and the blame for its omissions. I welcome all criticisms or comments that would clarify our understanding of this topic from anyone interested enough to read this and contact me.

Abstract

The Politics of Life Cycles draws from the human development theories of Coleman, Erikson, and Keniston; applying their work to the emerging movements promoting local, state and national service. The first chapter posits that post-industrial societies have created a new stage of life, referred to by Keniston as youth. From this comes the problem of determining a credible transition to adulthood in the post-industrial context. The second chapter examines the contemporary advocacy of national youth service both as a rite of passage, and as a means promote civic consciousness among participants. It analyzes national service in terms of size, compulsion, scope, institutional sponsorship, and costs and benefits. The third chapter analyzes the various kinds of youth service available in states and communities by means of a survey constructed for this purpose. The results indicate a wide variety in the sizes, funding, scope, orientation and practices among service programs. This diversity is attributed to the newness of the programs, their development in response to particular state and local needs, and to their adaptation to those projects available to them. Administrative issues are also taken up at length, particularly regarding program initiation and maintenance. This yields a checklist of problems that generic youth service could which helps to provide a vehicle for attaining idealist objectives through pragmatic means. The fifth chapter reviews the efforts in Hawai'i to found and operate a formal state-sponsored program of youth service. It describes the campaign to fund a pilot youth service program, and sets forth a number of administrative recommendations for a new Hawaii Youth Service Corps. The final chapter returns to the theme of the politics of life cycles applied to the transition from youth to adult citizen status. It outlines a two-phase post-industrial rite of passage consisting of a personal "heroic journey" marking adolescence to youth, and a formal public program of transition from youth to adulthood.

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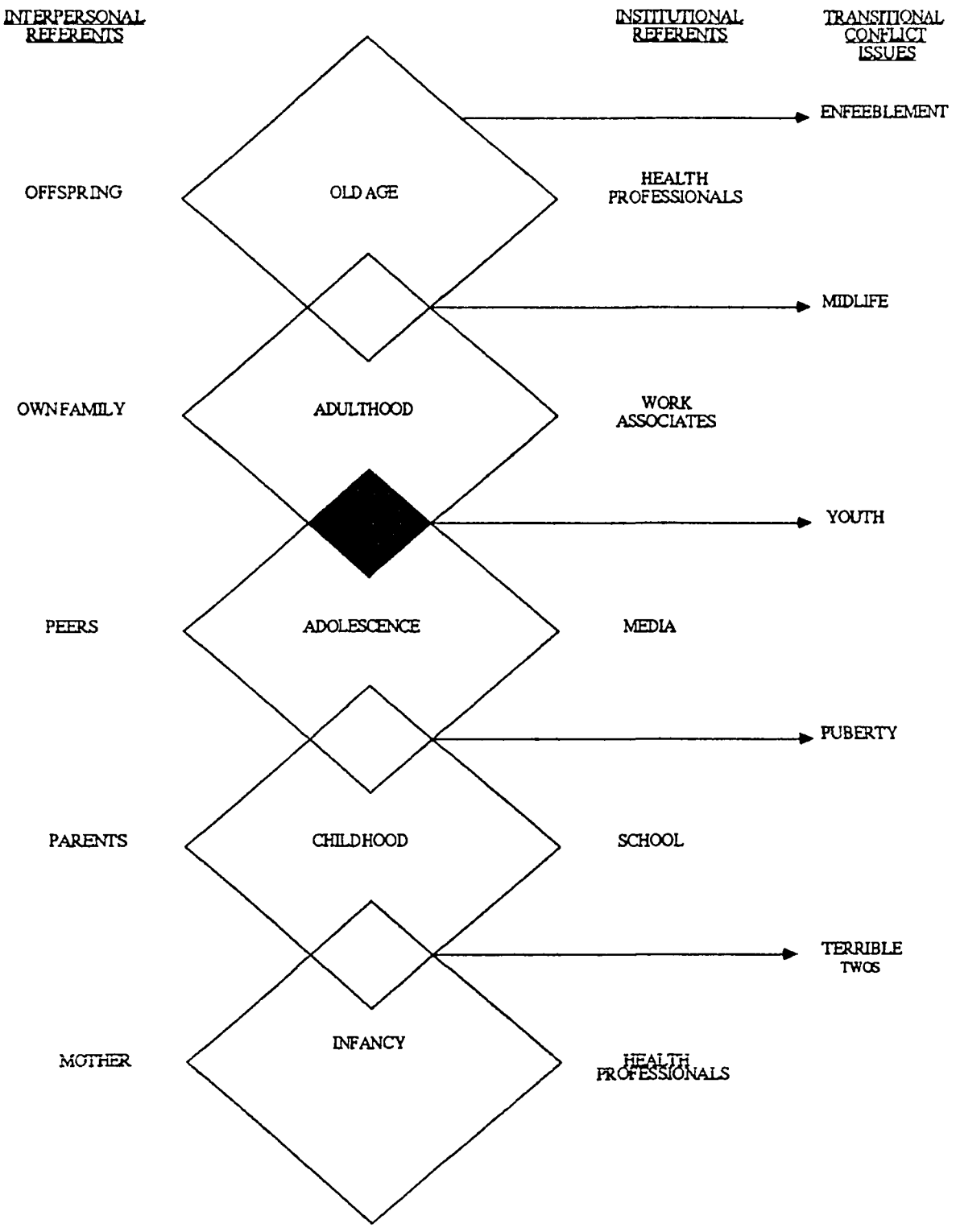

Chapter 1
The Politics of Life-Cycles: Adolescence and Youth

Well I say a young man
Ain't got nothin in the world these days
I scid a young man
Ain't got nothin in the world these days
You know in the old days
When a young man was a strong man
The people
They stepped back when a young man walked by
But you know nowadays
It's the old man he's got all the money
And a young man
Ain't got nothin in the world these days
I said nothin!

Young Man Blues
Peter Townsend 1968

I've been high and I've been low
I don't know where to go
I live and die
Don't ask me why
I don't want to live in paradise
And I don't need your sympathy
There's nothin in this world for me

Birth, School, Work, Death
The Godfathers 1988

Introduction

Virtually all life forms change over time physically and behaviorally. Human beings as life-forms share these attributes. From this the concept and the study of life cycles has evolved. This feature of progressive, patterned change as a feature of life is

broadly perceived and figures prominently in the study of individuals, of organizations, and of societies both human and non-human. Exact definition of life cycles and their patterning are difficult to apply across all life forms although three basic stages; immaturity, maturity, and decline seem constant. In human societies, life cycles have become somewhat more complex. Human beings have a prolonged infancy unique to the species. Beyond this stage there has manifested in more complex societies; childhood, adolescence, youth, young adulthood, mid-life, and old-age. Mention of these stages, with the exception of adolescence goes back through known history. Still there is a literature that strongly posits that life cycles hold within them largely socially ascribed values. It then follows that there is a politics to life cycles. It is a politics influenced by a complex and dynamic interaction of biological, cultural, demographic, economic, historical, and increasingly institutional forces. It can be as subtle and timelessly familiar as toilet training, and language learning, and as vivid and unique as the children's crusade, or the largely youth-led political movements of the 1960's. Across history, the older have contended with the younger for public goods and services as though separate classes. Generation gaps appear as new knowledges and technologies create new cultures which increasingly overlap, confront and eventually dominate the old ways. Human organizations from the ad hoc to the formal-legal have consistently created aggregate categories based upon developmental differentiation. Along with gender and perhaps ethnicity, analyses by age cohorts, which roughly reflect life-cycles, have been the most basic analytical approach employed by social scientists.[1] Yet the literature shows remarkably little systematic reflection on how and why this dimension is politically manipulated.

This chapter will deal with the politics of life-cycles as a politics influenced increasingly by social forces, rather than by natural design. In particular, it will focus on

the creation of adolescent status over and above its bio-psychological traits during the industrial era. This would further develop into a functional expansion on its upper-bounds to form the status of youth in the advanced industrial era. The contemporary status of youth will be summarized leading to a discussion of policy responses which reinforce and shape youth a discreet status. There are obviously different sets of behaviors associated with the various stages of human development. The extent to which these behaviors are biologically or socially determined is a matter of debate. This chapter is not concerned with dwelling on the status of this debate. It is concerned with describing the rationalization of life-cycles as a means to organize social relationships and public policy. However, some historical background on this debate is necessary to better fix the rationale which informs the politics of life cycles. This also obliges some comment upon the human development literature in general, in order to illuminate the policy problematic of youth in post-industrial society.

Context - The Positivist Language of Human Development

The formal study of human development has fallen primarily to developmental psychologists. Those who have ventured into post-childhood development in the first half of this century have been heavily influenced first by Darwinian, and later, by Freudian themes.[2] In the second half of this century, humanistic themes were layered over these bases. Most of them have focussed on early childhood cognitive development following Piaget, and/or have been ideologically influenced by the humanistic psychological theories of Bühler and Maslow. It is then in the language of modern psychology that the discourse on human development has been framed. The language has been generally ahistorical, hierarchical and literally self-centered, tending to ignore and obscure the political economic

influences which have influenced life-cycle-based statuses. The language has tended to allow and even lend support to policies which presume the not-yet-adult as being incomplete as an adult and hence as citizen as well. This is implied in the very term "Human Development" which suggests a forward momentum to an ultimate completeness as opposed to an alternative concept such as "human becoming" which idealizes the state of completeness - setting it beyond society's grasp; or "human being" which deemphasizes the chronological accretion dimension to the human experience. There are alternative organizations of life cycles such as in the language of Hinduism/Buddhism (epicyclic elaborations on the cosmological concept of yukas). There is also the language of Catholicism (with its close association of sacramental rites with specific stages of life; ie., baptism, confession, communion, confirmation, marriage, etc.). These conceptualizations though, were discarded in favor of the scientific, rationalist organization of knowledge that came to be positivism.

This is not to dismiss developmental psychology as a legitimate and useful organization of knowledge. It is more a comment on its premises which include the privileging of the very concepts of legitimacy and usefulness. It is in this spiraling back to the positivist ideology which contributed to the organization of developmental psychology the relationship between it and the politics of life cycles can be understood. It is important to note that developmental psychology is ideologically dedicated to raising humankind to its fullest potential in the best traditions of the humanism/positivism. Beyond this idealistic veneer however, it has also been fixed in the role of institutional utility particularly in support of schools. Its apolitical orientation has thus historically kept latent, its potential to effectively enhance and inform life-cycle-sensitive public policies. Developmental psychology has then been inhibited from articulating effectively on broad-scale public

issues ranging from the draft to mandatory retirement.[3] There are indications that this might be changing with the graying of the baby-boomers and their increased concern over issues associated with aging. Still, interest among policymakers in heeding life-cycle-informed knowledge has generally been limited to such specialized issues as adolescent drug use and smoking, child abuse, moral education, sex role acquisition, child development in non-traditional families and in institutional environments (ie. daycare facilities), and cognitive skills development among low SES children.[4]

Political authority - itself highly correlated with the life-cycle status of middle age - has stayed relatively uniformed on the influence of life cycles on public policy. With only marginal theoretical contribution from the social sciences, mostly from anthropology and history, the connection between life-cycle status and citizenship status has been little explored as a scholarly question let alone as a public issue. Social scientists have been generally unreflective concerning the organization and impact of life-cycle statuses on society as a whole. For the most part, the acquisition of social competence is just presumed to happen within specific periods of time under various socializing influences. An indication of this is the frequent use of essentially standard age cohorts as independent variables among public policy researchers. They infer that the life cycles they represent are relatively unaffected by the social forces they are measured against when this is not the case. Clearly though, the understanding of what 18-24 year-olds were in 1951 cannot be applied uncritically to those of 1951. The unique combinations of impacts of rapid technological innovation, other social forces, and even non-social forces such as global warming, have collectively had subtle yet profound effects.

In order to describe the poltics of adolescence and youth, this chapter will examine the political-economic contributions to the social invention of the life-cycle attributes first of

of adolescence and then of youth. From this, a framework for describing policies aimed at this status can proceed.

The Invention of Adolescence

While adolescence is now popularly accepted as a distinct stage of life, it has not always been so regarded or even regarded at all in preindustrial cultures.[5] Although there is disagreement among historians over the attention paid to adolescence (a.k.a. "youth" in preindustrial England and America) as bona fide stages of life before industrialism, they have only been an object of sustained formal inquiry for less than a century. The term itself as generally applied now came into usage in the early modern period. Before the turn of the century, this lifestage was termed "youth", and was described along literary lines. It was invoked most often in the writings of pedagogues and religious reformers.[6] It is noteworthy that adolescence is formally conceived and arranged in the language of developmental psychology. This dominance of the psychological over the physiological aspects of adolescence is interesting because it prevails over a set of easily observable developmental characteristics. The physiological changes that occur during adolescence are matched only by the changes that occur at infancy and death, yet this is not how adolescence is described either legally or normatively.

Among the first to systematically investigate adolescence was G. (Graneville) Stanley Hall who established the field of adolescent psychology in the late 19th century.[7] Hall developed the biogenetic theory of psychological recapitulation which posited a socio-psychological recapitulation of human evolution from infancy to adulthood much as Haeckel had suggested a physiological recapitulation of the species from conception to birth.[8] Hall and others followed up their theoretical proposition with a rigorous effort at

measuring virtually any physical aspect of human development that could be measured. The result was a massive collection of data undirected by any further theoretical focus which eventually obscured the very point of the measurements themselves. With Margaret Mead's ethnological studies of adolescence in Samoa underscoring the sensitivity of adolescence to culture, Hall's biogenetic theory of psychological recapitulation came to suffer final disrepute.[9] Margaret Mead's work and the work of other cultural anthropologists brought about the collapse of a theoretical line which regarded adolescence as strictly bio-psychologically driven. Subsequent descriptions of adolescence and adolescent development had to confront the cultural or social contributions to the process of human development.

While Hall's theory has been largely discredited, its legacy has persisted in formal education policy and in the institutional expressions of concern for this group. Examples of this legacy are seen in the designs of the junior high school and of the Boy Scouts, which drew from Hall's assertions that adolescence was the recapitulation of the tribal phase of humankind's psycho-social evolution. The junior high school and scouting sought to channel this tribal or "gang" phase into more closely regulated outlets.[10] The junior high school with its home room serving as a kind of base camp, came to analogically approximate the movement of tribes from hunting ground to hunting ground within an institutionalized range, seeking various species of knowledge rather than of game. Scouting was truer to Hall's theory in its encouragement of "safe", yet overtly tribal activities in a more natural setting.[11] In this case, approximations of survival skill competencies, rewarded with merit badges, paced boys through the tribal-phase.

This theoretical spinoff was picked up by the other character-building organizations that proliferated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Here the threat became clear with

the popular embrace of modernization and the secular values embedded within it. Guidance of the post-pubescent middle-class male through the tension-filled negotiations between modern and Christian values became a primary rationale behind the YMCA and numerous other church and community-based organizations.[12] Their efforts were aimed at effecting a more efficient transition to responsible adulthood/citizenship. Here then, the human development school of the day had an impact upon the transition to adulthood, especially for males. In the case of females, the traditional institutions of school and parental family which directed the transition of girls into housekeeping and motherhood would also eventually loosen, but to a lesser extent, persisting with little change, until World War II and beyond.

If adolescence was not a rigidly fixed phase of psycho-social recapitulation, then what was it? Its appearence coincidental with the rise of industrialism suggests a political-economic link - an intervention to discipline and socialize those in the cohort around industrialist values. Bruno Bettelheim points to the expansion of mass public education related to the growth of the American middle class over the past century. He describes the nature of adolescence as an artificial outcome of industrial-era affluence which allowed post-pubescent teenagers to continue in school much longer than had been possible before.

> Adolescence came into being only in the Romantic Age, around 1900, and only in advanced Western countries. Why? Because when schooling ended at 13 or 14, this meant they were independent to a large degree, wage earners and therefore did not have this in between stage where you are already an adult physiologically and biologically and sexually, but are kept socially and economically dependent. There was adolescence before 1900 in the affluent part of the population which was only about three percent. There were groups that could afford to keep their children economically and socially dependent but most of the population could not afford that.[13]

For Bettelheim, adolescence was supported at the family level as well as at the macro-social-institutional levels. It could be speculated that family support of adolescence was based both on status (emulation of elites), and economic (investment in the offspring's career) considerations. Certainly the perception of secondary education as a reflection if not a confirmation of middle-class status attainment was quickly embraced. Urban industrial culture essentially demanded the expansion of public mass education to reproduce its complex order and to cultivate its own growth. Again the culture of American positivism and modernism served to rationalize the institutionalization of mass secondary education. An effect of the expansion of mass education was then an expansion of adolescence as well.

The Expansion of Adolescence

Historical developments associated with the modern phase of industrialism brought about pressures to restructure life-cycle relationships. Margaret Mead's work on adolescence in Samoa and subsequent contributions from other cultural anthropologists on the cultural relativity of the adolescent experience came to be generally accepted.[14] The popular acceptance of a positivist view that the world could be confidently manipulated fed into the social treatment of adolescence. The result was a reconstitution of adolescence as a developmental class not yet ready for independence in a modern world. Implicitly this allowed manipulation by authority as well. Adolescence was more a political-economic artifact than a biological phase because it could be sustained beyond the physiological parameters of puberty. A withholding of adult status could then occur. This was an unintentional possiblity that found fertile ground in industrial logic. The technological advances of the age demanded more complex levels of differentiation and specialization

which required more extensive training. Systemic dynamics created the environment from which an extended adolescence naturally issued and adulthood naturally receded.

A transformation from the "traditional" adolescence of the early part of this century, marked by the rapid physiological change of pubescence and psychic "stürm and drang"; to functional adolescence, marked by a deferment in the attainment of an adult identity, was in motion. The overarching popular belief of adolescence as a stage of human development in which powerful internal forces rendered one socially irresponsible and hence dangerous to order, particularly urban industrial order, was preserved. At the statutory level, child labor laws and the expansion of compulsory mass education into secondary school also contributed early to creating this extended status, impeding the accumulation of work experience and economic independence necessary to lay claim to adult (and citizen) status. From this, the traditional rationale of adolescence has developed a body of informal social and formal public policies which, for example, have allowed the functional adolescent to engage in war and work, but not to command or manage.

The main appeal to organizing class attributes around life cycles such as adolescence is that the status is temporary. The quasi-meritocratic acquisition of social and economic competence through schooling was accepted as a legitimate claim to adult-citizen status since the beginning of urban industrial society. As secondary education became widely available, civics would become an important part of high school curriculum as preparation for citizenship. Originally organized for immigrants, civics would become generalized to prepare the native-born for responsible citizenship as well. In fact, it could be argued that there was a kind of merging of adolescent with immigrant status on the dimension of citizenship. This tutoring in the ways of citizenship by most not-yet adults would involve their acceptance of deferred citizen status much as immigrants did. Also, like immigrants,

practical competence was acquired incrementally through the rationalist rituals of licensing and credentialing leading to full-time employment and then on to marriage. Both adolescents and immigrants were not structurally locked out of citizen status forever as was the case with American Indians until 1924, or with Blacks in the segregationist era. Almost as a token of good faith on the part of authority, the driving privilege was dispensed first. The other indicators of adulthood could be deferred while this heady access to freedom through mobility was enjoyed by both groups.

A second expansion of adolescence would come about on a mass-scale following World War II. A new complex set of cultural, demographic, economic, and institutional interactions would take advantage of the elasticity of adolescent status to continue to expand it on its upper-end. This process began in earnest with the increased availability of post-secondary schooling which was brought about by the enactment of the GI Bill.[15] About 50 percent of the returning servicemen took advantage of this opportunity, five times the estimated number of participants. This measure would have the effect of altering the transition to adulthood for millions of Americans and not just the veterans for whom it was originally intended to serve. Over the course of the immediate post-WWII period and into the Great Society 60s, work-study programs and guaranteed student loans would make higher education available to most emergent baby-boomers who could not otherwise enter. The administrative structure of higher education would develop relations with the federal and state levels of government similar to those cultivated by large-scale corporate industry. From the Great Society period to the 1980s, federal support of higher education has continued to grow, taking on the relational characteristics of an industrial complex. Increasing economic productivity and the continuing need to retrain personnel as new

technologies came on line justified this expanded relationship. The middle-class embrace of a meritocratic social structure guaranteed a market for the industry.

The biopsychological cues of industrial-era adolescence were also revised to justify the expansion of adolescent status especially in the immediate post-WWII period. This expansion was a hidden feature of the general expansion of the middle class into affluence. This separation of adolescence from pubescence-proper was presented in theory by Bühler, 1925, but became cultural practice by mid-century. For example, Schonfeld, 1969, then President of the American Society for Adolescent Psychiatry constructed a typology of adolescent stages, adjusted for gender, based upon physiological indicators. Adolescence was divided into 3 stages; early (average 10-11 years for females and 12-13 years for males), middle (average 11-14 years for females and 13-16 for males), and late (14-16 years for females and 16-18 years for males). Schonfeld includes a 4th stage defined as "post-adolescence to adult;" (16-18 years for females and 18-20 years for males).[16] Where his descriptions of the previous 3 stages were highly detailed in terms of relative physiological change, the fourth stage was summarized as, "Mature, full development of primary and secondary sex characteristics; muscles and hirsutism may continue increasing."[17] This is thin material for a developmental category, but it was not challenged. Nonetheless, the physiological evidence to support an intervening stage between adolescence and adulthood appears to be weak to nonexistent.

The popular presumption of the incomplete social and intellectual development as indicative of adolescent status is also empirically unsupported. This is important because it demonstrates the emphasis on social and intellectual competence as functional attributes of adulthood derieved from positivist and meritocratic ideology. Jean Piaget's findings in the area of cognitive development point to a full development of skills needed for social

integration before high school. According to his research findings, intellectual development in terms of abstract reasoning and hypothetical thought precedes physical development by several years.[18] Thus there is little clinical evidence to support a theory of innate late-adolescent intellectual incompetence. Much of what is interpreted as underdeveloped intellectual capacity may be physiologically based. Hormonal changes do continue well past pubescence, but this influence lies outside of the intellect itself. Arguments of diminished social and intellectual capacity based upon hormonal fluctuations are occasionally voiced in pseudo-scientific manner by critics of feminism, but they have not withstood examination in judicial or policy forums. This argument as a rationale for denying adult status to those in their late-teens seems similarly deficient.

This post-adolescent-to-adult stage then, may be regarded as less physiological and more an outcome of modern industrial culture. Its manipulation can be further traced to techno-cultural factors such as the nutritional and medical revolutions of the past century. These factors have extended life spans to such an extent as to actually render the economically productive years too long for the existing economic system to accommodate. Ironically, people have also matured physiologically much sooner (some two years sooner since 1900 according to Bettleheim, 1987:12) creating even more of a dislocation between biological and social adulthood. Together with the overlapping mechanical, chemical and electronic revolutions of this age, the increased economic productivity has created both excess labor and mass consumption. The inexorable growth of highly automated, capital-intensive industries have obliged a marginalization process that had actually begun at the turn of the century. Progressivism in general and its associated labor and educational reform movements in particular came to inform policies directly related to the not-yet adult. This process was rationalized through the popular reaction against child labor and for their

universal education. On the political-economic side, it was pushed along by the increased availability of a more tempermentally-suited labor pool of adult women to handle repetitive industrial tasks.[19] An outcome of this early wave of reform was a statutory merging of adolescence with childhood. This merger was more or less formalized by the extension of compulsory education into the secondary level. This extension reflected middle class acceptance of meritocratic society and certified the exclusion of adolescents from participation in the primary economy by designating them as students. Over time, the increasing availability of ever-higher levels of education would continue to reproduce and extend student status well past the end of adolescence-proper (roughly from ages 16 for females and 18 for males according to Schonfeld, 1969 mentioned above).

The potentially explosive political effects of this marginalization have been contained by a number of fundamental historical factors which have transformed the American middle class into a materially affluent, mass-consumption society especially following World War II. This transformation has been elegantly subtle in effect and its impact upon the character of advanced-industrial society is largely under-appreciated to this day. This affluence has allowed, thus far, parents to materially support their post-adolescent offspring to an extent unheard of a century before. The average American middle-class family's ability to maintain itself on the full-time income of one adult member into the 1980s was an important factor. The absence of the economic imperative for the offspring to contribute to the family as soon as they are able is a distinctive feature of modern urban-industrial society. Also contributing was the middle-class acceptance of the meritocratic vision of education as a key to success which transformed the burden of extended support into an investment in the future.

While marginalized from the primary economic production, post-adolescent youth have become a mainstay of certain labor-intensive niches of the service sector which showed remarkable growth in Post-WWII America (See Table 1.4 below). This limited access to work has allowed many otherwise dependent young to secure a source of disposable income independent of parental control. The working post-adolescents, with their basic material needs generally already provided for, have been empowered, though not necessarily tutored, by having command over personal spending. This very modest economic empowerment has acted as a surrogate for the political empowerment that they lack. Citizenship status has then been traded for consumer status; a now generalized situation not just limited to adolescents. Nonetheless, an entire youth-oriented industry has developed to both meet and, to some extent, shape the desires of this class of consumers. Interestingly, it is the so-called "entertainment industry" that primarily services this group. From a human development point of view, entertainment is not really what the industry is providing. What the industry really provides are fields or a marketplaces in which the quest for identity takes place. Erikson's life-cycle perspective suggests that adolescents are literally on a search of the radio bands, screens, malls, and each other for themselves and their place. The urgency of this search for identity assumes the dimensions of a human need at this stage of life as the fantasy identities of childhood are abandoned and adolescents are obliged to reorient themselves to more demanding role structures. The commercial corporate sector takes advantage by promoting individual distinctiveness and freedom while the state defers by not offering integrative images of citizenship.

The institutionally-abetted expansion of adolescence beyond its biological parameters has worked to create a developmental period of extended turmoil unique to the advanced industrial world. Their placement in higher education, either vocational or professional

track, has not a stable identity created. It has been only in leaving student status behind that identity formation on the occupational dimension could be achieved and bona-fide adult status be conferred within a corporate institutional context. It is a function of public identity which is primarily defined in terms of occupation. As the transition to adulthood proceeds, public identity begins to override immediate peer identity as a salient personal issue. This indicates a certain conservative feature of human psycho-social development where socially-led at attempts to modify the roles of and transition from one life stage to another adds to (or relieves) internal stresses that then feed back and impact upon the character of society as a whole. In the case of American advanced industrial society, the stresses of expanded adolescence have been shuddering through the system since the 1960s. The expansion of adolescence in relieving certain technological and demographic impacts that had created political-economic pressures, and exacerbated a number psycho-social contradictions. In allowing for extended preparation for entry into a more complex social milleau, it amplified the "identity crisis" for millions of high school graduates who would spend the greater part of their youth trying to find meaningful expression of self.

With the post-war baby boomers of the middle class hitting post-adolescence from the early-to-mid-60s, their unique social situation became a big topic particularly among intellectuals. These mobile, urban, middle-class children of Benjamin Spock and David Reisman produced a rich source of broad intellectual commentary. This was reflected in Goodman's Growing Up Absurd and other related writings. Also at this time, developmental psychology shifted from themes of description to themes of interpretation of life-course processes.[20] Leading commentators on adolescent-to-adult transition at this time included James Coleman, Erik Erikson and Jules Henry. They recognized and spoke to the contemporary institutional influences working on the emerging issue of transition to

adulthood. Their contributions, to a greater or lesser extent, guided the theoretical discourse on post-adolescence over the next two decades.

In Adolescent Society (1961), Coleman played straight empiricist, focussing on selected high schools as the centers of adolescent culture. The effort documented the importance of various adolescent peer subgroups within this institutional environment. It did not venture much beyond the secondary school and thus did not encounter and comment directly on the issue of transition to adulthood in the wider advanced-industrialist context. It did begin to systematically record the powerful effects of peer and media referents upon adolescent behavior and identity. In his later works Coleman would more fully develop the relationship between schooling and adolescent status. His work on the Nation at Risk report on schooling in America would provide an empirical benchmark and a rationale for federal-level intervention in public education. This expansion of the federal role would arguably have the effect of further reinforcing functional adolescence for a large number of baby-boomers who were channeling through the schools at that time. In Becoming Adult in a Changing Society (1985), he would make further comments on this life-stage's artificial origins and social malleability from a cross mostly-advanced industrial (OECD) perspective.[21] Among his assertions regarding the transition to adulthood, Coleman would support Keniston's framework of a new lifestage, "youth", growing out of advanced industrial baby-boom adolescence.

Erikson, in his several works, especially Childhood and Society (1950), Identity and the Life Cycle (1959), and Identity, Youth and Crisis (1968), used psychoanalytic language to describe the internal crisis-producing effects of complex modern life on the adolescent individual. In this, he elaborated greatly on Freud's postulations of a sequence of psychosexual stages centered on body zones. He generalized these body zones to ego

modes. He was then able to better describe human development in term of the ego mode's interactions with the social world.[22] Erikson effectively linked the child-adult transition conflict to both internal (psychological) factors, and external (socio-cultural) factors. A connection between the internal process of identity formation (or reformation) and the external socially-promoted designation of role was thus articulated with the "adult self" the outcome of this negotiation.

Erikson was also able to generalize his theory across all cultures. He asserted that every culture faces the same sequence of developmental issues of trust, autonomy, initiative, industry, identity, intimacy, generativity and integrity. The resolution of these issues is handled differently from culture to culture, but they are all obliged to contront and resolve them or cope with the effects of their irresolution. (This again implies a psycho-social developmental conservatism.) The handling of the issue of transition to adulthood by advanced industrial societies is, of course, the main orientation of this work.

Crain, 1980, in his overview of Erikson, highlights the transition from adolescence to young adulthood, commenting on the contemporary post-adolescent tendency to postpone commitment in order to avoid "identity foreclosure". Crain views this protraction of adolescence positively, noting that Piaget, Freud and Erikson themselves spent some time in extended search for their true callings. Whether the outcome of their extended non-commitment is indicative or even, in aggregate, socially positive significant certainly is very much an open issue and one of great importance. This is especially true when considering the step-wise progression implied within Erikson's framework. A very important component of his eight stages of life involves the definition of adult development in terms of the deepening and widening of the capacity to love and care for others. The transformation from adolescent self-absorbtion to young-adult attempts at intimacy imply a

trend culminating in the eventual mature attainment of generativity. The impact of the extension of adolescence upon the ability to later attain intimacy and eventual generativity is an issue that the graying baby-boomers of this age are in the midst of working through.

Erikson's work on identity and life-cycles would have a large impact on virtually all subsequent writings on the transition to adulthood. To this day, no serious work on the psycho-social aspects of human development can ignore Erikson's eight stages of life.[23] It provides a rich interpretive framework at the biographical level, (see, Erikson's Young Man Luther, 1958, Gandhi's Truth, 1969; and his observations of William James in Identity, Youth, and Crisis, 1976; and the societal level (as applied by Keniston 1965, 1970, Havighurst 1975, and Bailey 1976). His life-cycle theories have much to inform the policy treatment of transition to adulthood. Kenneth Keniston would later draw and elaborate on Erikson's model of ego mode dynamics in his description of youth as a newly emerged life stage intervening between adolescence and adulthood.[24] Keniston's contributions concerning the concept of youth is elaborated on further below.

Jules Henry, in Culture Against Man (1961), used critical theory and an ethnographic methodology to describe the effects of corporately-inspired and promoted mass-consumption values on his observations of baby-boomer high-school adolescents. His often acid critique of mass-consumption ethos and its impact on adolescents was useful as testimony of corporate capitalism's manipulation of this class. Culture Against Man came to be a precursor; an early expression of a critical attitude towards society associated with alienation that many baby-boomer youths would later come to embrace in their loose explorations of counterculture.

Henry's criticism of adolescent culture under the influence of a shallow consumerist ethos would reemerge in Britain where they would by linked with well-developed class

interpretations of their patterns of youth culture. Many of these class interpretations would be described by the British youth themselves and transmitted via their music. This music would feed back to the young of the United States from the "British Invasion" on through the Punk and New Wave 1980s. This influence is alluded to in the Peter Townsend lyrics quoted in the chapter opening. Similar themes of alienation, frustration and loss could be found throughout the breadth and width of contemporary British rock.

These important works all recognized that this developmental period had come to identify a social status as well; the result of a complex historical interaction of institutional forces. To a large extent they represented the emerging views of concern over the condition of the baby-boomer's transition to adulthood. They very much helped to define it as an issue throughout the 1970s where it was picked up and sustained by the policy-informing elements of the educational-industrial complex.

Among the principle institutional elements involved in the transition to adulthood issue are the U.S. Congress, the U.S. Department of Education, and the U.S. Department of Labor. Their interests in the issue are rationalized through educational and labor policy perspectives (including the maintenance of military manpower). Another non-governmental cluster within the complex involved in the issue are the corporately-funded policy research groups such as the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, The Ford Foundation, The Potomac Institute, and RAND. These think tanks have concentrated on research intended to inform policymakers on broad emerging issues involving youth, their education and future as a workforce. Other peripheral players have included business-oriented lobbies such as the U.S. Chamber of Commerce are also involved. Their interests are generally confined to more short-term salient issues such as

job training and minimum wage legislation. Their aggregate domination of the discourse over the status of youth continued apace through the 1980s.

The Invention of Youth

The technological, demographic, and political-economic forces that led to the invention of adolescence in industrial societies have continued to inhibit the development of functional adult status. Not only has career and identity been deferred, but marriage and parenting as well. The relative affluence of the mid-sixties and the capacity of the national economy to bear a large number of marginally productive consumers would restructure adolescence into two phases; adolescence proper and, what Keniston, 1965, would call "youth".[25] "Youth culture", or "youth lifestyle" would come to more exactly describe this phenomenon. Coleman, 1985, would observe that mainstream youth culture is led by the "producers and purveyors of commercial entertainment, commercial fashion and commercial leisure".[26] Its ultimate commercial image would be cast as the "Pepsi Generation", a young, care-free leisure class of vigorous consumers. Madison Avenue, sensitive to the demographic characteristics of the market, has long recognized and cultivated this image as if it were a faithful representation of the youth lifestyle.

In fact, Keniston's "youth" stage of life was effectively organized and sustained by the expansion of mass education to the post-secondary level. The availability of higher education to the middle class after World War II would result in an explosion in the number of young people entering college and university and thus extending their formal developmental process. Their engagement in higher education in the 1960s deferred male military service, marriage, and career for millions and precipitated a period of seeking traditionally connected with the behaviors of the industrial-era dilettantes. This new phase

of life "youth", was then an outcome of a continuing complex interaction of affluence, demographic distension, institutional manipulation (corporate/media, statutory), supported by the post-WWII quantum leap in technological innovation. These forces encouraged public policies, such as draft deferments and cheap student loans which, by the 1970s, put the majority of 18-21 year-olds (the heart of the youth age cohort) into contact with post-secondary education. Here youth would continue to be sorted and tracked along traditional liberal academic, and later, more overt professionally-oriented lines.

Many (20 percent of those 15 to 25 according to Havighurst, 1975) would dialectically react to their quasi-institutionalized status and use their prolonged psycho-social moratorium to test prevailing social values. These "fore-runners", to use Yankelovich's (1974) term, were followed by some 60 percent of youth (Havighurst 1975) who would persist in retaining the advanced industrialist emphasis on productivity and achievement along normative social lines. The remaining 20 percent of youth in Havighurst's classification system were the less educated inarticulate candidates for permanent association with the downwardly-mobile underclasses. In policy language these would be the "at risk" youth.[27] Havighurst's stratified classification of youth is strongly suggestive of the general class structure in American society as a whole. However, the forerunners, the apostles of the status quo, and new underclass of the 1970s youth were not strictly reproductions of the managerial, middle and underclasses although there was a correlation across these ideal types. This disaggregation scheme for describing baby-boomer youth is useful for it focuses on the internal class structure of this status. The youth lifestyle is led by a dominating vanguard in struggle with middle-class values. The directions of this struggle are discussed at length in Keniston, 1964, 1968, and 1971.[28]

There he organizes a narrative description of the progressively disintegrative aspects of industrial society.

One of the most prominant characteristics of contempoary youth are that they are generally unmarried. This indicates that the quest for intimacy, the primary developmental issue of this age cohort in previous generations, has been deferred on a massive scale. This is not simply explained by the shift towards cohabitation. Cohabitation is not a widespread feature of youth. Cohabitation is much more a characteristic of young adulthood where it functions as a kind of negotiated resolution to that lifestage's primary issue of intimacy. The main issue for youth is still one of reconciling the external pressures to fix an identity while still trying to avoid identity foreclosure. The resulting tension is reflected in their indeterminate situation vis á vis the larger social milieu.

Youth's connection with adolescence has been determined by the same overarching political-economic pragmatism that had earlier generated public policies linking adolescence with childhood. In positivist-functionalist terms adult status is a stage of engagement in primary production (at its most fundemental level this includes child-rearing). Popularly, adultness is defined in terms of engagement in work and/or parenting. Students have not qualified because of their removal from primary production, their extended institutional dependence, and because of their unmarried status mentioned above. Table 1.1 below illustrates the historical growth of "youth" defined as 18-21 year-olds in higher education:

Table 1.1

Percentage of 18 - 21 Year-olds in Higher Education Full-time or Part-time 1870-2000[29]

1870	1890	1910	1930	1950	1970	1980	1988	1995	2000
1.7	3.0	5.1	12.4	29.6	52.2	44.0	41.3	40.9	44.1

According to the table, participation in mass education into one's twenties became a virtual entitlement for most youths in America by 1970; part of a trend that saw a rough doubling of 18-21 year-old participants in higher education every 20 years since 1870. The slight retreat from this trend since 1980 probably indicates political-economic counter pressures associated with the tightening federal support for student aid.

There is also an interesting secondary effect taking place that also has some consequences for youth. A recent trend indicates that the insulating "cocoon" effect of higher education, which created the institutional environment for post-industrial youth culture to flourish was and is being affected by an in-migration of older age cohorts. The trend is interesting because it provides evidence that youth status is being expanded beyond the traditional age range of 18-21 for college undergraduates. It also suggests that the 18-21 year-old may be increasingly disadvantaged by being in competition with older, more experienced students. Table 1.2 charts the progress of this trend since 1970:

Table 1.2

Percentage of 18-21 Year-Olds to Total Enrollment in Higher Education 1970-1985[30]

1970	1975	1980	1985
52.2	45.0	44.0	40.7

This is situation has certainly not passed unnoticed by national-level policymakers. The U.S. Department of Education comments in the preface of its Digest of Educational Statistics 1987 on the broad trend towards expanded participation by older age cohorts in higher education and the recent drop in enrollments by those under the age of 25:

> The number of older students is growing more rapidly than the number of younger students. Between 1970 and 1985, the enrollment of students under age 25 increased by 15 percent. During the same period, enrollment of persons 25 and over rose by 114 percent. In the later part of this period from 1980 to 1985, enrollments of students under 25 decreased by 5 percent, while the enrollment of persons 25 and over increased by 12 percent.[31]

Some of this trend might be attributed to the passing of the baby boom and the continuing decline in the numbers of 18-21 year-olds. The trend also indicates an interest on the part of those who had achieved adult status in returning to school. These two factors have been picked up by the state and by institutions of higher education, and promoted under the banner of life-long learning. Many of these more mature undergraduates are ex-servicepeople who are taking advantage of educational benefits offered to them for their time served in the military. This has been a major enlistment incentive for the all volunteer program. A large number of high school graduates join for these benefits. These older returnees may be genuinely drawn to seeking knowledge or, more likely, trying to gain credentials essential for professional advancement. Their impact upon the younger students is probably negative in terms of relative performance due to their greater relative experience and closeness to their teacher's values. They are also administratively important as a growth market within the educational industrial complex. Their numbers are projected to increase relative to those of youth and thus the managers of the institutions of higher learning, private and public, are gearing up to capture their share of the market.[32]

The data displayed in the two tables above and the U.S.D.O.E. excerpt tentatively support the observations that; (1) the political economic structure of the United States after World War II has promoted a new status called "youth", generally described as

economically dependent student status as opposed to economically independent adult status (and quasi-officially designated as ranging between 18 and 24 years of age; (2) the age range of youths as indicated by affiliation (not necessarily identification) with higher education continues to expand beyond 18-24 years old; (3) the impact upon 18-21 year-olds includes their out-migration from higher education as their disadvantage relative to the older age cohorts continues to grow both in regards to bearing its expenses and in their relative performance against older, more experienced classmates, and; (4) a significant amount of resources for higher education may shift towards the older students and away from the younger.

Future trends point to higher education, as presently configured, becoming too expensive for most middle class parents to bear. This counter-trend hardly spells the end of youth as now conceived. Probably only a resurgence in demand for full-time semi-skilled labor would have that effect. A more likely direction would be towards the European model where youth culture has been adapted to long-term structural unemployment through subsidies which allow for considerable periods of creative idleness.

The evidence that 18-21 year-olds, the heart of the youth cohort, are disadvantaged in their attempts to attain a higher education is softened by the maturing influences presumed to be available with the presence of older students. This possiblity is presently hypothetical in nature, and evidence as to the effects of the mixed classroom is not available. The general deemphasis of support for mass higher education associated with the ideological predispositions of the Reagan Administration is another, yet unexplored effect upon the current profile of youth in higher education. The withdrawal of federal support for mass-post-secondary education may accelerate a widening socioeconomic cleavage by educational level among youth to be carried over and hardened into a more

explicit class structure for America. The result is likely to produce internal instability and disintegration within the youth cohort as the agents of transition to adulthood become more class-determined. This has been observed already among non-college youth who tend to embrace identity frameworks more quickly and tenaciously than do college youth, some of whom tend towards the other extreme of studied non-commitment. These identity frameworks range from religious conversions to gang memberships to affiliation with extremist, usually reactionary, political movements. This fascist personality tendency appears to hold true cross-culturally as well as domestically.

Those engaged in higher education do not constitute the entire set of youths. There is spillage on both sides of the age range and, of course, the majority of youths are no longer pursuing higher education. Enrollment in higher education is still a good indicator of the condition of youth status because it is an institution that, for the most part, is configured for them. Again though it must be emphasized tht it is not the only institutional realm available. Here "youth" reveals fuzziness as a predictor catagory, much as does ethnicity or even gender. Youth, as a working term here, is softly defined physiologically as approximating the "post-adolescence-to-adult" stage outlined by Schonfeld, 1969, although it has certainly undergone normative cultural expansion beyond age 18 for females and age 20 for males. Youth is defined in fuzzy terms because it denotes more a lifestyle associated with a stage of life, and thus does not actually conform to a specific age cohort. In post-industrial contexts, youths do begin to become adults after the age of 21, but the transition is not fixed at an upper boundary or at any single episodic event. Adults just tend to precipitate out of youth determined mostly through credentialing and assumed attainment of competencies (such as licenses, diplomas, full-time work, marriage and offspring). The relations between youth and adulthood is further muddied by considerable statutory

confusion over the status of 18-to-21 year-olds. Laws determine that they are old enough to drive and vote but too young to freely enter into contracts or to drink. What is remarkable is how 18-21 year-olds pursue a fairly uniform lifestyle with any significant variations attributed to student or non-student status. In this, student status does tend to be a good preservative agency of the youth lifestyle.

In political-economic terms, college students are a decreasingly privileged subset of a larger labor surplus. This pool has been created by a capital-intensive technologically-led economy which has no immediate need for their labor. To the prevailing system supporters such as Clark Kerr, they are a deferred investment in the future productivity of the nation. The skills acquired in college and university are expected to positively affect the technological base of the economy as well as the overall quality of their lives and work. To those less optimistically inclined, their future aggregate value as a technically skilled labor force is not an especially important issue. Some, like Froman, 1984, assert that the concentration of wealth in the United States into the hands of a few corporations has also concentrated the technologically competent into a few elite university departments and research institutions. Froman draws from Dye, 1979, which studied the characteristics of corporate leaders. The study indicated "two-thirds [of the corporate leaders] attended private colleges and universities . . . ", and, ". . . *55 percent* attended the 12 most prestigious universities in the nation: Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Cornell, Pennsylvania, Dartmouth (all Ivy League Schools), Stanford, Chicago, M.I.T., Northwestern, and John Hopkins."[33] Senator Edward Kennedy, in an April, 1988 Face-Off public affairs radio spot, quoted statistics on federal research funding which asserted that in the 1986, 40 percent of these funds went to the top 20 universities. Thus the federal government has also come to support a concentration of authoritative research to guide its

policies. This technocratic elite passively channels the graduates of lesser institutions into positions of support at the macro-political economic levels. There is evidence of trivialization of credentials from non-elite centers of learning. Most college graduates are already unlikely to pursue careers that they were trained for.[34] The situation has become more acute in spite of a large-scale reorientation by 1980s undergraduates away from the liberal arts and towards professional programs and a decline in the real numbers of students. Only a few labor economists, educational policymakers and perhaps the more sensitive corporate personnel managers seem to fret about the contradictions held within this quasi-official meritocratic advanced capitalist system, and with the educationally and informationally assymetric social structure that it produces.[35]

If college-age youth have been shunted out from participation of the now highly automated primary and secondary sectors of the economy and are now in the process of at least partially evacuating higher education, where might they be going next? In the short-term, they don't appear to be going anywhere special. The basic economic structure for youth in the United States has not changed dramatically since the mid-1960s except for an accelerated shift from a manufacturing to service sector-dominated economy. 18-21 year-olds, while somewhat dispersed as a group, continue to cluster around identity shopping practices using those means available including drugs, media, sports, travel and dating. For the past decade, the typical profile of youth is that of the student attending a local college or university; working part-time at low-level service jobs and involved in such recreation as the other two undertakings allow. There are a large number of permutations, but it is the basic formula available to the majority of Americans, even to many who are at or near the poverty level. Of course youth from more affluent backgrounds are much more likely than low-SES ones to go to university at a distance from home. Less affluent youth

are much more likely to be working and working proportionately more to support their education. The less affluent are also much more likely to attend a local community college and live at home, or defer their formal education and join the military, often in order to afford post-secondary education later. Still the basic mix of at least some post-secondary education and low-level, low-skill work are available to most civilian youth.

The current trend is a swing back towards work and away from full-time higher education. Table 1.3 indicates this abruptly rising trend among 16-19 year-olds. This trend, coupled with a decline in the real numbers of youth, are causes of some concern

Table 1.3

Percentage of 16-19 Year-Olds in the U.S. Labor Force 1940-1980[36]

1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
37.3	41.4	41.4	41.1	49.1

among post-secondary educational administrators as reflected in the writings of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1979.[37] Ironically, the drop in volume of youths being processed through higher education translates into a higher unit cost per student. This, in turn, lessens the number of students with sufficient resources to attempt college. The end result is the real possibility of higher education becoming even more bifurcated into a two-year technical training track for lower-income youth with a full four-year-plus track reserved for the offspring of managerial elites. Ernest Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching indicates that this

contradiction can be resolved by emphasizing quality education at the primary and secondary levels and reestablishing higher education as a privileged experience, not a middle-class entitlement.[38] This suggests something closer to a Euro-Japanese technically-oriented educational structure. It also allows for a concentration of knowledge into the hands of an educationally-privilaged managerial elite. Boyer then anticipates that educational attainment is to be, a determinant of class in the emerging information society.

Youth are not striking out on their own and raising families; at least not in the autonomous nuclear family structures of their parents. This is an important feature of the lifestyle which supports their functional adolescent status. The reasons that they aren't following in their parents' footsteps is due to a combination of economic unfeasibility and now strong social sanctions particularly at the peer level. In 1986 households headed by a person under 20 constituted only .4% of the total households in the U.S. This is up from .3% in 1985, but the data hardly supports a trend. The vast majority of youth appear to be living at home, in college dorms, or in loose transient peer collectives near school and/or work.[39] They are not organized within any institution of significant political power with the possible exception of the military. They are continuing to be held in a social limbo that denies any clear identity, and thus preempts any credible claim to empowerment.

Their future worth as labor is uncertain, particularly for the immediate post-baby-boom generation which will have difficulty breaking into the command positions held by their elders. What slots that will become available will be allocated to the sons and daughters of elites. For the rest, employment patterns over the past 20 years indicate a continuing concentration of youth into retail trade services; a sector notorious for low pay and few opportunities for advancement. Table 1.4 below details the minority situation for

youth by major industry sectors:

Table 1.4

Percentage of Major Industry Group Share of Employed 16-19 Year-Olds * (Percentage of Major Industry Group Workforce 16-19 Years Old) 1967-1987[40]

	1967	1972	1977	1982	1987
Construction/Mining	4 (4)	6 (6)	6 (6)	4 (4)	5 (3)
Manufacturing	21(5)	16 (4)	15 (5)	9 (2)	8 (2)
Transportation/Utilities	4 (2)	2 (3)	2 (3)	2 (2)	2 (1)
Trade	38 (13)	44 (15)	47 (17)	53 (15)	55 (14)
Finance/Insurance/Real Estate	4 (6)	4 (6)	3 (5)	3 (3)	3 (2)
Miscellaneous Services	23 (6)	23 (6)	22 (6)	23 (4)	23 (4)
Public Administration	3 (3)	2 (2)	1 (2)	1 (2)	1 (1)

* Excludes Agriculture, Military, and Private Households.

Despite their being concentrated in this generally low-earning niche, their ability to dominate the sector through shear numbers, and thus gain empowerment, is unlikely as percentages in parentheses indicate their continued marginal status across all sectors. On top of this trend, the demographic projections indicate a greater proportion of youths in the immediate future will be minorities. These trends excite almost no comment at the federal executive level. Anne Dore Mclaughlin, Secretary of Labor, speaks of slower labor force growth which will invite "at risk" youth into the work mainstream. They will join a "more mature workforce" of "greater experience, stability, reliability and productivity."[41] There is something of a doublespeak here. Many at-risk youth are already out of the socially-approved roads to opportunity, and tracked into the quicker roads to wealth via the underground economies of theft, drugs, and prostitution as entrepeneurs or gang members.

Those who take the approved routes to work are likely to find that their inferior schooling will have to be remedied by more and more on-the-job training. Given that their "at risk" designation is often directly related to their resistance to classroom or workplace discipline, it seems implausible to expect these youth to transform into dedicated workers simply because there is a demand for them. Some may respond positively to the role, but the increasing need for their labor is not sufficient to automatically bring them into the American economic mainstream. This projected employment status for so-called "at-risk" youth then approaches that of a neo-apprentice relationship such as seen in the structure of the Job Corps, YEDPA, and the YPTA. Given the widespread support for these types of programs, they can be expected to persist. Still there is nothing to indicate that the "at risk" will join a labor mainstream that hold values alien to those they developed from their long tenure out on the margins.

In 1985, 2.8 percent of those usually employed full-time were 16 to 19 years old. This is compared to 16-to-19 year-olds comprising 21.1 percent of the part-time work force. 16-to-19 year-olds represented the largest age cohort in the pool of part-time workers. 20-to-24 year-olds were second comprising 16.1 percent of the part-time work force in 1985.[42] Most youth appear to be discouraged from and/or disinterested in full-time work. This marginality can only be even more severe when applied to their access to full-time career-track work. The concept of career as life-long devotion to a single line of work is even now anachronistic. Of course, their extended schooling is ostensibly a grooming process for a career, but this is a rather tenuous assumption and not indicative of the present or projected future reality of their working lives. In any case their opportunity for expression of identity through a career is deferred. No promising alternatives emerge other than military service or religious conversion. For the forerunners, this situation becomes

an opportunity for large-scale experimentation within the lifestyle. For those oriented to the mainstream, the now institutionalized psychosocial moratorium is spent in milder, less dramatic, more leisurely forays into variations not too far removed from their tentative commitments to school and future career. For the youth underclasses, career opportunities continue to be narrow to non-existent. They do not have a vertible supermarket of identity options to choose from. They do not have the uncertainties of status that discourages commitment of any kind. For them, identity foreclosure comes early and in opposition to the experience and values of the middle class. The result is a social environment of alienation for a large number of youth.

Youth Alienation and Commitment

Many youth are continuing to experience alienation from a society changing too fast to develop any enduring grounding values. Except for those who take the military option, there is a general diffusion of organizational affiliation including the so-called traditional institutions of church, family, school, and work. Even with the military, there is a wide range of disparate and often contradictory influences working to shape participant attitudes towards themselves, their relationship to the military, and to society as a whole. The socialization functions of these institutions have become discounted relative to the passive yet immense socialization power of the media (Rock, the language of youth, is a primary indicator). Alienation, a condition which was a hot issue in the late 1950s and through the 1960s has, if anything, become even more robust within the youth age-cohort in the 1980s. Keniston, 1965, in his survey of "the uncommitted" still speaks with a contemporary voice for the basic underlying conditions fostering alienation among youth are still very much in place.

> "For all these youths, as for the simply indecisive, the "freedom of choice" in our society constitutes a major human problem, which is ultimately the problem of identity. Ideally in America, commitment and self-definition go hand in hand during adolescence, so that each clarification of identity permits new commitments. But the ideal seldom occurs: for most youths indecision, vacillation, and doubt precede commitment and sometimes replace it. Having to choose, having to make commitments, is then experienced not as a joyous freedom but as a heavy burden.[43]

This period of non-commitment then becomes a major characteristic of the youth lifestage. While youth are bombarded with rhetoric calling for their involvement in community and society, the social and economic structure of this country has continued to encourage them to compartmentalize their lives and lose their attachment to any community beyond their circle of peers. As Kensiton, 1965, points out, this is especially true of youth's relationship to work and "workmanship".[44] The result has been a diffuse culture of cynicism and indifference in its regard of extra-peer relationships. This is reflected in the appeal of rock music's now traditional lyrical themes of nilhism among a number of American youth over the past 20 years. The themes of power and uncompromising independence as projected in loudness and movement are the mainstays of "hard rock" ideology and its variants. It suggests a reason for the persistent popularity of both the Heavy Metal/Punk/Muscle/Gang youth subcultures, particularly among males, which romantically connect them to the days when a young man was a strong man.

The Reactionary Potential of Youth

Interestingly, the graying of rock is also reflecting the ideological shift that occurs youth to adulthood. This is particularly seen in contemporary British rock up to and

through "Band Aid" and its various spinoffs. The British youth experience, as expressed in rock lyrics, had expressed many American youths' vision of their own prospects. The Godfathers', Birth, School, Work, Death quoted at the beginning of this chapter, is a current articulation of the psycho-social moratorium gone on too long. The lyrics carry an initial sense of loud swaggering bravado to them but the chorus is shouted in something very close to anger at the pattern of this lifecourse. This anger is indicative of the effects of identity diffusion and alienation. In a poigniant sense, the social order of advanced industrialism has demanded that youth be wasted. The explicitly youth-oriented media still projects a predeliction towards imagining a nihlist future. This is dialectically opposed by communitarian values asserted more and more into the mature end of rock, and the other agencies of cultural expression including academia.[45] Still these themes of alienation range across the screens large and small from Mad Max to Max Headroom. The images of alienation are well into their second generation of expression. It appears that the creative alienated of the 1950s and 1960s have matured and adapted themselves to careers which allow them to communicate these issues to a new generation of youth. For the unreflective, the alienation is reproduced, in small communal enclaves. Keniston suggested this in writing of the professional directions taken by the older alienated:

> Some . . . nave opted for the chancy life of an artist, and are deliberately headed for an alienated subculture which will permit them to retain their alienated views. Others have chosen to become teachers, and for the time being have tried to conform to the requirements of a Ph.D. program. But as graduate students, they, too, retain their alienated ideology, . . . and continue to view their subject matters, departments, and universities with the cynicism and distrust characteristic of the alienated.[46]

who spend a greater part of their intellectual energies attempting to remedy their own powerlessness without committing to any sustained, organized effort at social change.

There are even more fundamental counter-currents arising dialectically to confront the forces of alienation. These forces are labeled as "fascist" by the more doctrinaire hard-core alienated, for indeed the currents do run in that direction.[47] The image of the fascia is a useful heuristic despite its bad historical association for it expresses graphically the binding of self to a larger structure. Youths, particularly the lower end of that middle 60 percent described by Havighurst, 1975, are prone to embrace such ideological images. This is one reason why wars are fought by the young. In the face of rapid social dislocation in the takeoff states of Asia and Latin America as well as Western Europe and Japan, they go forth willingly. Extremist groups, particularly from the reactionary right, draw great strength from youth. The fascia need not be explicitly tangible or bound to a center. In Hawaii, for instance, local youth unconsciously bind themselves to a liquid fascia of surfing where the structure of the offshore slope, which literally determines the wave, is literally and figuratively submerged. In the identities invoked in the images of the wave or of the fascia, the lines are drawn somewhere and social energies are channeled. It becomes clearly a political matter at this point as to where, how, and who for. The demand for structure may be the chant of 90's youth in ironic counterpoint to the chants for freedom echoed from those of the late 60's. This is especially likely as the industrial-era economic and social structures begin to sag and buckle under the pull of historical change. The resulting insecurity may hasten a youth-abetted neo-fascist solution along the lines of interwar Germany and Japan.

There is a dialectical conflict between freedom and order that youth are confronted with but are not well equipped to reconcile. On the one hand they have inherited "the language

and social structures begin to sag and buckle under the pull of historical change. The resulting insecurity may hasten a youth-abetted neo-fascist solution along the lines of interwar Germany and Japan.

There is a dialectical conflict between freedom and order that youth are confronted with but are not well equipped to reconcile. On the one hand they have inherited "the language of radical individualism" spoken of at great length in Bellah's Habits of the Heart.[48] Yet advanced industrial society renders individualism into a marketing tool more than a viable ideology. Individualism becomes confused with having the option to buy large varieties of all the same thing, be it clothing, cars, orange juice or cold medicine. The young, upon their leaving home and/or school eventually come to find that their individual freedoms are tempered by the structure and organization of this world. They also quickly come to find that they have very little to say about the structure, having been essentially formed by it. As David Rapaport puts it, "... each society meets each phase of the development of its member by institutions (parental care, schools, teachers, occupations, etc.) specific to it, to ensure that the developing individual will be viable in it."[49] The problem of transition to adulthood in advanced industrial society is then the problem of institutions endeavoring to make it a positive system-reinforcing experience. Alienation from the system eventually works against institutional interests. Youth might embrace extremist if not totalitarian solutions, particularly during economic crisis, but for these policies to succeed would involve an extinguishing of self incompatible with the long accumulation of Western cultural tradition. Yet such a reaction is quite probable in the event of large-scale economic disruption. This is implied in Kenistion's proposition of a "neo-luddite" aspect to youth culture. It is thus of great interest to the corporate state that youth be accomodated into the system.

Policies designed specifically for the social integration of youth are not speculative. National-level youth policy designs have been advanced for several years now. Currently, various "youth service" schemes are emerging with powerful institutional and popular backing. Given the confluence of key demographic, economic, and technological factors, youth service may finally achieve sufficient political critical mass to become an emergent issue of the 1990s. Interest is growing particularly at the institutional level among policymakers, in education, government and industry. It became part of the Democratic Party plank in the 1988 Presidential campaign, and bills for youth service have been regularly submitted to Congress. It is to this specific issue node that the politics of life-cycles may provide a useful theoretical framework from which policy may be drawn. National youth service is then an issue focus for this framework. The next chapter surveys national youth service as a remedy to the problem of youth.

Chapter 1 Notes

[1] The term "social scientists" is used here in a broad sense. It includes anyone who systematically observes organizes and applies the resulting knowledge of human social behavior for personal or organizational ends. This would include con-men, legislators, and market researchers to name just of few.

[2] While human development has been an object of study back to at least Plato and Aristotle and has entered the discourse of social commentators from Shakespeare to Locke and Rousseau, it has been impressionistic and unsystematic in its organization until near the turn of this century. It is this period that saw the rise of developmental psychology. See Ausubel, David P., Theory and Problems ofAdolescent Development, New York: Grune & Stratton, 1954. pp. 10-37.

[3] A survey of the journal Developmental Psychology, published by the American Psychological Association, Washington, D.C.,for the years 1978, 1982 and 1986 reveals some that out of some 318 total articles, 35 or 11% of them had a clear social policy linkage based upon the title content checked through their abstracts. This includes 7 articles organized under the topical heading of "Social Competence and Identity in Adolescence" offered in the May/June 1982 issue. Since the survey method was highly subjective in discriminating between policy-linked and non-policy-linked articles, a representative list of titles selected as policy-informative is presented below:

1. "Social Influence on Children's Standards for Judging Criminal Culpability"
2. "Imitation in the Interest of Social Influence"
3. "Relationship of Demographic Factors to Parental Discipline Techniques"
4. "Effects of Day-Care Experience on the Use of Intentional Communicative Behaviors in a Sample of Socio-Economically Depressed Infants"
5. "Mother and Father Infant Interaction Involving Play and Holding in Traditional and Non-traditional Swedish Families"
6. "Children's Cognitions About Effective Helping"
7. "Sex Differences in Styles of Occupational Identity Formation in Late Adolescence"
8. "Do Gender Labels Yield Sex Differences in Performance or is Label a Fable?"
9. "Chronic Malnutrition and Child Behavior: Effects of Early Caloric Supplementation on Social and Emotional Functioning at School Age"
10. "Dimensions and Types of Social Status: A Cross-Age Perspective"

[4] Horowitz, 1987, admits tht "For all the robustness of SES and it's frequent use in developmental research, there is little understanding of how it functions to affect behavior and development." See, Horowitz, Francis Degen, Exploring Developmental Theories: Toward a Structural/Behavioral Model of Development, Hillsdale, NJ: Earlbaum Associates, 1987, p. 180.

[5] Ausubel, David P., Theory and Problems of Adolescent Development, New York: Grune & Stratton, 1954. pp. 10-15.

[6] Ibid., also Coleman, James, Becoming Adult in a Changing Society, Paris: OECD, 1985, pp. 10-14, Fox and Quinn, Marriage, Parenting and Death, New York: Psychohistory Press, 1980 p. 180. According to Fox and Quinn, the term as generally applied now came into usage in the early modern period. Before the turn of the century, this lifestage was termed "youth", and was described in mostly literary terms. It was invoked most often by pedagogues and religious reformers.

[7] Ausubel, op cit. p. 11-12.

[8] Ausubel, op cit. p. 13-14.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Spring, Joel H., Education and the Rise of the Corporate State, Boston: Beacon Press, 1972. pp. 100-104.

[11] McLeod, David I., Building Character in the American Boy, Madision WI: University of Wisconson Press, 1983.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Thomas, Alex, "An Interview with Bruno Bettleheim", Communique, (National Association of School Psychologists), vol. 16 no.1 (Sept. 1987), pp. 12-13. An assessment of the success of these character-building organizations in cultivating citizenship will be elaborated upon in a later chapter.

[14] The Freudians have offered some resistance to the cultural relativists by basing life-cycle transitions on the successful resolution of psycho-sexual crises. Thus, one is not truely adult until one has managed to redirect Oedipal urges away from the parents and towards acceptable surrogates. These surrogates may be culturally determined (ie.spouse, economic expression, religious practice), but the basic developmental dynamic is seeded internally. Adolescence is then a major develop-mental crisis with origins in the onset of puberty and only peripherally affectedby alterations in ideals and in social relations. The social/cultural/institutional milieu in which adolescence takes place does not create it but may amplify the crisis by demanding challenges and a new set of roles just as the internal psychosexual crisis is taking place. See Anna Freud, "Adolescence as a Developmental Disturbance" in Caplan and Lebovici, eds., Adolescence: Psychological Perspectives, New York: Basic Books, 1969.

[15] Sherraden, Michael, and Donald Eberly, in Sherraden and Eberly eds., National Service: Social, Economic and Military Impacts, New York: Pergamon Press, 1983.

[16] Schonfeld, William, "The Body and Body Image in Adolescents" in Caplan and Lebovici eds., Adolescence: Psychological Perspectives, New York: Basic Books 1969. pp. 29-33. Schonfeld is sensitive to the socioaffective aspects of adolescence but speaks in the language of psychology, suggesting that adolescent feelings of inadequacy and inferiority are imaginings and not indicative of the true state of their social relations vis-à-vis those of adult status. He concurs with Ackerman, 1949, ". . . that behavioral abberations in both boys and girls in the second decade of life are frequently caused by an inadequate adjustment to the feeling of being different.", op. cit. p. 45.

[17] Ibid., pp. 30, 33.

[18] Ibid., p. 23.

[19] Freeman, Richard, "The Work Force of the Future: An Overview", in Work in America: The Decade Ahead, Clark Kerr and Jerome Roscow eds., New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1979) pp. 28-79.

[20] Lerner, Richard M., "Developmental Psychology: History of Philosophy", in Richard M. Lerner, ed., Developmental Psychology: Historical and Philosophical Perspectives, Hillsdale NJ: Erlbaum Associates, 1983. pp. 11-16.

[21] Coleman, James, and Torsten Husén, Becoming Adult in a Changing Society, Paris: Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (OECD), 1985. pp. 10-24.

[22] Crain, William C., Theories of Development: Concepts and Applications, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980. pp. 146-169.

[23] Subsequent empirical work has confirmed much of Erikson's observations on adolescent-to-adult transition. See Waterman, Alan S., "Identity Development", Developmental Psychology, vol. 18, no. 3 (May/June, 1982), pp. 355-356; and Adams, G., K. Abraham, and C. Markstrom, "The Relations Among Identity Development, Self-Consciousness and Self-Focussing During Middle and Late Adolescence", Developmental Psychology, vol. 23, no.2 (March/April, 1987), p. 296.

[24] Ibid. Coleman 1985 also alludes to Keniston's work of youth as a new stage of life.

[25] Keniston, Kenneth, "Youth as a New Stage of Life", and The Uncommitted: Alienated Youth in American Society, New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1965.

[26] Coleman, 1985. op. cit., p. 20.

[27] Ibid. Coleman places Keniston's "dissenters" and "young radicals" as a subgroup among the forerunners.

[28] Keniston, 1965, Op.cit., and Kenneth Keniston, The Young Radicals; New York, Harcourt Brace and World Inc. 1968; and Keniston, Youth and Dissent: The Rise of a New Opposition, New York: Harcourt Brace and Jovanovich Inc. 1971.

[29] 1870-1970 figures, U.S. Dept. of Education, Digest of Education Statistics 1975, Washinton, D.C., Center for Educational Statistics, 1976. Table 80, p. 80. 1980-2000 figures, U.S. Department of Education, Projections of Educational Statistics to 2000, Washington, D.C., Center for Educational Statistics, December, 1989. Table 6, p. 31.

[30] U.S. Dept. of Education, Digest of Education Statistics 1987, Table 103. p.123.

[31] Ibid., p. 116.

[32] The "educational industrial complex" is not explicitly written of in the literature, however, there are unintentional references to it made within the field of educational administration. See, for example, Cross, Patricia K., "Changing Student Populations and Community Colleges", Education Digest, February, 1984. pp. 33-35; and Fonte and Magneson, "Triton College and General Motors: The Partnership Model", American Education, vol. 19, January, 1983. p. 23.

[33] Froman, Creel, The Two American Poltical Systems: Society, Economy & Politics Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1984, p 78. Also Samual Bowles and Herbert Gintis, Schooling in Capitalist America, New York: Basic Books Inc., 1976, and Silverman and Yanowitch eds., The Worker in "Post-Industrial" Capitalism. New York: The Free Press, 1974.

[34] See Bird, Carolyn, The Case Against College, New York: D. McKay Co., 1975.

[35] See Bailey, Stephen K., The Purposes of Education, Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1976; Bok, Derrick, Higher Learning, Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1986; and Silverman and Yanowitch, Op. cit.

[36] U.S. Dept. of Commerce, Bureau of Census, 1980 Census of Population, Vol. 1, chapter 6, "General Social and Economic Characteristics: U.S. Summary, Table 87, p. 31.

[37] Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, Giving Youth a Better Chance: Options for Education, Work, and Service, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass,1979.

[38] Ibid.

[39] "Improve Transition to College Educator Urges", The Sunday Honolulu Star-Bulletin & Honolulu Advertiser, February 21, 1988, p. A-8; and "Boyer & Solomon Offer Optimistic Outlooks", Community Colleges, University of Hawaii Manoa, Office of the Chancellor for Community Colleges, March 1, 1988, p. 12.

[40] U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census Household and Family Characteristics: March 1985, Table 3, p. 21, and Household and Family Characteristics: March 1986, Table 3, p. 23.

[41] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistitics.

[42] U.S. Congress, Demographic Changes in the U.S.: The Economic and Social Consequences into the 21st Century, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Economic Resources and Competitiveness and Security Economics, July 25, 29, 31, 1986. 99th Congress, 2d sesson.

[43] Keniston, 1965, op. cit., p. 264.

[44] Ibid., pp. 268-269.

[45] While the vast majority of hard rock music still expresses themes of alienation and not a little despair, there are communitarian themes emerging from such groups as U2 and even Pink Floyd, which had a long-held reputation for lyrical negativity. Note especially the lyrics of Pink Floyd's, "On the Turning Away" at the opening of the next chapter, for this new-found communitarian sense. The melody itself has the earmarks of an anthem for the age of the graying babyboomer and their search for community.

[46.] Keniston, 1965, op. cit. p. 406.

[47] The etymology of the term refers directly to the "fascia" (or fasces), the bound girding of sticks around the handles of the axes held by the praetorian guards. Pre-WWII dimes carried the image. The reactionary nationalists of Europe invoked this Roman symbol of strength through unity to market their ideology. It served as a rallying sign for those who sensed their homelands coming apart at the seams. Tragically, their romantic identification with a community of history was manipulated into support of national policies of imperial restoration and aggression.

[48] See especially Bellah, Robert N., et al., Habits of the Heart, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985, chapter 6.

[49] Erikson, Erik, Youth and the Life Cycle, 1959, p. 15.

Chapter 2
The Policy Prescription of National Service

No more turning away
From the weak and the weary
No more turning away
From the coldness inside
Just a world that we all must share
Its not enough just to stand and stare
Is it only a dream that there'll be
No more turning away

On the Turning Away
Roger Waters, 1987

Our society has enormous needs for service in such fields as health, education, conservation and care for the very young and the very old. Young people from all walks of life could meet many of these needs. In doing so, they would be able both to test themselves and receive valuable experience for their future careers. An investment in their country while young would help them become better citizens as they mature. First-hand, constructive experience with major problems in society would better equip them for the future as parents, employers, leaders, voters and volunteers.

Statement on National Youth Service
Coalition for National Service 1987

Introduction

Issues of youth and transition to adulthood in the United States are very much associated with the post-war baby boom. Policy makers in education and labor in the 1950s and early 1960s did not have to grapple with the issue of youth-adult transition. Graduation from high school into a world of work afforded sufficient opportunity to the vast American middle class and was a sufficient rite of passage for the pre-baby boom

adolescent. Thus they lacked the language to deal with "youth" and the distention of the psycho-social moratorium that came with the mid-1960s and persisted through the 1980s. The transition had become diffuse, and there was little control over the social processes that had taken the issue out beyond their specialized spheres of authority. There was a general disinclination to undertake the radical institutional restructuring on behalf of education, labor, and citizenship integration. This would have helped to address the issue of what adulthood was in advanced-industrial America. There was no public call for restructuring as such; only for reinforcement of prevailing structures in the form of anti-busing and "back-to-basics" movements. A combination of demographic and historical factors had rendered youth as a spin-off of this discontinuity, but this was unacknowledged or at least unarticulated by policy makers who, by the 1960s, were more involved with treating the symptoms than with addressing the causes.

The youth-led movements of the 1960s, from civil rights to free speech to anti-war activities, were the first large-scale manifestations of the politics of life-cycles operating in the advanced-industrial context. The phenomena was initially described as "the generation gap" - a schism of perceptions and values between the post-WWII generation and their offspring. Policy intervention was thus viewed as inappropriate since the shift appeared to be episodic - associated with the baby-boomers' aggregated coming of age more than with any fundamental restructuring of the life-cycles. It wasn't until 1970 that policy making specialists and public opinion leaders began to get a clear idea of the political-economic implications of the issue. Keniston's, "Youth as a New Stage of Life", more succinctly described this restructuring. For example, from this point on, "transition to adulthood" became more than an idiom for "school to work." It became, perhaps, the first policy problem of post-industrialism - determining the fate of the better part of a generation held

out of adulthood. This chapter specifically deals with the transition to adulthood problem and the prescription of national service.

The Transition to Adulthood as a Public Policy Issue

There have been a variety of interpretations on the "youth problem". Among educational and social theorists and public policy think-tanks the general orientation has been towards public sector led structural change aimed at better participation of youth in society. Etzioni, 1983, looked to restructuring educational institutions to de-emphasize cognitive learning and to re-emphasize experimental learning in the tradition of Dewey, Jordan, and other industrial-era reformers.[1] Etzioni asserts that Dewey's educational reforms were never sufficiently implemented to bring about the results envisioned.[2] Others like Janowitz, 1983, and Moskos, 1988, have been more interested in the active implementation of civic education to reconcile the rights of citizenship with its inherent obligations.[3]

While the academicians have contributed significantly the discourse on transition to adulthood, institutionally sponsored educational and labor policy experts have tended to shape the debate, particularly from the late 1970s. A multitude of public policy institutes have recommended a broad range of educational, legal and labor reforms as well as community involvement to somehow de-alienate youth and re-engage them into the American mainstream.

A major institutional participant has been the Carnegie Corporation of New York. It is a major educational policy center the United States. It's claim to authority is derived from a long association with and support of education and youth-oriented research. In Giving Youth a Better Chance: Options for Education, Work, and Service, 1979, the Carnegie

Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education presented its policy consisting of 26 recommendations affecting schooling, labor, service and community. The recommendations included making age 16 the age of free choice in matters of schooling, working, or entering service (military or community). They also advocated changing the basic structure of schooling to accommodate diversity and the cultivation of special interests related to work or service. On the statutory level, they called for the elimination of "protective" legislation. However, their recommendations dealt primarily with enhancing the opportunities for youth to enter the world of work either through school reform or through community service activities.[4] The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, since 1986, has likewise focussed on the problems attending youth transition to adulthood with a similar emphasis on service as an option of engagement for youth.

Another supporting report was provided by the Charles F. Kettering Foundation and its National Commission on Youth. In, The Transition of Youth to Adulthood: A Bridge Too Long, 1980, the Commission made a total of 27 recommendations.[5] This body of nationally recognized experts advocated a national youth policy that would touch virtually every American between the ages of 14 to 21. They demanded national attention to the problem:

> The transition of youth to adulthood is difficult even in the best of times. But this is the worst of times for significant numbers of American youth. Many of the traditional institutions that assist youth to adulthood are changing, crumbling, and even collapsing. The decline of the family unit is well-documented. Beleaguered school systems are attacked from all sides - by students, parents and employers - for their failure to teach marketable skills to the young. Governmental bodies on all levels remain largely unresponsive to the serious plight of youth".[6]

In short, they described the situation for American youth as one of crisis. The Commission called for new programs and policies such as designing new environments for youth, community-based education, national youth service, youth transitional planning councils on the local level, revising child labor laws, reforming the juvenile justice system (including eliminating the status offender category of offenses), and creating a White House youth office to coordinate policies and programs.[7]

Many of the recommendations from these policy institutions were oriented towards federally-led social rectification along the lines of similar policy initiatives of the Great Society era. Many of them would have involved quite significant levels of federal funding. Many would have also radically restructured the relationships between education and labor as well. The Reagan Administration, of course, was diametrically opposed to any such federally-led efforts as social reorganization. Recommendations for a strong federal role in formulating a transition-to-adulthood policy were quickly dismissed. Moskos relates that then White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan, in response to a query on the administration's position on youth service, shot back that youth should be more concerned with how to earn their first million dollars.[8] The ambitious work of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, and the National Commission on Youth and the Potomac Institute became victims of politics. Still the perception of youth lifestyle and status as a national concern had taken hold.

This theme was developed at the cross-national level as well. Through the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI), Coleman and Husén, 1985, focussed on the broad conceptual and analytical literature related to the transition to adulthood. They found significant similarities in transition difficulties in most advanced industrial (OECD) societies.[9] This suggested that Keniston's assertions concerning youth as a new stage and

style of life hold true cross-nationally. They also set the issue within a larger historical context of societies as well as individuals in transition. They initially separated out changes in attitudes towards youth and of youth from educational and economic issues. This predominantly sociological discourse described the issue in terms of generational value changes. This quickly led back to socialization issues and the role of schooling in reproducing or transforming values. Ultimately this line culminated in describing transition to adulthood as determined by political-economic forces.

In terms of specific policy recommendations, Coleman and Husén suggested educational reforms similar to those offered by Etzioni, 1983:

> The two overriding goals in trying to achieve a better education for young people and thereby facilitating their transition to adult responsibility would be to make school less "action poor" and to provide an educative milieu for the whole young person and not only segments. Responsibility among young people can be developed by their being accepted - and participating - as members of a community that has responsibility for its own destiny. Such an arrangement is increasingly in jeopardy in a "client-oriented" society. What has to be seriously considered are steps conductive to what we would like to call "functional responsibility", that is to say, young people being given the opportunity to be in charge of their efforts. As youth have come to be in school longer and longer, the pedagogy which leaves them in a passive and non-participatory role is increasingly inappropriate, leaving them unable to take responsibility. They cannot be expected to acquire more genuine independence and responsibility than they are allowed.[10]

Coleman and Husén noted further that across the advanced industrial world, the young live in an institutional "no-man's land" in which issues regarding their social integration are ignored. They offered a 3-point program to restructure youth's position in society. These included:

1. Reconceiving work organizations as extended family: age-balancing these organizations.
2. Emphasizing schools as self-directed communities.
3. Encouraging youth-run enterprises.[11]

Augmenting these explicit recommendations were three other complementary policy suggestions. These were:

1. Emphasizing youth participation in small business.
2. Making transition vouchers available to youth to use for education, wage supplementation, or as seed money for beginning a small business.
3. Developing national service programs with an explicit transition component built into them.[12]

These recommendations were essentially generic prescriptions for OECD nations as a whole, but as generic prescriptions had applications beyond the OECD. Coleman and Husén pointed to specific programs in member and non-member nations. The Japanese corporations' general emphasis on early recruitment, training, and career-long retention of personnel suggested an age-balanced organizational model to Coleman and Husén. The Putney School in Vermont and the École d'Humanetés in Switzerland were cited as examples of self-directed educational communities. Junior Achievement programs in the United States were seen as an expression of the youth-run enterprise concept. The West German model of 20 months of compulsory civilian service or 15 months of military service for young men was cited as a contemporary example of national-level youth service.

In summary, the three works sketched above are very representative of a broad institutional consensus. These perceptions continue to persist into the late 1980s. For example, the U.S. Department of Education released a study report in September of 1988 finding that American 20 to 24 year-olds are in a transition crisis.[13] The report emphasized the role of structural socio-economic inhibitors much as described in Chapter 1 and also in Coleman and Husén, (1985). It also showed that the majority (54 percent) of 18 to 24 year-olds were still living at home. This was up from 43 percent in 1960. Other indicators of transition difficulties cited in the report included a higher median marriage age for women and lower adjusted annual income for men aged 20 to 24.[14] The report supported a structural political-economic dimension to the transition to adulthood and suggested a need for policy rectification without making specific recommendations. This deficiency in the report was indicative of the resistance by the Reagan Administration to federal intervention in this or similar social needs issues. Samuel Halperin, the study director, in his summary noted that:

> Overall the tendency in this country has been to assume that when you graduate from high school, you're on your own, you're headed for a life at least as good as your parents or maybe better. That's just not true anymore. It's a hell of a lot harder for young people to be successful in the world and raise a family."[15]

Such assessments are indicative of the effect of the Reagan administration's practices over the better part of the 1980s.

Still, what was once an issue couched in human development language, a private issue of personal psycho-biological maturation has now become a public issue and linked with the larger crisis of modernity. Virtually all the literature cites modern issues of youth alienation, crime, suicide, ect. as a preface to their various prescriptive visions. It is, at

first, a tenuous linkage because it is not just the advanced industrial world that is faced with finding a place and a direction for its youth. As mentioned in the previous chapter, what has come to be known as youth is largely an invention of advanced industrialism. Yet most countries have a national youth service of some kind, including several which are not classified as post-industrial. They are, however, facing a parallel problem of modernity in the form of effecting credible national integration. This is very much an issue related the transition to adulthood, and the connection will be elaborated upon in the final chapter. Suffice to say at this point that there is a broad global issue regarding the problem of youth.

Three broad themes of remedy overlap between these and the other literatures on the issue of transition to adulthood. They are; (1) educational reform oriented towards active/experiential versus passive/theoretical learning from the elementary through the post-secondary levels, (2) greater private and public sector involvement oriented towards providing meaningful opportunities for integration into the world of work, and (3) developing a large-scale civilian national service for youth. Of these national service is the most radical remedy. It is also the primary bridging vehicle through which a transition, not only to adulthood, but to citizenship might actually occur. The educational reform literature is generally oriented towards issues that precede those concerning adulthood transition. The career development literature, while certainly an issue connected to becoming adult, and arguably contributes to one's personal politics, ignores the relationship to the larger civic community. Thus, the actual rite of passage - the transition to adult citizenship - is more properly the domain of the national service literature. It is to an examination of this new institutional attempt at reexpressing the rite of passage that this work now focuses upon and describes.

The Historical Antecedents of Contemporary National Youth Service

Irene Pinkau, an administrator for the Development Services Corporation project in Washington, D.C., has noted that cooperative mass participation activities are linked with the very rise of civilization.[16] Her unique claim it that the efforts by early riparian cultures to construct flood control and irrigation systems were an early species of national service. This gives a greater legitimacy to the view that there has always been a social contract. For Pinkau, national service, mass service to the state, or better, community service has always existed. It's not being a feature of this advanced industrial order is the anomaly, and suggests a deficiency in the culture also echoed by Janowitz. In this interpretation youth service is not an innovative response to a unique set of historical circumstances, but rather a re-establishment of an important component to over-all social cohesion. Pinkau's allusion to the massive irrigation and monument-building efforts of early civilizations was an effort to demonstrate the constancy of this thesis.[17] Her argument rationalizes service as a kind of payment for social benefits and legitimates a claim to full integration with society. Its logic is particularly apt in the developing world especially where the government has invested heavily in the professional education and training of its youth. Pinkau's perception of youth service functioning as a kind of social glue is further developed in her descriptions of the programs in Kenya, Nigeria, and Indonesia where it has been explicitly (and apparently effectively) used to promote a sense of national membership across ethnic, religious, and tribal lines.[18]

Another similar, though less sweeping appeal to history is made by national service advocates Senator Gary Hart and Representative Robert Torricelli, who quoted Thomas Jefferson. In a letter to Edward Rutledge, Jefferson wrote that, "A debt of service is due from every man to his country proportioned to the bounties which nature and fortune have

measured to him."[19] While Jefferson was in fact developing a rationale for taxation, Hart and Torricelli (or their aides) made a connection with national service that is quite clear. The argument was derived from a premise that the benefits derived from social order must be reciprocated through service to the state. This thinking can be, in-turn, related as an elaboration of social contract theory. Jefferson's argument that taxation was a surrogate for direct participation in government is also a logic legitimating youth service. This is because youths are perceived as receiving benefits far in excess of their ability to reciprocate financially and thus are obliged to contribute their labor directly to service in order to legitimate their status as citizens. Their "debt of service" is then very much a premise of the transition-to-citizenship issue, particularly given modern youth's general lack of participation in voting, or in any other form of political participation outside of consumption. Following this logic, most youths then have no credible claim to citizenship on the basis of not having earned it.

The two claims to history mentioned above are relatively obscure. The source mentioned by most contemporary national service advocates in their historical narratives is William James' 1906 "Moral Equivalent of War" address at Stanford University published in 1910. This address has come to be the unofficial touchstone for national service in this country, like many seminal texts it has a broad visionary tone which lends itself to a rich variety of interpretations. As presented in 1906, it was an outline for a pragmatic alternative to war as a means to maintain social cohesiveness.[20] It was James' contention that the empires and nations of the West used the "dreadful hammer" of war to maintain the integrity of the state. He also criticized the utopian thinking of pacifists whose designs lacked disciplining features he deemed essential for society to function effectively. James saw national service as both the vehicle for social transformation and as a non-militarist

device for national glorification. His quasi-utopian vision of national youth service suggested a rite of passage not only for individual youths but for society as a whole. The aggressive energies previously oriented towards war would be channeled into constructive and socially beneficial outlets which would transform the culture. Those aggressive/innovative qualities previously expressed through war would be rechanneled into character-building tasks:

> Men now are proud of belonging to a conquering nation, and without a murmur they lay down their persons and their wealth, if by so doing they may fight off subjugation. But who can be sure that other aspects of one's country may not with time and education and suggestion enough, come to be regarded with similarly effective feelings of pride and shame? Why should men not someday feel that it is worth a blood tax to belong to a collective superior in any ideal respect? Why should they not blush with indignant shame if the community that owns them is vile in any way whatsoever?
>
> Individuals, daily more numerous, now feel this civic passion. It is only a question of blowing on the spark till the whole population gets incandescent, and on the ruins of the old morals of military honor, until a stable system of morals of civic honor builds itself up.[21]

James' version of national service was also invoked as a non-militarist remedy for the alienation and social-rending forces of industrial culture.[22] In quoting the James passage below, The National Commission on Youth saw James' "war against nature" as having a somewhat democratizing effect among participants.[23] As well, there is a re-channeling of the Eriksonian psycho-social moratorium not just to production, but to a more realistic appraisal of the practice of adulthood. All of this was implied in James but what was explicit was "the moral equivalent of war" serving as an adulthood status attainment vehicle:

> To coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dish-washing, to road-building and tunnel making, to foundries and stokeholds, and to the frames of skyscrapers, would our gilded youths be drafted off, according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas.[24]

It is this emphasis on experience as the primary determinant of life-cycle status that has persisted as a common thread among most contemporary national service backers. Certainly James' vision of a new civic morality did not come to realization. In a sense James' "moral equivalent of war" was the road not taken in the historical presentation of the decline and fall of American civic consciousness. The episodic militarism, nascent consumerism, family re-configuration, and the various other subsequent maladies of industrial America developed sans a "moral equivalent of war". There were James' inspired church-based work groups in the 1920s, and later the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration in the 1930s. These efforts produced solid achievements that literally stand as public monuments, but they did not establish themselves as integrated, permanent, national citizen-making institutions. They did have a communality with the James vision, however, which has persisted as an historical benchmark for national service advocates. No less than five books written advocating national service in the late 1970s and early 1980s referred to James' address in introducing the concept.[25] His influence preceeded the Civilian Conservation Corps, but persisted as its guiding rational - one of the camps even named after him.

Other notable claims to an historical continuity of national service for youth in America, aside from James, include the early tradition of service in militias, conscription, church-centered service and missionary work, the CCC, the National Youth Administration, alternative civilian service for conscientious objectors, and the Peace Corps. These various

administrations of youth are cited consistently in the national service literature as manifesting a long-standing tradition of individual, community, and national responsibility. Their structure then serve as the prototypes of contemporary mainstream youth service.

For the most part, theoretical linkages with ultra-nationalist or the youth service organizations of ideological adversaries such as the Hitler Youth, the Black Shirts or the Soviet Young Pioneers have been ignored. These organizations have been dismissed as overtly political in orientation. This is congruent with a long-held American predisposition against ideologically-based organizations of youth. It is given that all contemporary youth service designs carry a neutral political tone. Still this is a matter to be addressed later at length. Suffice to say for now that the reproduction of positive normative values is largely presumed particularly under a universal youth service framework - a standard vision among most advocates in the advanced industrial nations. By and large, these values have included cooperation, socialization, experiential education, tolerance, productivity, and community. These are widely regarded to be the very values that are being assaulted in contemporary society. This provides a template from which remarkably common visions of youth service as a tutoring device for adulthood then issue. Youth service provides a linkage to an age in which community-mobilizing activities strengthened and bonded individuals to each other.

To a large extent, this explains the continued persistence of youth service advocacy, for, as mentioned in the first chapter, youth are suspect in complex advanced-industrial societies. They are popularly seen as unreliable, incompetent, and lacking in "character". There is thus a continuing interest in service as envisioned by James as a prescription for this problem of unreliability. This view is fortified through the popular perception of contemporary secondary schooling as inadequate for preparing youth for advanced or post-

industrial society. The contradictions of the contemporary modes of transition of youth into adult citizenship may be exacerbated by the decreasing accessibly to higher education to an increasing proportion of the middle-class. The anticipated debate over whether or not higher education is a middle class entitlement allows service advocates in Congress to intervene with support contingent upon the completion of service.

The Transition of National Service Advocacy in the Post-Vietnam Era

Youth service as a vehicle to citizenship is not an especially new idea as the section above indicates. It seems that virtually any given discourse on youth service eventually invokes it as a means to achieve citizenship status. The Vietnam War and long-term high youth unemployment in the post-Vietnam period restructured the discourse only slightly. Where it was presented as an alternative to military service, and as a job-training program of some scale when these issues were salient to many youth, there has always been some citizenship validating function woven into it. With the publication of Moskos, 1988, the movement of mainstream youth service advocacy over the past two decades seemingly away from citizenship-building has spiraled back to this position once again.

National service advocacy went through a transition on at least three levels from the late 1960s to the late 1980s. It went from being primarily identified with individuals to becoming more institutionally sponsored. It has also gone from being primarily identified as an alternative to compulsory military service, to a jobs program, to being marketed as a transition vehicle from youth to adult citizenship. Finally it has gone from being envisioned as a centralized, federal-level design, to a state and local-level one. This transition reflects larger parallel historical trends that have occurred over the those two decades. These larger trends include greater institutionalization, the coming and passing of

the Vietnam-era mindset, and the associated anti-federal reaction which manifested itself most clearly in the in the Reagan presidency.

The leadership of personalities, what William Irwin Thompson might call "The Age of Heros", has generally given way to policy vanguards at the institutional level. National service was earlier identified with leading personalities such as William James, Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt, Margaret Mead, Robert McNamara, and Hubert Humphery. However, the 1970s and 1980s have seen the national service debate taken up by public policy think tanks, Congress, state and local legislative and administrative bodies, and a relatively few individuals. While there are a number of individual spokespeople for national service, these mainly academic and political leaders have been increasingly informed, or inform, through these institutions. As mentioned previously, academic social theoreticians such as Etzioni, Janowitz, and Moskos, have written on national service, but the bulk of the debate on national service and the transition to adulthood has been dominated policy institutions. These include such policy organizations as The National Commission on Resources for Youth, 1974; RAND, 1977; The Kettering Foundation, 1979; The Potomac Institute, 1979; The Arthur Vining Davis Foundations, 1979; and, of course, the Carnegie Corporation, 1979; and the National Commission on Youth, 1980 mentioned previously.[26] Other federal-level institutional research was conducted by the Congressional Research Service, 1977; the Department of Labor, 1979; and the Department of Justice, 1980. Finally, the Gallup organization has involved itself, conducting polls on national service in 1972, 1976, 1979, 1981 and 1988. This amount of activity by policy institutions indicates the extent to which youth have become a policy object beyond their being either a commercial, or scientific one. The implications of this perspective in an historical context have been touched upon by Platt, 1976, McLeod 1983, and Kelt, 1985?.

They have written on the policy inventions of juvenile delinquency and character-building respectively and on the institutions that grew around these issues. Of course, youths as students have long supported a huge educational industry. Their current aggregate condition figures prominently in social planning, both commercial and public, as well. That there is a substantial institutional interest in youth service should not then come as a surprise.

Towards a Critical Mass?: The Pluralistic Dynamics of Youth Service

Proposals for national service have become what The New York Times called, ". . . a hardy legislative perennial.[27] This Congressional-level activity is relatively recent. Five explicit bills for national service were submitted to Congress from 1969 to 1980. Two of these proposals were submitted while national youth service was being considered as an alternative to the draft. Three bills were submitted in the 96th Congress (1979-1980), concurrent with a flurry of public policy institute interest in the issue. The 99th Congress (1985-1986) saw a proposal for a study of national youth service sponsored by Senator Gary Hart and Representative Robert Torricelli. The 100th Congress has seen no less than seven specific bills on national service and some 75 bills containing related youth service provisions.[28] This accelerated movement within Congress is all the more remarkable given the virtual certainty of a Presidential veto. It indicates that active interest in youth service beyond both the executive branch and Congress is being sustained.

Other influential Congresspeople have had an active interest in legislating a youth service effort. In the Senate they include prominant members of the Democratic Leadership Council including Senate majority leader George Mitchell. Other Senators who have sponsored or are currently sponsoring national service legislation include Alan Cranston,

Christopher Dodd, Sam Nunn, Barbara Mikulski, Edward Kennedy, former Senator Paul Tsongas, Pete Domenici, Mark Hatfield, Claiborn Pell, and Dale Bumpers. On the House side, players have included Morris Udall, Robert Torricelli, Leon Panettam, Matthew Martinez, Patricia Schroeder, Gerry Sikorski, John Cavanaugh, and David McCurdy.[29] It is around this Congressional core that a legislative critical mass of national youth service support might yet form. However, there is no indication that their interest and support for youth service in principal will translate into an effective youth service effort in fact.

National youth service has long had its core of supporters in Congress, but they have never had sufficient interest, capability, nor will to mandate a national youth service. It appears that only a significant change in the political economic environment akin to the 1930s' Great Depression would bring about such a legislative impetus.

It is speculative as to what factors were at work to quicken the rate of introduction of these youth service proposals. It could have been an effect of the Presidential election cycle. In a climate of few noble issues this activity may have been attempts at demonstrating positive legislative activism to constituencies. The long-standing recommendations of a number of organizations regarded as enlightened may finally have been taken up in earnest. It is the reading of national youth service as a popular policy and a potential national mobilization device that may have inspired Senator Gary Hart to make its establishment a major feature of his 1984 and 1988 presidential campaigns. The 1988 presidential candidates who favored or were at least warm to national service of some kind included Senators Paul Simon, Albert Gore, and Joseph Biden; as well as Governors Bruce Babbit and Michael Dukakis.[30]

While there is growing interest on behalf of national youth service among some sectors of the policy establishment, there are also groups that are in quiet opposition to one design

aspect or another. Perhaps foremost among organized groups that are unfavorably inclined are the public employee unions or associations, especially those with large memberships of lower echelon workers. They are threatened by even the most generic aspects of youth service. Other wary groups include the military, youth-labor-dependent businesses, and certain church-based organizations both conservatively and liberally inclined. Their interest has ranged from concern over adult labor displacement, to military manpower dilution, to excessive central state intervention in the development of youth service programs. This latter issue includes civil libertarian concerns over involuntary servitude.

Beyond these specific potential organizational centers of resistance, there are other impediments to a broad middle class acceptance. One concerns the judicial treatment of service as a sentencing option which creates an association of community service with that of punishment. A variation on this impediment is the much more long-standing policy tradition of service work being oriented towards low-SES "at risk youth". These targeting programs (CETA, YEDPA, Job Corps, etc.) which proliferated in the 1970s were themselves easy targets of cutbacks and elimination by the Reagan Administration. They lacked a broad constituency among the middle class and were associated with "make work" entitlements for the poor and minorities. Such an association with "at risk youth" would continue to alienate middle class youth. These concerns would have to be responded to with a re-visioning and a broadening of youth service towards universality. Seattle's 1973-74 Program for Local Service (PLS) is cited as a model program that claimed an engagement with a broad socio-economic spectrum. Still, 70 percent of those in PLS were unemployed upon entering the program. Although their unemployment rate fell to 18 percent within 6 months of departure, there was an insufficient constituency to sustain it as a stand-alone operation.[31] It was eventually absorbed into the Washington CETA program

where it went into budgetary-authorization oblivion along with the rest of CETA. It was later reborn in 1983 as the Washington Service Corps, a state effort that has managed to develop strong political support.

From the PLS experience and similar efforts, the implementation of youth service programs can be expected to involve a series of negotiations between interests following the pluralistic paradigm. This is unsurprising since this is an American political norm. However, because of this obligatory practice of having to pass various tests of compatibility with adjacent institutions, youth service must be justified beyond the largely academic concerns over adulthood attainment. There are, after all, considerable impacts upon these other institutions, and of course, upon youths themselves; not to mention the very concept of youth. The designing of any youth service program includes inter-institutional consensus regarding voluntary versus compulsory service, program scale, relationships with associated insitutions, scope, and costs/benefit rationalization. The balance of this chapter will be devoted to a description of these five design issues.

The First Dimension: Voluntary vs. Compulsory Youth Service

The national level legislative effort is set in the context of apparently widespread though still latent public support for a youth service of some sort. However, the actual configuration of a national youth service is still vaguely drawn in the public imagination. There is no strong consensus on any specific youth service design. For instance, the primary focus of the polls has only reached the most nominal levels of program discrimination, dwelling almost exclusively on voluntary vs. compulsory service. Thus this dimension is most frequently associated as the focal point of national youth service debate in the popular media. A 1987 Gallup poll of 1,559 Americans on this issue

indicated support for voluntary service indicated 83 percent support with 55 percent supporting mandatory youth service for men. Only 44 percent supported extending mandatory service to women.[32] This poll also indicated that the age group with the highest ratio of over-all support (87 percent in favor to 6 percent opposed) were the 18-24 year-olds; those who would be the most fully involved in the policy.[33]

A 1982 Gallup poll of 1,500 opinion leaders reported that 80 percent had favored a policy, "requiring all young men to give one year of service to the nation, either in the military forces or in nonmilitary work here and abroad . . ."[34] A 1979 Gallup poll of teenagers (13-18 years old) and young adults (18-24 years old) indicated strong support among both of those groups (71 percent of the teenagers and 77 percent) of the young adults respectively. Their support was specifically in support of a system of voluntary national service.[35]

On the other hand, this high proportion of support among young people for both mandatory and voluntary service has not translated into their actually seeking out the modest service opportunities currently available. VISTA, the federal volunteer coordinating agency, has placed only about 300 youths in service undertakings. Eberly and Sherraden note, ". . . the demand for VISTA Volunteers has always been many times greater than the supply."[36] This is mostly due to a lack of social and economic incentives. In those areas where efforts were made to provide incentives, the response has been mixed to good. The California Conservation Corps, for example, has plateaued at around 2,000 participants even with added incentives. PLS program, on the other hand, had several times more applicants than available positions. Certainly, voluntary youth service programs will have to be sensitive to the larger labor market. Incentives within programs will either have to approach renumerative benefits found in the youth labor market, or offer

educational or other incentives meaningful to youth. Given the unprecedented opportunities available in the late-1980s for youth, the fact that some would opt for service at minimum wage levels is actually quite remarkable. Such findings portend a latent pool of support analogous to that of the 1960s space program, but one that would require a sufficient consensus for mobilization to occur. Whether a fire of "civic passion" is to burst forth from youth themselves seems unlikely despite their occasional participation in media-led social activism. The current generation of youth has not been one of freedom riders, but of concert goers, only indirectly supporting various social causes but not themselves manning any barricades. It is less the cause and more the show that mobilizes most advanced industrial youth. Although Eberly describes service as a right and draws upon George Gallup Jr.'s poll-based assertions that most youth want to serve, this viewpoint does not appear to be realistic.[37] This is backed by Janowitz (1983) who noted, "While surveys indicate considerable popular support . . . it is my assessment that only a minority of eligible youth have attitudes in strong support, while the bulk are relatively indifferent."[38] Given general indicators of political and community participation by youth, this assessment appears to reflect the realities of their altruistic commitment. While there is much romantic idealism associated with youth, most are unwilling to involve themselves in social betterment to the extent of actually volunteering time to service.

It then follows that policy initiative is more a matter of decisiveness from above than of agitation from below. Specific design parameters at the national level are subject to negotiation between Congress, and the public in general; or, more explicitly, between impacted labor and youth interests in particular. For the most part, the concept of civilian youth service itself seems to have been widely accepted as a positive policy option by the public as indicated in the poll data.

It remains very much a challenge among these mainstream voluntary youth service advocates as to how youth service might be structured to approach universality without it becoming compulsory. The problem specifically centers around engaging the middle class. Service by elite youths is common, and current programs target low-SES youth. Middle class youth service is instead done in church or club-based contexts when done at all. Thus the issue of reconciling the preference for universality and voluntariness is difficult. The Potomac Institute's Committee for the Study of National Service in 1979 notes:

> There are grounds for considerable skepticism about the achievement [of broad-based participation in national service] to any reasonable extent through a voluntary scheme, whatever the incentives and sanctions. Why, for example, would youth from wealthy backgrounds with either an open route through professional school or a live of ease choose to spend a year in National Service? Why would youth from families that struggle for economic survival serve for a period of time at subsistence wages? And why would academically gifted youth from all backgrounds interrupt rigorous training in physics or the fine arts for a period of National Service? Parallel questions can also be asked about other subgroups of the general youth population - young women who are homemakers, young apprentices in blue collar trades, youth from minority groups. And yet if all types of young people do not participate, the idea of National Service loses some force.[39]

The concerns expressed by the Committee are well taken, but somewhat overstated for the quote implies that youth service will offer nothing in terms of a return on the investment. Certainly the successful implementation of national service would be fatally flawed without equal access and broad participation approaching universality. Broad incentives would seem to be essential. Indeed, most youth service programs and proposals have provided for either modest monetary or educational incentives. There have even been suggestions of tieing the attainment of the driving privilege to participation in service. This would then create a quasi-compulsory design that would draw most of the middle class

youths in, as well as those from lower and upper-class backgrounds. It could be argued that this would also possibly distort or even displace the citizen transition goal of youth service with a cynical token. An anticipated counter-argument would be that these practices are cynical only if presented cynically. There is no single specific indicator of adulthood attainment, but rather of conglomeration of attainments which include the driving privilege. Other legal, meritocratic, and traditional challenges remain such as securing the right to vote, graduation from high school and/or college, leaving home, sexual initiation, obtaining self-supporting work, clique/cult/gang involvement, drug involvement and the like. But a driver's license is a primary credential toward normative adulthood. It literally liberates the holder from dependence on the state, parents, or previously licensed peers for mid-range mobility. It also constitutes a literal home away from home in and about which the entry-level youth commence experiencing autonomous living. If a youth service program could capture this as an incentive, it would become very powerful indeed.

The human development school recognizes that issues of the self overwhelmingly dominate issues of community among youth. While there is a need for incentives to do service, there is also a need for sensitivity regarding the concentric sequencing of life cycle issues from the community of parental family, peers, partners, work associates etc.. Erikson and other life-cycle theorists have long recognized that the overriding issues of modern youth lie in the quest for identity and intimacy and not in the expression of generalitivity - the psycho-social issue associated with mature adulthood. Because generalitivity is principal personal issue among the prominant youth service advocates, they tend to underplay or ignore the more personal struggles still taking place among the young. Certainly identity and community is only found through consultation with community, but it is regarded as a personal quest by youth. Youth service may ultimately enhance the

opportunities to successfully resolve these issues, but the program must be designed to accomodate them. This would pave the way for an eventual development of a civic consciousness at an earlier developmental stage. The social theorists such as Janowitz and Moskos tend to assume that youth service will automatically act as a kind of "Great Leap Forward" which will create a civic utopia while begging the issues attending the self. The human development schools suggest that youth service must recognize the identity and intimacy issues in order to gain any broad acceptance among youth.

This is not to suggest dispensing with a strong civic and disciplinary content. The AVF did not have to drop bootcamp in order to attract recruits. In fact, bootcamp is often the very test that many recruits seek from the military. It is very much the psycho-social moratorium that Erikson alludes to as a a developmental strategy among youth. After bootcamp, recruits could reasonably choose their areas of specialty. Recruits are transformed into soldiers, sailors and airmen, but their lives as individuals continue, albeit with strong institutional intrusion. Even with this intrusion, military life allows for individuals to continue with their remaining developmental quests. Youth service would certainly not carry the structural constraints on individual expression found in the military. A voluntary youth service which carries certain compulsory components should not disuade significant numbers of youth from joining and florishing as individuals.

The Second Dimension: The Scale of Youth Service Efforts

This dimension defines service programs by their size. It includes federal, state, local, and non-governmental efforts at establishing youth service. The youth service movement has gone through much change at this level. A description of the size aspect of possible programs is very important as it impacts the other dimensions considerably.

The "official" scale of youth service programs at the federal level was essentially set by the Congressional Budget Office in its 1978 study of national youth service. It broke service scale options down into three types; small targeted national service, broad-based voluntary national service, and broad-based mandatory service.[40]

The "small, targeted national service" was described as involving 200,000 jobless and disadvantaged youth 16-20 years old from a pool of an estimated 800,000 eligible. This would seem to indicate an expansion of the Job Corps model with no direct impact upon middle class youth. In this sense it would probably be better described as a large-scale jobs program than a program of national service as normatively defined.

"Broad-based voluntary national service," was estimated to draw some 1.6 million youth between the ages of 16 and 20 assuming compensation at minimum wage. Questions regarding program initiation with such a large number of volunteers and recruiting issues were left unanswered in the study. Also left unanswered was again the broadness of representation by socio-economic status, particularly if participants were given strictly monetary compensation.

"Broad-based mandatory national service" was described as involving some 4 million youths annually, 3.5 million of which would be in nonmilitary programs. This model received the most attention, particularly from critics who found its $24 billion price tag as reason enough to reject it. It was also the model which would have had the most resistance among the young themselves who, while personally not rejecting undertaking service, would insist upon being given a choice in the matter.

For most Congresspeople this study defined the issue for many years afterwards. Given its over-simple presentation, it is little wonder that the national service debate of the late-1970s got little further than the previous swells of interest. The issues of

administrative structure and policy application (what youth service participants would actually do) was consistently under-addressed by Congress. This was, in part, because the instrument of policy formation and appraisal (the federal government) seemed to be too large and unwieldy for the task.

While national service has moved only very slowly towards a critical mass of consensus among policy makers at the national level, the 1980s have seen a more substantive advance of youth service at the state and local levels. State and local level participation has increased over the past decade, though in the actual establishment and running of programs they are still miniscule given the grander vision of youth service advocates. Those states and municipalities that have developed specifically full-time youth service programs, include California, Marin County, Massachusets, Minnesota, New York City, and Pennsylvania. These state and local programs have averaged, in toto, fewer than 7,000 participants in each of the past four years.[41] These numbers indicate the extent to which there is a gap between the rhetoric of youth service as a public good and the practice of altruism by the young at the local, state, and national levels.

The dominant institutions of youth service have been and continue to be the non-profit youth organizations centered around religious or civic organizations, often national in scope. Examples of these are found in The National Commission on Resources for Youth's publication, New Roles for Youth in the School and the Community, 1974. The Commission was established specifically as a response to the ". . . difficulty young people find today in making the transition from adolescence to constructive adult life."[42] It described several examples of these small-scale efforts for and by youth. Though somewhat dated, the Commission's compendium of various service activities by youth indicate movement beyond those formally instituted within the public sector. The book

initially categorizes the organizations by the role assigned to youth participants. They identify organizations that identify youth as curriculum builders, teachers, community manpower, entrepreneurs, community problem solvers, communicators, and resources for other youth. These programs' capabilities, while broad-ranging, were fairly limited because of their modest funding and their generally narrow focus. Many of the efforts listed in the Commission's work were demonstration projects that were not sustained for budgetary reasons or because of waning interest. They were, however, considered effective and their ad hoc nature in no way diminished their effectiveness according to the Commission. In fact, a short institutional life-span was characterized as a positive attribute and not a drawback. In the words of Ralph Tyler, Chairman of the National Commission on Resources for Youth:

> As today's young people become adults, younger ones become adolescents. Each new group of youth will wish to initiate new projects or create others in new forms. A program that continues unchanged for some years is likely to have lost the interest of the current group and also its vitality. New ideas emerge and new energy creates new projects.[43]

This should not be interpreted as a statement of the Commission's satisfaction with the status quo. They were quite aware that the opportunities for youth to be involved in any of these broad areas of endeavor were miniscule. There are simply not enough organized projects around. An effective means of generalizing the successful elements of these projects to similar environments elsewhere has not been found. With the demise of the National Commission on Resources for Youth, no other similar youth policy organizations outside of the educational spheres seem to have taken up this work. What the commission did contribute as a legacy to the debate on youth service and the transition to adulthood were considerations of program flexibility and effectiveness derived from their small-scale.

The main appeal of this approach is that the clarity of purpose and the appropriateness of service undertakings is enhanced. Their very smallness acts to compel the project organizers to be good (efficient, caring of the constituency, sensitive to the larger community), or fail. This works as a remedy to the problem of institutional fossilization.

The thirty-two small programs highlighted in New Roles for Youth in the School and the Community; the Commission's only major publication, provides a model well worth considering in the design of youth service. Morris Janowitz, though never himself citing the work of the National Commission on Youth, observed:

> . . . negative attitudes toward national service reflect the resistance of young people to large-scale organizations - to the inefficiencies and arbitrariness of such institutions, especially remote federal agencies, and to the mistrust that bureaucracies develop. Advocates of national service are well aware of this issue and have sought defensive strategies. If one examines literature prepared after 1975 on forms of national service, one finds the phrase *community service* given strong emphasis, and for two important reasons. First it needs to be recognized that particular projects can be organized and monitored by private sector groups, in particular by not-for-profit organizations. Second, national service programs can be community oriented rather than organized on a national basis, and as a result can be of small scale and limited scope. Both dimensions are designed to overcome the resistance of young people to participation in massive projects.[44]

Janowitz's points have merit, but the quality of involvement issue, for example, is still problematic. Small-scale projects may unintentionally create exclusiveness and cliquishness. A universal youth service made up entirely of small-scale programs would also be unrealistic with coordination, consistency, and evaluative standards probably unmanageable. On the other hand, a centralized youth service administration is still

unlikely for the reasons Janowitz cites as well as others. This scale dimension of youth service is an important design consideration to be evaluated more fully in the next chapter.

The Third Dimension: Institutional Sponsorship

The third dimension is the most important in terms of the ultimate flavor of a youth service policy. It is also most difficult to negotiate in terms of inter-institutional politics. In its most basic form it is presented in terms of an institutional sponsorship debate derived from historical political factors. It is the story of migration away from, then towards, then away from again, the military; towards Great Society federalism; to an association with employment policy, and then towards a claim as educational reform. Most recently, it is finding sanctuary in the emerging communitarian themes of civic consciousness building. Where youth service in the United States was originally couched in terms of a stand-alone agency within the federal post-New Deal pantheon, history has matured the vision to conform with the realities of inter-institutional politics.

Starting in the mid-1970s and especially since 1980, most youth service proposals have sought alternative administrative sponsorship with a more limited federal role. This reflects the revolution of lowered expectations towards the federal government that have characterized the post-Vietnam era in the United States. Because of the reorientation away from a centralized approach to social policy, a large set of very political questions have arisen concerning the optimal alternatives to federal administrative sponsorship. It is over the resolution of this question that youth service advocates have been puzzling over for the bulk of the 1980s. There are a huge range of options broadly categorized in a menu consisting of civil federal (especially Department of Labor), military, school, private sector, or voluntary sector lines. Each institutional candidate has had a set of advocates which

have often competed with each other to present their respective agenda to policy makers. While they have shared a common commitment to developing a youth service, each set has defined the problem and the remedy differently. Danzig and Szanton in their categorization scheme considered this sponsorship element. Their four models are based on a school-based service, a military draft-based service, an expansion of existing voluntary service programs or the creation of a stand-alone youth service entity.[45] School and draft-based service have historically been prominent and they still have properties that might prevail under certain conditions. These two options in particular share the advantages of having large-scale institutional backing. Another federal-level sponsor is the Department of Labor which has a long association with youth training and employment programs. It is to a description of the rational behind these possible sponsorship options that this section now turns.

School-based service is essentially the default institutional sponsor for youth service. Many influential youth service advocates seek to create programs through secondary school or university sponsorship. They envision school-based service as embodying the most salient goals of service at the least costly administrative price. School-based service would also appear to follow the path of least political resistance. A 1978 Gallup poll of the public-at-large reported that seven out of eight favored a credited community service option in high school at the junior and senior levels. There was no significant difference between respondents whose children were in private school, public school, or those with no children in school.[46]

The message has reached school administrators and, to a growing extent, schools are moving in the direction of service-oriented curricula albeit in an ad hoc manner. Danzig and Szanton, 1986, estimate that, ". . . one in every ten U.S. high schools and some entire

school systems offer credit on an optional basis, for service or for classroom reports or other projects related to service."[47] The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching in a 1987 report on high school service jobs noted that of the 5,500 principals responding to their survey, 70 percent reported that their schools offered community service. 80 percent of those responding positively also reported that, "the service was voluntary - not tied to course work or graduation requirements."[48]

Some school-based service programs are more intrusive. School districts in Atlanta and Detroit require service. In the Atlanta Community Service Program students must complete 75 hours of unpaid community service between 9th and 12th grades in order to graduate. The work is done outside of normal school hours and in school board approved social service agencies. Students must write a paper on the experience and are given credit for a full semester course upon successfully completing the program.[49] In Detroit, the schools require two hundred hours of off-campus experience between 9th and 12th grades. This experience includes work for pay but, according to Boyer, 1983, many students in the upper grades meet the requirements through service activities. The range of service activities done by students is large and includes tutoring, reading to the disabled, and assisting the elderly in such tasks as cooking and yard work. Boyer also mentions individual school programs such as that of South Brunswick High School in New Jersey which is a suburban middle class community. Since 1973 all of its 10,000 students have had either career or a service experience requirement. It is performed off-campus one school-day a week.[50] The Los Angeles school system is considering a similar required service component.[51] Experienced-based career education (EBCE), heavily promoted by the National Institute of Education throughout the United States, has many of its 20,000 students placed in service agencies. For instance, forty-two of sixty-three sites in an EBCE

student internship program in Salt Lake City were in public service agencies.[52] These internships were student-designed which indicated that they had a high level of student initiative and engagement. This school-led design is typical of the several models of "service learning" in the United States.

Support for many of these efforts ended when the Reagan Administration cut out funding for the National Center for Service Learning section of ACTION.[53] Most of the small-scale school-based projects mentioned by the National Commission of Resources for Youth, 1974, are no longer in existence.[54] Generally these programs were small-scale, ad hoc and limited to interested students. They did represent a credible model for school-based service appropriate to the prevailing structure of secondary education in the United States. In contrast, there is the universal service learning model which has been promoted recently by Ernest Boyer and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching following the lines of the Atlanta and Detroit programs mentioned previously.[55]

The appeal of school-based service for many is that there is a kind of symbiotic economy in integrating service activities with education. Schools provide an established institutional structure already oriented towards youth while the service activities infuse schools with a pedagogy of greater relevancy to the students. The familiar administrative and established infrastructure base makes the policy much more politically palatable. Schools also benefit politically as service learning is often presented as innovative educational reform. The costs of administering service learning programs are also probably cheaper than that of a conventional national youth service. Danzig and Szanton (1986) estimate that a large-scale high school based national service system would be over three times cheaper to run than an out-of-school system.[56]

Post-secondary support for service is also showing some movement. In 1985 the Campus Compact, the Project for Public and Community Service was proclaimed by co-chairmen President Timothy Healy of Georgetown University, President Donald Kennedy of Stanford University, President Howard Swearer of Brown University, and Frank Newman, President of the Educational Commission of the States.[57] Also in 1985, a Yale (now Minnesota) based student-led organization, the Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL) was formed.[58] COOL has networked out to several other campuses establishing and coordinating student service activities. It also produces a newsletter distributed through its various campus chapters. These organizations reflect strong interest among the academic community in service to a degree over and beyond that nominally provided by some fraternities, sororities, and religiously-based campus organizations.

At the post-secondary level, service learning is sometimes confused with a larger parallel movement emphasizing practicum through internship and cooperative education programs of all types. According to Lisa S. Hulse, the editor of a guide to internship programs in the U.S., there were 15,000 internship opportunities in various organizations in 1978 while in 1987 there were 38,000.[59] The Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education (WICHE) conducted a study of internship programs in thirteen western states in 1981. They found that there were a total of 593 internship programs located in 182 institutions of higher education in 1980. Of the 2,500,000 students enrolled in these institutions, 71,000 of them or 2.5 percent of the entire student population in these institutions were in some kind of internship program.[60] Participation rates among surveyed states varied widely. Of the thirteen states surveyed, Hawaii involved the highest percentage of its students in internship programs (nearly 8 percent) and Alaska the lowest (well under 1 percent).[61]

Cooperative education programs, essentially technical/vocational apprenticeships, have similarly been on the rise. The appeal comes from the recognition by university youth of a tightened professional labor market indicated by this cooperative education announcement:

> When you graduate you will be among 1 million graduates nationally competing for jobs. Nowadays a college degree is not enough to get you that job you want. Employers desire experience.[62]

Therein lies the crucial difference between conventional youth service and internships/cooperative education. The emphasis within these internship and cooperative education programs is sometimes narrowly focussed on professional or technical skills acquisition and not service per se. The overriding appeal of internships and cooperative education among those who undertake them seems more pecuniary than public-spirited. To Janowitz and others these kinds of programs violate a fundamental goal of youth service which is the promotion of a mature civic consciousness. This is the primary distinction between internships and service learning. There is thus a fretfulness and suspicion on the part of mainstream youth service advocates over the ultimate commitment and effectiveness of educational administrators in maintaining a credible service component. It thus is doubtful that strictly service oriented activities could survive an association in what amounts to a career training effort. There is also doubt over how a school-based service could act as a transition-to-adulthood vehicle. Danzig and Szanton note that school-based service "generally would be too short, too easy, too intermittent, and too distant from public view to be thought of as trials of strength or courage or as high challenges publicly met."[63] The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, an organization clearly tied to the educational establishment, also concluded that an autonomous entity would more effectively administer youth service programs.[64]

All major youth service advocates do however agree that youth service would have an intrinsic educational value that should be credited to the participants. Many feel that youth service programs should have formal educational components built into them. These include driver's education, health education, and whatever remedial education participants may need. They also suggest that the skills learned during the course of the service experience should be credited at either the secondary or post-secondary levels. Towards this end most youth service advocates, particularly those who favor voluntary service, have sought to create educational incentives for participants. Some see this incentive as sufficient to insure program success. Eberly, as far back as 1966, pushed for a post-service educational benefits package modelled on the GI Bill.[65] The Carnegie Council on Higher Education recommended the establishment of a "National Education Fund". The fund would be derived from voluntary savings by participants matched by the federal government and further supplemented by employers, parents and other employed persons up to age 55.[66] This probably would be a big incentive to middle class youth faced with the now widely acknowledged likelihood of tuition costs rising beyond their family's means.

There are problems with these various educational incentive plans particularly concerning the inevitable questions over the extent of influence educational institutions involved in their administration should have on them. To a large extent these concerns are glossed over or met with solemn vows not to have the educational establishment capture or otherwise unduly influence the service programs. Yet the problem is real because the prevailing thinking among education policy makers still presumes higher education as a middle-class entitlement. The College Work Study Program (CWSP) was initially a program to put students to work in service to the poor. Instead, according to Eberly

(1986), ". . . the program was captured by the colleges with the result that in no time in its twenty-year history has there been a record of more than 15 percent of CWSP students serving off-campus."[67] This experience indicates that a national youth service program with educational incentives will have to defer to this institutional interest on matters regarding how service credits are to be defined. It will also have to consult on which activities constitute educational experiences and how many credits may be deemed acceptable within a course of study. This, in turn, would feed back and affect the choices the participants would then make concerning the type and degree of service they enter into.

The consensus remains strong among the mainstream youth service advocates such as Eberly, Janowitz, Moskos, and the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps (NASCC) that the educational establishment does have some place in youth service. But they do not necessarily see its institutions as the best administrative agent for service programs. There is concern over whether educational institutions might reproduce some of the very hindrances to adulthood attainment that youth service seeks to remedy. They largely agree that national youth service should be oriented towards education but not become a subordinate to educational institutions. The issue of administrative capture is important enough to more fully explore as a component of policy design, and will be taken up again in later chapters.

Draft-based service, as presented by Danzig and Szanton, is much more controversial but has, since the establishment of the All Volunteer Forces (AVF), faded from public debate. Therefore, one cannot dismiss a draft-based system from all consideration. Criticisms of the AVF continue and the ongoing compulsory registration of all 18 year-old males testifies to a lack of confidence in it in the event of a large-scale crisis that would involve military mobilization. The military draft thus remains as an option, but it is one

which might actually need an association with alternative civilian service to ever become viable again. This said, the role of youth service under a military draft might still operate more as an adjunct to the military than as a bona fide program unto itself. It should be emphasized that only the contingency of a serious and persistent global emergency would legitimate the reintroduction of the draft. A persistent domestic emergency, on the other hand, would enhance the probability for the establishment of a more purely civilian youth service.

To a great extent, military draft-based service as popularly conceived is more an historical artifact than a presently viable administrative option. But this is still an important design to consider for its impact on national service both historically and presently. Military service as a means to validate citizenship still has an influence on the national service debate in the post-Vietnam era, and is spoken at the policy level through the voices of the military sociologists, Janowitz and Moskos. Their interest in national service as augmenting and popularizing service as a passage to citizenship is long-standing and prominent in the literature. Their writings have gone beyond the narrow context involving the transformation of national service that took place from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s mentioned above, to the more long running themes present throughout American history.

The prototypical draft-based service design of the 1980s is strongly associated with the compulsory military service debates of the Vietnam era. At that time there was much criticism over the system, particularly over its fairness. By the mid-1960s this debate produced suggestions for liberalizing and expanding alternative civilian service work along the lines of the already established for conscientious objectors. These suggestions ran the political spectrum from the conservative insistence that as many young as possible serve the nation to the liberal demand for equal opportunity. Many of these suggestions made their

way into policy channels and became institutionalized as the Peace Corps, Teacher Corps, and VISTA. Essentially a lot of Jamesian notions came forth at this time, modified to accommodate the then existing military manpower needs. Representative of this line was Eberly's 1966 national service model. It was based on providing universal opportunity for service within a military or civilian service track with deference to any military claims to manpower needs. His draft-based model persisted for many years as a policy outline and was finally submitted to Congress under the sponsorship of Republican Paul McCloskey in 1979.[68] Janowitz also formulated a draft-based service formula with the more specific intent of making the military services more representative. He presented his plan at the University of Chicago Conference on Conscription held in 1966.[69] The Janowitz plan would have privileged a military draft lottery over the civilian service option by exposing all non-military volunteers and non-conscientious objectors to the draft to better meet this representativeness criteria.[70]

It is important to note that these two proposals presented national service as an option within the context of a military draft but did not in any way suggest its administration through the military. The Department of Defense was not at all interested in taking on this role. It was, in fact, very cool towards a civilian youth service since it could clearly draw too many otherwise eligible young people from its ranks. They were also both voluntary programs but set within the forced-choice context of the military draft. This was as oppossed to the Edward Hall plan that would have made national service compulsory, though again without being administered through the military. He felt that without,"the element of compulsion, those who would benefit the most from the program would be the least likely to be involved."[71] While sound in its guarantee of universality, it did not gather much support compared to the voluntaristic plans of Janowitz and Eberly.

The debate over alternative civilian service continued through the Vietnam era, but lost momentum in 1973 with the ending of the draft and the beginning of disengagement from that conflict. With the passing of compulsory military service, two lines of thought developed among national service advocates regarding the relationship between national service with the military. The educational establishment, and the interested non-DoD-oriented public policy think tanks embraced voluntary youth service with relatively little real concern over the impact upon the military. Janowitz and Moskos however, felt that the condition of the military under the AVF format would deteriorate to such an extent as to justify quasi-compulsory service programs if only to keep the military representative. Eberly indicated skepticism about the effectiveness of the AVF as well.[72] Janowitz was inclined to support a service option that allowed for individual choice of either civilian or military service with little differentiation between the two programs. He pointed to a 1977 Gallup poll that indicated that 40 percent of youth would choose military service under a compulsory civilian or military option set. This reinforced his belief that national service would produce a more representative and effective military as well as civilian community. Moskos, however, referred to a 1979 Gallup poll which indicated that those likely to volunteer would be twice as likely to go for the civilian option. More significantly, youth from the upper half of the income distribution would be inclined to choose civilian service over military service by a ten-to-one ratio.[73] It was then unlikely that the simple availability of a civilian service alternative would help make the military more representative. This divergence aside, Janowitz and Moskos consistently maintained a concern for military representativeness within and without the context of civilian youth service. This is reflected in their concern, first over the fate of the citizen soldier, and then to a more generalized concern over the fate of citizenship itself. This concern was the

primary thesis of The Reconstruction of Patriotism, in which Janowitz castigated the AVF and noted the long decline of institutions of civic education. He reiterated his long-held support for national service as a means to reverse this trend. He conceded that an obligatory national service was unfeasible noting, in a somewhat sour-grapes tone, that, ". . . it would not take many deviants to wreck or severely strain a program."[74] He continued to press for the development of a large-scale national service as an essential instrument for the promotion of civic consciousness in the tradition of the colonial militias and, to a lesser extent, the draft and the national guard. In testimony before the Senate Armed Services Subcommittee on Manpower and Personnel, Janowitz elaborated:

> We have, in our society, a unique system by which democratic institutions have been strengthened by the fact we have made service in the military compatible with political leadership and with citizenship. The hallmark of a democratic society is to serve in the military. That is one of the training grounds for a civil society in which the military knows its place, and I would like to keep that alive, but that has come to an end and there is no way of turning it back superficially. We are in a situation where we must keep alive the concept of the citizen-soldier in a great variety of ways and voluntary national service is the modern equivalent in such a circumstance.[75]

To Janowitz it was in the creation of a common experience of discipline, struggle, and even suffering across an otherwise disconnected and alienating social milieu that would make youth service, civilian or military, essential for the promotion of civic consciousness. In this he clearly restates the early themes of James. These themes are found as well in Coleman, Eberly, Etzioni, Moskos (with some criticisms as well), and virtually all contemporary youth service advocates. This common acknowledgement of the need for a rite of passage to citizenship reconciles the two lines of thought that had developed with the

end of the military draft.[76] They both sought, through an institutionalization of this rite, an end to the post-Vietnam breakdown of civic consensus that has beset American society. Moskos (1988) continues this line of concern over the deterioration of mass civic consciousness in his own writings in which he also down played any call for draft-based service as popularly conceived.[77] His plan would, instead, make federal support for higher education contingent upon participation in national service. Danzig and Szanton, 1986 note support for this approach beyond Moskos, but criticize it as having the effect of hindering low SES students' access to higher education.[78] This still is a relatively moderate suggestion compared to an earlier proposal, made with the collaboration of Janowitz, to make prior participation in military or civilian service a prerequisite for federal employment.[79] There is then still a latent element of advocacy for the military model of citizenship building although draft-based service designs, as originally envisioned in the mid-1960s, are no longer seriously pursued.

As the Post-Vietnam aversion to a large military lingers on, a draft-based service remains an unlikely option. This applies to the draft-based model presented by Danzig and Szanton (1986). A unique feature of their plan is the option of allowing military draftees to enter civilian youth service after receiving notification of induction into the armed forces. While rather elegant, it is unprecedented in the literature of national youth service. The Department of Defense would probably be negatively impacted by such a system despite Danzig and Szanton's assertions that it would benefit it in the long-term. Danzig and Szanton also speculate that manpower supply in the late 1980s and early 1990s might spur the reintroduction of a peacetime draft. The chances of a manpower shortage in and of itself bringing the draft back seems, at present, very dim indeed. An extraordinary set of conditions such as a global economic and political crisis would probably have to come to

pass for such a return to occur. Even under national stress, there would be resistance to a general military mobilization unless both an external threat clearly justified such an action, and the AVF, for whatever reasons, was widely perceived to be unequal to deal with it. Over the short term, it seems more probable that an economic rather than a military crisis may visit the United States. If this were to occur, enlistments by otherwise unemployed young people would presumably swell the ranks of the military. This scenario suggests something akin to the Great Depression of the 1930s which would perhaps also invoke the response of recreating another Civilian Conservation Corps.[80] However, even in that period of severe economic crisis, the CCC, while it had some military participation at some of the camps, was a voluntary program administered through the Department of Labor. In fact, it was the large-scale military mobilization of World War II that killed the original CCC. Draft-based military-administered service, voluntary or compulsory, is then among the least likely of all administrative sponsorship options considered here. It must also quickly be added that all national youth service designs tend to include a military option. The Department of Defense, by virtue of its dependence upon youth enlistments, is the largest and most sensitive of the federal institutional interests to any significant program of civilian youth service. For now, any design that ignores or impinges too heavily upon the military manpower pool would be too firmly opposed by the defense community to ever be adopted as a policy. This fact of life of pluralism comes into play throughout the sponsorship discussion.

Between school-based service and draft-based service there are other emerging modes of institutional association. There is interest within labor-oriented agencies and Congressional committees regarding youth service. They see it as a means to effect greater "human resource development and allocation", a current buzz phrase among involved

Washington, D.C. policy makers. This approach would put national service under the auspices of either ACTION, the Department of Health and Human Services, the Department of the Interior, the Department of Labor, or a combination of them.

ACTION barely survived the Reagan Administration and might be given a new institutional lease on life by capturing administrative control of youth service. Its advantages include already being in place with a clear public service mandate, administering the service prototypes of the Peace Corps and VISTA. But, as with most government institutions, it is difficult to forecast how this agency will be treated from one administration to another. A national youth service would act to stabilize the agency by equipping it with a high profile, signature undertaking of civic service that it has thus far lacked. While difficult to predict, it seems likely that the privatization trend in the provision of social services might also relegate ACTION to the role of arbiter over which group receives control over what it originally ran. It might also, under a suitable mandate or a vigorous leader, be reinvigorated and charged with an expanded mission of involvement in youth policies. Given federal funding for youth service, some form of regulatory oversight would have to be retained over recipient programs. Even with significant privatization of social policy, any large-scale private or voluntary sector youth service program operating without federal fiscal support seems very unlikely. It thus appears that a funding oversight, and policy enforcement function could be the role of ACTION.

The Department of Health and Human Services would have been the sponsoring vehicle for youth service under The Voluntary National Youth Service Act introduced to the 99th Congress January 31, 1985.[81] The bill failed in committee, but does indicate another sponsorship option for youth service. Its mission, parallels ACTION, but like ACTION, was stripped of all but its more essential social caring features during the course of the

Reagan years. Like ACTION it could serve as a credible agent for youth service programs. Unlike ACTION, however, it is a much larger and comprehensive entity. Youth service under DHHS might be lost under its larger agenda.

The Youth Conservation Corps during its short ten-year existence (1970-1981), provides a multiple sponsor administrative model for consideration. Funds for the YCC were distributed fairly evenly between the U.S. Forest Service (Department of Agriculture), the Department of the Interior, and individual states. The states contributed 20 percent to their individual program's costs. The triparté arrangement worked well according to Moskos.[82] While participants were drawn disproportionately from the lower socio-economic sectors, volunteers from all social classes were well represented. At its peak, the YCC engaged nearly 30,000 youths a year in conservation efforts. A University of Michigan study reported that 91 percent of participants felt the program was worthwhile, with 65 percent describing it as one of the most satisfying experiences they had ever had.[83] The YCC's short life span was not because of mismanagement, but was instead the result of doctrinaire cuts by the Reagan administration. In 1982, the YCC was operating with a sixth of its 1980 budget and by 1984 had a total of 6,000 youth participants, down from a 1980 peak of 30,000.[84] More will be said regarding the administrative structure of the YCC in a later chapter. For now it is enough to present it as a model for shared sponsorship following the 1980s decentralization trend.

The criticisms of a youth service design along the lines of the YCC concern its being a largely summer program, its exclusive focus on conservation work, and its very low profile which worked to hasten its demise in the face of federal budget cuts.[85] It had the lowest attrition rate of any national service program on record (one in nine) and operated at a low cost ($2,000 per participant). These facts didn't help its survival because its work

was remote and generally kept out of the public eye. Despite the relatively large number of participants, the numbers were still miniscule when placed within a national context. Again, a greater middle class youth involvement would have given the program greater public visibility. These criticisms of the YCC don't dismiss it as a significant inter-agency/state administrative model for youth service. If anything, this model encourages broadening the array of service niches for youth. This could be done by mandating a youth service module within several serving agencies. Dividing administrative duties among the various federal and state agencies might be unwieldy and would almost certainly bring complaints by those agencies less interested in undertaking such a role. However, this approach would also act against any one interest from claiming suzerainty over all of youth service. It might also create a market mechanism by which agencies might compete for the supply of youth, forcing the expansion of incentives to them. This might attract more middle-class youth.

The Department of Labor has administered numerous youth-oriented training programs. These include the original CCC, the Job Corps, the Comprehensive Employment Training Act (CETA), the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA), and the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). It is thus well-positioned to stake a claim on any youth-to-adulthood policy that would define full-time work as an equivalent to adult status. An impediment to this role is its now long-standing orientation towards at-risk youth and jobs training.

As mentioned previously, there might be problems with the DoL as a full administrative sponsor since most middle class youth have been both discouraged from and reluctant to participate in programs associated with low-SES at-risk youth. Any agency within the DoL that would oversee the program would be obliged to shift its orientation towards middle

class youth. This is not without precedent. The California Conservation Corps changed its orientation away from focussing on at-risk youth to targeting those seeking a challenge in the latter 1980s.[86]

A Labor Department-based administration would also be institutionally prone to attempts at associating bona fide youth service with neo-apprenticeship. This would too narrowly focus service activities on skills acquisition and would create problems similar to those concerning the confusion of service with internship programs. Of course, service towards citizenship attainment and job skills acquisition are hardly mutually exclusive, but the creation of a program that emphasizes the latter would diminish the effectiveness of the former. Participants would be motivated less by altruistic sentiment, and more to perform with an eye on improving their personal career agenda. Because of this potential conflict of program orientation and emphasis, and the problem of middle class youth acceptability, the Department of Labor as an exclusive sponsor of youth service seems unlikely. An interested and aggressive Secretary of Labor might conceivably get a piece of the youth service action. However, it seems clear that its own institutional relationships with industry and a work-oriented agenda would conflict with the communitarian norms associated with youth service. Like the DoD, the DoL's core bureaucratic interests would have difficulty reconciling a youth service program. The DoL would still probably retain proprietary rights over job training programs. This might help sharpen the citizenship passage aspects of youth service by keeping job training as a discrete set of programs. It could also help to relieve the confusion of some policy makers who have associated youth service with costly job training efforts of the 1960s and 1970s.

The administrative vehicles of school districts, the DoD, ACTION, Interior Department, the DoL, or stand-alone, hardly make a comprehensive list of options for

youth service. With the possible exception of school-based service, they all presume at least some federal guidance. The now firmly established trend, however, is for the delegation of the provision of social services to the private or voluntary sector. There are almost infinite administrative permutations under this pattern, but, presuming federal funding for the programs, they would all be accountable in some way to a federal-level agency. Nonetheless, as mentioned in the scale-dimension, the appropriateness, flexibility and sensitivity of small-scale programs to the highly differentiated communities of youth in the United States lend a popular appeal to this approach. It also transforms the administrative sponsorship issue to one of pluralistic negotiation between groups interested in and organized around youth. Under this highly diffuse and market oriented approach, a YMCA might administer a service program to a middle-class community, a modified Boy's Club to a lower-class area, and a 4-H to a rural one. The caveat here is in redefining the orientations of these programs from ones that are less activities for youth and more service by youth. The coordinating authority for this design might be ACTION or a similar agency established at the state level. This approach amounts to something akin to the "thousand points of light" image offered by President Bush during his 1988 campaign.

It might seem that the goals of a youth service program would largely determine its administrative sponsor. The goals, however, are not necessarily self-evident to all of the players. While a program could possibly exist under any of the sponsors mentioned above, it begs the question of their understanding or even interest in the linkage between service and adult citizenship. There is also the question of what it is that constitutes service within the context of youth service policy. This question leads to a description of the next dimension, the scope of national service.

The Fourth Dimension: The Scope of Youth Service Programs

Simply put, this dimension defines the range of service tasks that youth might legitimately undertake. The question of legitimacy of service activities makes this dimension at least as politically laden as those that have preceded it. Determining this range is difficult given the political ecology of public service institutions. Specifically, advanced industrial society has created a number of bureaucratic fiefdoms into which youth service programs might impinge. A number of these service fiefdoms have been extant since the Great Society era. Their activities were first associated with alternative civilian service for conscientious objectors, and later with the Peace Corps and VISTA.[87] In the 1970s there was growing disenchantment with federally-led social policy. At the same time there was a rising concern with environmental matters and with the effectiveness of American public education. This led to a broadening of the scope of legitimate youth service to include conservation work, and school-based service at the state and local levels. The 1980s has seen a modification of youth service tasks to include community-centered work contracted through voluntary service organizations. Even with these influences, there are still powerful and long-standing institutional constraints upon how legitimate youth service is constituted. These constraints are essentially political-economic in nature, leading youth service to compete for both budget and mission with other established efforts.

A key factor that has worked to guide the mainstream youth service consensus involves the recognition of the interests of adult workers who would certainly oppose a youth service that competed with them for jobs. This was spelled out early on in the national service debate in no uncertain terms by Jacob Clayman, a representative of the AFL-CIO at the 1966 National Service Conference held in Washington, D.C..[88] The AFL-CIO did not

come down in absolute opposition to youth service, but only sought to protect its turf by opposing any program that threatened the jobs of American workers.

Much more opposition could be expected from public employee associations and unions, especially if service programs encompassed the width and breadth of public service. Lower echelon public employees would be the groups put most at-risk by youth service defined along these lines. Their entrenched positions and relative proximity to policy makers at all levels make it unlikely for youth service to be practiced in the areas of public service currently provided by public agencies. The scope of allowable youth service undertakings is then constrained by a full range of federal, state and local government interests that already claim to provide many of the services that youth might fill.

Sensitivity to union and public employee concerns has had a fundamental effect on the design of youth service. Virtually all service proposals have declared or implied that no youth service participants would replace paid workers, and that no more than minimum wage would be paid to any participants.[89] What service undertakings available to youth in the established fields of service would be confined to those areas where there has been a chronic lack of help and/or high turnover.

Janowitz implied that this might be a net plus for youth service participants since relegation to the more neglected areas of social caring would certainly create the kind of challenges that would make for a rite of passage to citizenship as envisioned by James. He suggested that youths would probably be more effective in certain social service agency roles normally staffed by civil servants. He felt that they might perform many of these tasks better given their idealism and vigor and lack of accumulated annoyances and frustrations carried by many if not most careerists.[90] This would strengthen the rite of passage aspects of service by involving youth in stressful work that would be a test of their

spirit beyond anything a sports endeavor might provide. This application of James' approach would place youth in established front-line social care agencies such as homeless shelters, drug-treatment and rape-crisis centers. They would not, of course, supplant professionals, but would act as basic support (reception, kitchen work, record keeping, message running, etc.).

Given the realities of prevailing organizational politics, the probability of such a broad scope of service niches actually becoming available may seem remote even in the less desirable areas of civil service. This is especially so in the initial stages of any given youth service program. Perhaps a crisis scenario brought on by attempts to bring down the federal deficit would force government employee staffing cuts. This might provide opportunities for youth service participants to be brought in through the back door to positions officially abandoned under Gramm-Ruddman-Hollings or any subsequent deficit reduction decree. Interestingly, a sustained economic boom might also have the effect of creating severe shortages in the public sector where pay levels have traditionally lagged behind those offered for similar private-sector work. In this case, barring other solutions such as immigration reform or technological innovation, youth service might gain entry into orthodox public service.

The level of the social caring at the federal level was at its nadir in the Reagan era. However, a new species of youth service has broken through the scorched earth left by that administration nourished at the state and local levels. Existing membership in state and local youth service corps now far exceeds the number of volunteers serving in federal programs.[91] Many of these youth service corps were originally organized around environmental conservation, and still emphasize this in their literature, but there is sentiment to broaden their missions by most of the mainstream youth service advocates.[92]

The federal government's near abandonment of service provision to the underprivileged will probably have the effect of both broadening the range of and deepening the demand for youth service programs in the 1990s. State, local, and voluntary sector youth service programs could now be created or expanded into such diverse activities as recreational supervision, community security, relief work, or even charitable fund raising.

Youth service managed through the voluntary sector might manifest the broadest scope of activities, but would be difficult to manage. Service would be more attractive to participants who would have a fuller menu of choices, and the costs of administration might be lessened, but the costs of program regulation would probably be substantial. There is also a much greater likelihood that status disparities between service activities would become an issue. These inequalities would be difficult to resolve due to the very diverse unstandardized structure which is characteristic of this sector.

The mainstream advocates have suggested involvement in fields that have already been responded to by existing public or voluntary organizations. Their basic menu of service fields include resource conservation, catastrophe relief, day care, remedial education, health (including mental health), housing, library work, museum staffing, art production and preservation, public health services, elderly care, services to the disabled, prison inmate services, park and recreation activities, fire prevention, neighborhood security, highway safety, and public works.[93] Within these fields of social support, there are non-professional labor shortages ranging from mild to severe, but in all cases chronic. Dwindling numbers of available workers in the coming years will probably aggravate the problem. The installation of youth service into many of these areas will not be without resistance for this reason as well as those previously mentioned. Established interests would have to be brought into the process of defining turf. A narrower and more tightly

structured classification of services to be provided by youth is thus probable. A short list of initial areas for youth service to establish viability in the 1990s might be tentatively categorized under education, health services, care for the very young, the very old, and the environment.

The first two areas for the provision of service, education and health services, are very large and are generally labor-intensive. However, they also have well-established and highly specialized professional structures in place. Careerists within these fields might emasculate the programs by narrowly fixing service activities either at the legislative or application phases through their unions, lobbies, administrators, mid-level people, or even in the field. In the case of educational activities, there are many schools that already have well-established peer, or parental tutoring programs that might be threatened by the introduction of youth tutors. In the case of health services, there are well-organized groups of subprofessionals that would contend with youth service participants for portions of that field. Youth service confined to the narrower and less attractive subfields of care for the mentally disturbed, the elderly or terminally ill would probably encounter less resistance. This would involve smaller numbers of participants and require at least some specialized training. The cost in this case would lie in the narrowing of choices for youths which might hinder broad participation, especially if the programs depend upon a highly voluntaristic recruitment strategy. There is also some concern over the value of their help weighed against their potential for being abusive or becoming endangered by the hazards associated with this kind of work. This would necessitate screening and training procedures for service candidates in these fields which would drive up program costs. Youth service in these areas might then become a species of pre-professional training. This would create the same tensions between professional career versus character and

community advancement discussed earlier regarding school based and DoL sponsorships. This tension seems to be an unavoidable feature within any non-universal youth service program. It points to the importance of unhindered access and broad-based participation in all of the designated sectors of service expression. The health care field carries a number of limitations regarding youth service participation, but this hardly dismisses it out of hand, particularly in the areas of need that have been traditionally neglected by society. Dr. Hans R. Huessy, Professor of Psychiatry Emeritus at the University of Vermont College of Medicine, has strongly urged youth service on behalf of the mentally ill. He echos the observations of Janowitz asserting that, "The chronically disabled require constant giving and especially the chronic mentally ill patient or retarded individual cannot give back in nearly equal amounts. Professionals who genuinely try, 'burn out;' they cannot sustain it."[94]

Whether youth would opt for health-related service to the neglected in significant numbers is speculative though poll data indicates interest.[95] The needs exist, but the problems of bringing participants into the more highly professionalized, or unionized fields might hinder successful penetration for some time. A youth service program woven into the broad structure of health care would take considerable negotiation with youths as well as with the indigenous groups that already populate the field. Concerns over the impacts on the health care industry would certainly by voiced by those elements involved in and around the field. Those now providing services might be concerned about large numbers of youths proletarianizing the field. However, just as the social mobility in the tradition of the Protestant work ethic and the American Dream was realized on the backs of immigrants, youth service participants might enhance rather than challenge the status of the careerists. Whether this would result in a net good or a net evil regarding its possible implicit support

of hierarchical organization goes beyond the scope of this work. These are, however, issues of concern that attend institutionalizing youth service to the extent that it competes with the professionalized human services market.

Youth service programs might take root more quickly in emerging, fields that are less professionally dominated. For instance, the problem of integration into a strong and well-established structure is less of an issue in the latter three areas of care for the pre-school young, the post-career old, and the environment. Service efforts in these areas are less likely to encounter serious institutional resistance, and might even be greeted with some enthusiasm. They do not infringe much upon the established career niches of most service agency personnel, and those areas that do have significant professional involvement have large and ongoing needs for unskilled or nominally skilled staffs. Demographic projections over the next decade also consistently point to a heightened demand for lower-echelon labor in these areas far in excess of projected available supply. Table 2.1 below, outlines these projections of need for selected labor categories compared to the population growth rate. The table focusses on niches for youth service mentioned above. Projections for conservation care personnel on the model of the Civilian Conservation Corps was difficult to fix. Here it is constituted as the 10 percent of gardeners and groundskeepers that work for parks and recreation facilities. Also included are labor projections for personal care facilities, social membership and miscellaneous services, child-care services, and residential care. These Bureau of Labor Statistics classifications roughly cover (and very inadequately in the case of environmental care) three optimal service opportunities. The young do not now dominate these fields. This complicates matters somewhat in that older workers may indeed be displaced under a large-scale youth service program. Another more significant problem concerns the fact that youth form a significant part of the workforce in

even here, the only BLS categories completely dominated by those 16-19 year-olds are in the food counter, fountain, and related occupations; and ushers. Still, the shift to social and environmental service might create large distortions in the food service industry and in retail sales which are projected for rapid growth. These distortions would take place regardless of any youth service program due to a net decline in youths available for work. Because of this labor shortfall, industry executives might not initally support service.

Table 2.1 Population, Workforce, and Employment Levels and Growth Rates for Selected Industries 1986 Projected to 2000[96]

Population and Workforce Categories[97]	1986	Projected 2000	Growth Rate 1986-2000
Population Projections			
Total U.S. Population	241,596	268,264	0.8
Total U.S. Population Age 0 - 4	18,128	16,898	-.5
Total U.S. Population Age 85 and over	2,796	4,621	3.7
Workforce Projections			
Total Workforce Level	117,837	138,775	1.2
Workforce Age 16 - 19	7,926	8,880	.9
Employment Projections for Selected Industries			
Retail Trade	17,845	22,702	1.7
Amusement and Recreation Services	915	1,204	2.0
Social, Membership, and Misc. Services	4,296	5,569	1.9
Child Day Care Services	354	478	2.2
Residential Care	319	519	3.5
Agricultural Services, Forestry, Fishing	875	1120	1.8

The table above indicates both that social and environmental care will continue to be in competition with retail services for the youth pool. The combined areas of agricultural

The table above indicates both that social and environmental care will continue to be in competition with retail services for the youth pool. The combined areas of agricultural services, forestry, and fishing bode well as career channels for rural youth who continue to be displaced from farmwork and who are the primary candidates for conservation corps work in the tradition of the CCC.

The highly elastic capacity of the youth service fields, particularly of child day care, to absorb labor is also an important consideration. Given that the quality of child care is correlated with the children-to-staff ratio, it is likely that virtually any day care center would have a place for youth staffers. Staffing for elderly care is every bit as urgent, but may have relatively more trouble attracting youths into it compared to the environmental and child care fields. Still, even relatively small numbers of participants would help ease the impact of this emerging crisis in service demand.

These latter three areas of application also have a high civic education value which is a component stressed as essential for ultimate program success by Janowitz, Moskos and Danzig.[98] Borrowing from the observations of the human development schools led by Coleman, Erikson, and Maslow; these youth service advocates maintain that the cultivation of civic consciousness, like toilet training and table manners, is a tutored process. Involvement in these areas would probably have a maturing effect on participants and act to legitimate claims to citizenship status. In the case of child care and elderly care, participants would also be enriched by developing linkages with communities beyond those of their immediate peers. This includes contact with fellow participants outside of their circles as well as with those elders or juniors that they are serving. Mainstream advocates believe that these tasks fit the kind of service investment that would have both immediate and long-

term effects. These effects include the enhancing of self-concept and social integration as well as improving the quality of life generally.

A possible issue related to the scope dimension involves youth service reaching into political or religious undertakings. The mainstream advocates are silent on this issue, possibly viewing it as a distraction at this point in the debate. Some of the Congressional initiatives on youth service have explicitly denied political party work as constituting service. Whether work in activist organizations or religiously-based social agencies would be accepted by the state as service probably be a matter of negotiation with guidelines drawn at either the federal, state, or local level.

In summary, while a broad range of service opportunities are available, it seems likely that a focus on conservation work, pre-school child care, and aged-care would receive the greatest level of both public support and tolerence by public workers. These are areas less likely to be adequately filled under prevailing labor market conditions nationally. They would also have the best chance of being accepted by youths as authentic service. The measurement of the capacity of these and other areas for youth service involvement will be undertaken in the next chapter. The preliminary indications from the literature, however, suggest the potential for considerable participation.

The Fifth Dimension: Costs and Benefits

This dimension is naturally crucial in determining the viability of any program. Costs have become an especially important concern over the course of the more fiscally conservative 1980s. All serious designs for programs include cost estimates using formulas of varying sophistication. Cost estimates for youth service programs vary considerably from program to program and from year to year. For instance, the

Congressional Budget Office, in a 1978 study, estimated costs at $2 billion, $11 billion and $24 billion for small, medium and large versions of youth service.[99] A refined 1980 CBO study set the costs at $13.1 billion to $24 billion per work year.[100] Moskos, 1988, estimated that a 600,000 person program would cost $6 billion plus $9 billion for educational grants dispersed at the end of service.[101] The Nunn-McCurdy bill (S. 3) of the 101st Congress had costs estimated to be $3.5 billion.[102] The Bush Administration's first budget proposal provided $100 million in federal matching funds for youth service grants over a four-year period under the proposed Youth Engaged in Service (YES) program.[103] Of course, these figures are difficult to interpret presented in their gross form. It is nonetheless clear that youth service will not be a cheap undertaking.

The cost dimension of youth service breaks down into three sub-dimensions in the literature. There are the basic and specific costs of program establishment and operation, the direct and indirect costs associated with youth seen in such diverse areas as education, alienation (the former supposedly a remedy for the latter), and the costs of public service tasks undone or done by others at presumably greater expense (a primary component of cost-benefit analysis). This section will not dwell on the more technical aspects of these three sub-dimensions, but will, instead, describe them generally within the context of the contemporary debate.

Youth service costs are most generally associated with the sub-dimension of program establishment and operation. The figures in Table 2.1 below present costs per participant per year. Administrative overhead takes a rather large proportion of these costs. A useful baseline indicator for the relative proportion of costs taken up by the participants themselves is the federal minimum wage, set at $3.35 per hour for most of the 1980s. Full-time participants working at minimum wage would earn only $6,968 per person per

year plus the possible added expenses of health benefits and educational grants. In the case of the Peace Corps (not listed in Table 2.1) costs per person per year were about $22,000 of which participants received an annual average of only about $5,700.[104] In the case of the Marin Conservation Corps, the most costly program in 1987, it organized specialty work crews around skilled paid professionals which drove its overhead up considerably. Participants themselves received only $3.50 per hour for their work.[105] In other programs, unit costs have varied from about $40 per person per year, for the Guardian Angels, to over $22,000 per person per year for the aforementioned Marin Conservation Corps.[106] This sub-dimension is thus highly elastic. The costs are primarily dependent upon the extent of the need for skilled training, the number of supervisory personnel, the size of the administrative support structure, and whether the programs are residential or non-residential. Table 2.1 below arrays the unit costs of various representative youth service corps including figures for the U.S. Army used here as a baseline measure:

Table 2.2 Annual Program Cost per Participant of Various Youth Service Programs [107]

Program Name	Size (year)	Cost per Participant (year)	Residential?
The California Conservation Corps	2,200 (1987)	$17,500 (1985-86)	Yes
San Francisco Conservation Corps	80 (1987)	$15,900 (1987)	No
City Volunteer Corps (NYC)	625 (1987)	$12,800 (1987)	No
Marin Conservation Corps	50 (1987)	$22,500 (1985)	No
Young Adult Conservation Corps	25,000 (1979)	$17,000 (1981)	Yes
" " " "	" "	$12,000 (1981)	No
Katimavik (Canada)	1,500 - 4,000 (N/A)	$10,700 (1984-85)[108]	Yes
Wisconsin Conservation Corps	280 (1987)	$10,500 (1983-85)	No
Michigan Conservation Corps	500 (1985)	$10,084 (1985-86)	Both[109]
U.S. Army	778,000 (1986)	$22,000 (1986)[110]	Yes

The CBO estimates and those from other studies have moved many policy makers to dismiss youth service out of hand for its expense. They have been supported,in part, by Danzig and Szanton who summarize their assessment of youth service emphasizing that it may only partially meet the needs of youth and only then at great cost.[111] Advocates have pointed to the qualitative returns as a truer measure of its worth. Advocates are obliged to elaborate on the cost dimension in greater detail in order to highlight the benefits that they feel would accrue from a substantial investment in a youth service program of scale. Here the politics of cost-benefit analysis comes into play literally clouding the issue with the cooly analytic cost calculations confronting the warm promises of both immediate and deferred benefits to youth and society. As the meteorological metaphor implies, the result is political turbulence between concern over the public balance sheet and government's commitment to the public good.

The direct cost of youth as defined by higher education expenditure is relatively easy to gauge in terms of dollar investment compared to the dollar assessments of alienation costs. As mentioned in the first chapter, virtually all informed observers anticipate higher education costs will increase greatly over the next few years. Moskos points out that the prevailing costs of education, particularly of higher education, are already a burden to families either through direct support of their offspring, or indirectly through taxes. In the past, the federal government supported a number of grant and loan programs beginning with the GI Bill and continuing with Guaranteed Student Loans, Pell Grants, College Work-Study Programs, Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants, and Perkins Loans (formally National Defense Student Loans, and later National Direct Student Loans). The effect on higher education, in similar fashion to the GI Bill before it, has been very significant. Total non-veteran college aid supplied by Congress rose from $120 million in

1964 to $8 billion in 1986 and accounted for some 9 percent of the total $85 billion budget for America's colleges and universities.[112] This has amounted to a massive subsidy for higher education that was tolerated for the meritocratic opportunities it offered not only to low-income students, but to the bulk of the middle class as well.

This support has quickly taken on the characteristics of an entitlement more than a loan program with graduates disinclined to pay back loans in a timely manner if at all. Defaults on these loans have been common despite attempts at more aggressive collections. In 1986 the default rate on student loans was $1.3 billion.[113] The Reagan Administration fueled this default rate by emphasizing student loans over and cutting back on grants. Loans accounted for half of the student aid expenditures in 1987 compared to 20 percent in 1967. The result has been an average increase in student indebtedness in 1986 to $6,700 in public colleges and $9,000 for private colleges for the undergraduate borrower.[114]

In spite of the appearance of massive support from federal, state and private sources, the increasing expense of higher education helps to explain why youth enrollment is on the decline. It has been particularly devastating to the working class and black students whose proportional participation in higher education has declined since 1980.[115] The impact of rising higher education costs coupled with the disengagement of federal support has forced institutions of higher learning to broaden their focus. Their new orientation has been towards an accommodation with the more mature "non-traditional learners" who can better afford to support the system. These trends have passed virtually unnoticed by the public where there is still a persistent sense of higher education being an entitlement of the middle class. It is an expectation that parents and the young themselves are socialized into embracing even in the face of cost increases. The interim solution has been for college youths to supplement or fully support their education by working part-time. This common

practice has resulted in a net decline in time for study and a generally lower academic performance by American students.[116]

Concern over the continuation of support for middle class access to higher education has created some leverage for Congressional youth service measures. The Nunn-McCurdy Bill (S. 3) of the 101st Congress, which would have given support contingent upon completion of at least one year of service, indicated one such response. This bill might have had the collateral effect of again making more discreet the spheres of work and the academy, passage from one to the other under the the condition of service. This would have demanded that the individual grants be of sufficient size for students to subsist on over their period of study; a presumption that would have also guaranteed controversy. Even with a generous grant component, the continuing promotion of the consumerist lifestyle through the popular media, and the now institutionalized distractions attending that stage of life would hinder any system created for the exclusive devotion to study.

Sherraden and Eberly, 1979, went beyond looking strictly at the educational costs dynamic and broadened the definition the first sub-dimension of prevailing social costs by considering alienation costs as well. They cited statistics suggesting that alienation, already considerable in the 1950s, 60s, and 70s, was soaring in the early 1980s. Their indicators of alienation were defined as unemployment, crime, violence, vandalism, passive and unequal schooling practices, political apathy, alcohol/drug use, vagrancy, and suicide.[117] These measures lend a certain empirical validity to their appraisal of the condition of contemporary youth.[118] For the advocates concerned with the alienation issue, service is a comprehensive remedy. Under this logic, service program costs should be measured against the benefits of net declines in social costs such as vandalism, and youth support of the underground economies. There are also the much less tangible claims advanced

concerning character building in the classical (Jamesian) sense of the term, mixed in with the themes citing the imperative of reversing the trends toward acute youth alienation.[119]

This argument's main weakness lies in the lack of empirical evidence that youth service would significantly reduce alienation. This is coupled with concerns that an investment in a national service program that would deal effectively with society-wide alienation would necessarily have to be quite large. This would probably involve universal or near-universal participation which feeds back to issue of promoting compulsory service. The Coalition for National Service has responded to these concerns with an insistence upon service being voluntary while at same time calling for it to be woven into "the fabric of our nation." [120] The contradiction here reflects the larger paradox of American political culture which celebrates individual choice while denying the context of social obligations in which these choices are made, leaving both individuals and the context vulnerable to institutional manipulation. Attaining these goals within the prevailing culture means providing considerable incentives which translates into high program costs as well as a threat to lower-echelon public employees. Alternatively, an effort dealing with alienation, as normatively defined, would tend to focus on "at-risk" youth and either engage the middle class as tutors in bourgeois culture or absolve them of involvement in service entirely. This would probably doom youth service, relegating it to the status of a federal program for the marginal - a kind of VISTA II. These issues coupled with the prospect of a large outlay for what still amounts to a social experiment demands a clear presentation of alienation as a western advanced-industrial norm and a means for testing and evaluation of effects. Thus far, the testings have been few and the evaluations very tentative, particularly regarding the impacts on participants.

Two studies have been done which focussed specifically on the effects of service on participants' attitudes. The studies suggested that programs would have to emphasize social and civic consciousness development much along the lines suggested by Moskos, (1988) to be effective citizen-making programs. Civic engagement is not an automatic spinoff of the service experience. Essentially, though the programs had a civic content, the programs studied showed mixed results on indicators of participant de-alienation.

The first study of youth participant attitudes came from Kappa Systems, Inc., of the Seattle Program for Local Service in 1979. This program was widely acknowledged to have a strong civic consciousness orientation compared to, for instance, the Job Corps or CETA. This study of of the impact of PLS on the participants' personalities and attitudes revealed definite benefits only in the area of awareness of human needs. The study also found possible benefits in the areas of self-confidence and self-worth, decision-making, understanding between races, ages, and social strata. However, the impact of the PLS on civic pride, ability to work with people, and motivation were inconclusive.[121] Given the fact that the program was largely designed by Donald Eberly, it provided a fundamental test of the mainstream youth service concept. However, the program was still very small and was over-represented by low-SES participants, which did not take full advantage of the integrative potential of youth service.

In 1987 another similar study was carried out by Public/Private Ventures. The purpose of the study was to analyze the short-term impacts of service on California Conservation Corps participants. The results indicated that the CCC experience had a positive effect upon attitudes in the areas of self concept, environmental awareness, and the value of community service. However, the results were uneven with other indicators such as alcohol consumption, tolerance, altruism, and non-physical self concept not significantly

different from the control group. The study showed that nondisadvantaged corps members had achieved slightly more positive effects than did the disadvantaged ones, possibly reflecting their greater sense of alienation.[122]

P/PV also conducted a more elaborate assessment of four youth corps programs in 1987 which yielded similar findings. The results indicated mixed noneconomic effects among the programs surveyed with most measures not significantly different from comparison groups.[123] The remedial effects of service on alienation have thus been inconclusive for lack of sufficient hard evidence whatever the intuitive merits of the alienation countering argument.

The third subdimension of rationalizing investment against effects conforms with conventional cost-benefit analysis. Here program costs are measured against the value of the actual work performed by participants. This methodological approach has long been used to measure job performance by the Department of Labor and has thus gained a policy-rationalizing legitimacy that the first and second subdimensions lack. This is in spite of its having to translate results into strictly dollar terms and its self-evident inadequacy in gauging the qualitative behavioral effects on participants.

The most often cited model of youth service to be measured along these lines has been the aforementioned Program for Local Service (PLS), established in Seattle in 1973. This federally-funded, locally-run program delivered a number of human as opposed to conservation services traditionally associated with other youth corps models. Funded with a $1 million grant from ACTION it returned over $2 million in work performed over the four years of its existence.[124] It was also efficiently managed with only 10 percent of its public funding going to the administration of the Corps.[125] The rest went to equipment and to the participants.

Other programs have yielded results approaching break-even ratios. The federal Young Adult Conservation Corps, established in 1977 and essentially phased out in the early 1980s, returned 99.5 cents on each dollar spent for work performed in 1979.[126] The California Conservation Corps yielded 96 cents in benefits for every dollar spent in 1987.[127] It is again noteworthy that these figures were probably understated since crime and welfare reductions were not factored into the analyses.

Clearly any youth service program would have to devote much time and energy to rationalizing costs, particularly under the highly cost-conscious political environment currently extant in the United States. This is also in part due to a history of program abuses in the old CETA , YACC, and Youth Community Service (Syracuse) programs.[128] This may lead to conditions where participants could become exploited or incompetently directed. This issue, under-articulated in the literature, could especially occur under compulsory or quasi-compulsory conditions of participation such as those found in the military or in a tight labor market. While this concern is something of a red herring in that no mainstream plan calls for a compulsory youth service, abuses can be anticipated where an absorption with costs and cost-cutting become a program's focus. On-site monitoring of projects would aid in preventing problems, but would add to the administrative overhead. Depending upon the extent to which programs are residential or non-residential, parents might act as advocates. This cost-effective auto-regulating solution opens another can of worms in the sorting out of the subjective assessments of what constitutes exploitation. It is also dependent on the broad and active engagement of the middle class in youth service to supply the normative standards that would guide policies in support of participants' interests.

Conclusion

These five dimensions provide a framework for evaluating youth service. They are not themselves fully comprehensive and, like any such structural approach to defining policy, they are defined within a larger cultural dynamic. This dynamic must be accounted for in the policy construction process. For instance, an effective youth service might come to employ various quasi-compulsory incentives in order to obtain participants during its initial startup phase. After a period (perhaps a generation) of exposing youths to the service experience, youth service should be sufficiently institutionalized to become less compulsory and more voluntary. In another instance, Eberly has consistently advocated a gradualist approach to youth service, increasing its scale only when the program infrastructure is well established.[129]

Attempting to measure inter-institutional relationships, scope of service, and costs are likewise subject to constant negotiation and renegotiation in the pluralistic policy marketplace. This is especially true regarding the institutional relationships dimension. Using these five dimensions to describe various representative youth service models is the focus of the next chapter. Applying these evaluative criteria to existing youth service models is an important preliminary step in developing optimal designs for future youth service programs. A checklist of established inter-institutional ties, program size and scope, as well as understood cost/benefit evaluative criteria would be crucial to any youth service program's viability. This is not to imply that there is a single formula applicable in all settings. There are doubtless a number of paths to program success. This is, in fact, the exact hypothesis to be tested in the next chapter which seeks to evaluate those different approaches to youth service that have been operating for a number of years. The chapter

will especially focus on the youth corps which have come to represent the closest ideal of service.

Chapter 2 Notes

[1] See, Haworth, Lawrence, "The Experimental Society: Dewey and Jordan", Ethics, 71 (1960):27(13).

[2] See, Etzioni, Amitai, An Immodest Agenda: Rebuilding America Before the 21st Century, New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1983, p. 152.

[3] Janowitz, Morris, The Reconstruction of Patriotism, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1983, and Moskos, Charles, A Call to Civic Service: National Service for Country and Community, New York: The Free Press, 1988.

[4] The argument for school-based service is best summarized in the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, Giving Youth a Better Chance: Options for Education, Work and Service, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979.

[5] The National Commission on Youth, The Transition of Youth to Adulthood: A Bridge Too Long, Boulder: CO, Westview Press, 1980, pp. 1-6.

[6] Ibid.

[7] The Commission's recommendations, though less detailed and less explicitly oriented towards educational reform, closely followed those of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education outlined above. This is notable since neither the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies nor the National Commission on Youth appeared to be in consultation with the other. Those who worked actively with the National Commission on Youth were not cited in the Council's report released a year earlier. Likewise, neither the Carnegie Corporation nor its sponsored council personnel were represented on the Commission, nor did they testify to the Commission. Given their apparent mutual aloofness from the work of the other, their consensus on the issue was remarkable. Of course, there was almost certainly an informal circulation of views between group members or a structurally determined communality of values. Still, it suggests both a widespread acceptance of the transition to adulthood as a contemporary problem and a high degree of agreement among experts on the remedies.

[8] Moskos, op. cit.

[9] Coleman, James S., and Torsten Husén, Becoming Adult in a Changing Society, Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (OECD): Paris, 1985.

[10] Ibid., p. 71.

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Honolulu Advertiser, September 1, 1988.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Pinkau, Irene, "National Service in Kenya, Nigeria, and Indonesia", in Sherraden and Eberly, eds., National Service: Social, Economic and Military Impacts, New York: Pergamon Press, 1982, p. 53.

[17] What Pinkau does not mention is that her conceptualization of service includes slavery; hardly an integrating institution. It is this concern over service vs. servitude that many critics of youth service dwell upon. This issue will be taken up in detail in a subsequent chapter.

[18] Ibid., pp. 53-72.

[19] Quoted from, Hart, Gary and Robert G. Torricelli, "Create a System of Universal National Service", New York Times, April 14, 1985. Section A 26.

[20] Landrum, Roger, Donald Eberly, and Michael Sherraden, "Calls for National Service", in National Service: Social, Economic and Military Impacts, op. cit., p. 21.

[21] Ibid. pp. 21-22.

[22] See especially, Janowitz, Morris, The Reconstruction of Patriotism, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

[23] Quoted from the National Commission on Youth, op cit., p. 46.

[24] Ibid.

[25] These include The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1979, op cit. p 273; The National Commission on Youth, 1980, op cit. p 46; Sherraden and Eberly, eds. 1982, op cit. pp. 15, 21-22, 29-30, 41-43, National Service: What Would It Mean?, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1986, p. ix, 3, 8, 58. "The Moral Equivalent of War" was also cited earlier in Eberly, ed. National Service: A Report of A Conference, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1968, p. 1.

[26] Not all of the work had been done in-house, of course. Much grant support in this area goes together institutions and to individuals. For instance, the Ford Foundation funded The National Commission on Youth's 1974 as well as Danzig and Szanton's 1986 work.

[27] The New York Times, "National Service from the Bottom Up", March 10, 1988, Section A, p. 26. The Reagan Administration's opposition to national youth service went beyond the level of rhetoric. For instance, a bill to establish an American Conservation Corps (HR999) was passed by both houses at the close of the 98th Congress where it was vetoed by President Reagan. See Danzig and Szanton, 1986, p.6, and p. 14, note 19. This administration also presided over the dismantling of the Comprehensive Training and Employment Act (CETA), the Young Adult Conservation Corps, and much of the youth service components of ACTION and VISTA.

[28] Ibid.

[29] National Service Secretariat, "Presidential Candidates Support National Service", National Service Newsletter, No. 51 (September, 1987), remarks by Donald Eberly at a national service colloquium,

University of Hawaii, November 18, 1987, and Congressional data supplied through Senator Daniel Inouye's Office.

[30] Ibid., and, National Service Secretariat, National Service Newsletter, Nos. 47-52, as well as, Phil Kuntz, "Bush Outlines His Proposal for Volunteer Service", Congressional Quarterly, June 24, 1989, p. 1556. Many of these Congresspeople have sponsored youth service legislation in Congress.

[31] Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit., p. 50, 220. The State of Washington attempted to keep PLS alive by directing its CETA allocation to it, but the U.S. Department of Labor would not allow CETA funding to go to any program that did not explicitly target unemployed young people.

[32] "Voluntary Youth Service Favored; Support for Mandatory Service Wanes", Gallup Report, no. 267, (Dec. 1987), pp. 20-21, and National Service Secretariat, "Support for National Service Reaches Record High of 83%", National Service Newsletter, Washington, D.C., No. 52, March, 1988, p. 2.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Danzig, Richard, and Peter Szanton, National Service: What Would It Mean?, Lexington: MA, D.C. Heath, 1986, p. 3.

[35] Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit., p. 193.

[36] Ibid. p. 47. The 1987 total VISTA participation by 18-24 year olds was 278 according to Eberly.

[37] Eberly, Donald, "National Service in the 1990's", in Monograph on Youth in the 1990s, Anthony Richards, and Lidia Kemeny, eds., Dalhousie University, Canada, Issue No. 1, August, 1986; and in Sherraden and Eberly, eds., op cit. p 18-19.

[38] Janowitz, op cit., p. 188.

[39] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 180.

[40] U.S. Congressional Budget Office, National Service Programs and Their Effects on Military Manpower and Civilian Youth Problems, Washington, D.C.: Congressional Budget Office, 1978.

[41] The New York Times, op cit.. Their source was probably the National Service Secretariat which, in its youth service surveys found that 18-24 year olds involved in full-time service activities has gone from 7,100 at the end of 1984 to 7,450 at the end of 1987. See National Service Secretariat, National Service Newsletter, No. 49, p. 3, and No. 53, p. 4.

[42] National Commission On Resources for Youth, New Roles for Youth in the School and the Community, National Commission on Resources for Youth, 1974, p. 6.

[43] Ibid. p. ix.

[44] Janowitz, op cit., p. 190.

[45] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit.. Private sector sponsored youth service has been subsumed under the voluntary heading. Corporate sponsors have generally not been involved in the actual administration of youth service programs that they have supported.

[46] Danzig and Szanton, op cit., p. 89, and p. 199, note 6.

[47] Ibid. p. 89 and p. 119, note 8.

[48] "Volunteer jobs pushed by schools", Honolulu Advertiser, February 23, 1987, Section A-8.

[49] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit. p. 91.

[50] Boyer, Ernest L., High School: A Report on Secondary Education in America, A study funded by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, Inc., 1983, p.211-212.

[51] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit. p. 91.

[52] Ibid., p. 89.

[53] Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit., p. 59.

[54] National Commission on Resources for Youth, 1974, op. cit.. Nineteen of the thirty-two programs described within it were high school-based with a number of others oriented towards junior high school students.

[55] Boyer, Ernest, op. cit., pp. 209-215.

[56] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 114. Their in-school large program estimates were 689 million dollars vs. nearly 2.3 billion dollars for the out-of-school large program.

[57] National Service Secretariat, "Two New Organizations to Foster Volunteer Service by College and University Students", National Service Newsletter, No. 48 (May, 1986), p. 2.. These schools, Brown University in particular, have very active community service components that Danzig and Szanton consider to be outstanding models for University-based service programs. See Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 183.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Hulse, Lisa S., ed,, 1979 Internships, Cincinnati: Writer's Digest Books, 1978, preface; and Jobst, Katherine, ed., 1988 Internships, Cincinnati: Writer's Digest Books, 1985, p. 1.

[60] Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, Internship Programs in the West: Review and Catalog, Boulder, CO: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1981, p. 5.

[61] Ibid.

[62] A posted announcement for the University of Hawaii Cooperative Education Program, 1986.

[63] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 107-108.

[64] Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, op. cit., p. 282.

[65] Sherraden and Eberly eds., op. cit., pp. 84-85. This "GI Bill" model of educational incentives for national service participants is embraced by many prominent advocates including the National Commission on Youth (op. cit. pp. 35-36), Janowitz, and Moskos, op. cit..

[66] Carnegie Council on Higher Education, op. cit., pp. 286-287. It seems to be presumed by educational policy think-tanks that corporately sponsored, non-profit institutions will take up much of the slack of diminishing family capability to bear the costs of higher education. But any analysis of the repercussions of this trend will have to be taken up elsewhere as it leads away from the specific issues taken up here.

[67] Eberly, 1986, op. cit., p. 35. Newman, 1985, in a Carnegie Foundation-sponsored study, recommended work-study funds be shifted back to community service work. See Newman, F., Higher Education and the American Resurgence, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985, pp. 85-87.

[68] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 132.

[69] Janowitz, op. cit., p. 186. This conference along with the Second National Service Conference held April 2-4, 1967, in Washington, D.C., involved a rich spectrum of informed opinion and represented the cutting edge of thought on the issue for its time. Its participant list was a virtual Who's Who of the draft and national youth policy elites of the day. Participants included General Lewis Hershey, Terrence Cullinan, Margaret Mead, Donald Eberly, Kenneth Boulding, Milton Friedman (he saw national service as a tax), Erik Erikson, Edward Kennedy, Samuel Huntington, Robert Kastenmeier, John Naisbitt, Donald Rumsfeld, and of course, Morris Janowitz.

[70] Details of the Janowitz plan are presented in "American Democracy and Military Service," TransAction, 4, no. 4 (March 1967), and in Sol Tax, ed.; The Draft: A Handbook of Facts and Alternatives, University of Chicago Press, 1967, pp. 73-90. This book was a product of the University of Chicago Conference on Conscription.

[71] Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit. p. 86. The details of Hall's plan and of the others of the 1966-1967 era are available in this chapter.

[72] Ibid. p. 215. The Coalition for Natioanl Service which is strongly associated with Donald Eberly carries concerns over the AVF into its literature supporting national youth service. See Coalition for National Service, National Service: an Action Agenda for the 1990's, National Service Secretariat, Washington, D.C., 1988.

[73] Ibid. p. 153. Gallup surveys conducted in 1981, 1982, and 1984 yielded similar results.

[74] Janowitz, op. cit., p. 198.

[75] Cited in Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit. p. 29.

[76] Thus this understanding of and tacit acceptance of Janowitz' and Moskos' concerns over the future of the military under a national service program is underscored in the very title of Sherraden and Eberly's book which explicitly includes discussion on "military impacts".

[77] See Moskos, Charles, "Making the All Volunteer Force Work: A National Service Approach", Foreign Affairs, Fall, 1988, pp. 17 - 34, and his A Call for Civic Service, op. cit..

[78] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., pp. 230-233. This feature is the centerpiece component of Representative Dave McGurdy, and Senator Sam Nunn's bill (S. 3) introduced January, 1989. See, "Federal Education Aid May Soon Be Pegged to Volunteer Service", Honolulu Star Bulletin & Advertiser, January 8, 1989, A-19.

[79] Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit., p. 85.

[80] Underlying this scenario is a side issue of some importance concerning the persistence of historical memory in policy formation. In terms of hypothesis, any problem presented in the form of an historical allusion predicts the initial framework of the ensuing policy debate and ultimately the policy design itself, ie., presenting the Central America issue as "another Vietnam" or the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as "their Vietnam" predicts the policies of cautious economic warfare against certain states in the region on one hand, and continued American support for the rebels on the other.

[81] See, Hearings on The Voluntary National Youth Service Act and the Select Commission on National Service Opportunities Act of 1985, U.S. Government Printing Office, 1986.

[82] Moskos, op. cit. p. 56-57.

[83] Ibid., p.57.

[84] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 189.

[85] The National Commission of Youth, 1980, called the YCC a high visibility program. This was, in retrospect, overstated according to Moskos, 1988, op. cit..

[86] The California Conservation Corps' pamphlet literature reflects this change. While still mentioning the tough work aspects, it is also couching the experience as an opportunity to acquire skills and character that have more of an appeal to the middle class. This was not reflected in the analysis done by Public/Private Ventures which completed its study before this policy change went into effect. Much of this information was related in correspondence with the CCC.

[87] The mainstream national service advocates don't mention the participation of youths in the free-speech or civil rights movements. This is not simply the suppression of "unauthorized" social activism, but an essentially correct observation that the the vast majority of the young were not involved in this movement, nor in any others outside of the Vietnam War protests which affected them directly.

[88] Clayman, Jacob, "A Trade Unionist Looks at National Service", in Eberly, ed., op. cit. p. 45. Moskos traces trade union opposition to national youth service to the universal military training debates of 1947 where unions figured prominently in the coalition that kept Congress from acting UMT legislation. See, Moskos, op. cit. p. 24.

[89] See, for example, The National Commission on Youth, op. cit., p. 53-54.

[90] Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit. p. 85. Moskos, op. cit. p. 28, indirectly supports this point in his citing of the Civilian Public Service's (CPS) involvement of 2,000 conscientious objectors in work at asylums and mental wards where they brought, "an unprecedented humaneness into the handling of the mentally ill in this country."

[91] Moskos, op. cit. p. 63.

[92] Virtually all mainstream national service literature, except for Danzig and Szanton, 1986, praised Seattle's Program for Local Service (PLS) which was a model of a locally-administered human services corps. For instance, Moskos, op. cit. p. 74-77, compares the Seattle PLS with a Syracuse-based program of the same vintage which was plagued with problems in management, mission, and structure.

[93] Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit., p. 16. Eberly has been fairly consistent in promoting these kinds of tasks as examples of service, but has also been flexible over the years as new issues have arisen. For instance, he added literacy training to the menu when that became a prominant concern in the mid-1980s. See his testimony before the Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities of the Committee on Education

and Labor, House of Representatives, 99th Congress first session on H.R. 888, and H.R. 1326, September 27, 1985, and before the Subcommittee on Human Resources of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, House of Representatives, 100th Congress, first session on the Voluntary National Youth Service Act, April 29, 1987.

[94] Coalition for National Service, National Service: an Action Agenda for the 1990's, National Service Secretariat, Washington, D.C., 1988.

[95] George Gallup, The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion 1979 (Wilmington, Delaware Scholarship Resources, Inc., 1979), reported in Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit. p. 203. This poll of hypothetical service preferences revealed that 27 percent of young adults (18-24 years old) would be interested in nonmilitary service. Of those 27 percent, about 7.5 percent indicated a preference for hospital work, 7.5 percent for elderly care, 10 percent for child day care, with nearly a third of respondents interested in conservation work in national parks and forests.

[96] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Projections 2000: The Labor Force", Monthly Labor Review, September 1987, Table 4 (p. 24), Table 5 (p. 25), and Table 6 (pp. 41-43). The social, membership, and misc. services category includes individual and family counseling, disaster relief, adult day care, senior citizen's associations, and fund-raising organizations.

[97] All numbers for 1986 and Projected 2000 columns are in thousands.

[98] Janowitz, op. cit., Moskos, op. cit., Danzig, Richard, testimony before the 99th Congress, Hearings on the Voluntary National Youth Service Act and the Select Commission on National Service Opportunities Act of 1985, op. cit.

[99] U.S. Congressional Budget Office, 1978, cited in Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit., p. 105.

[100] Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit., p. 105, and the 99th Congress, Hearings on the Voluntary National Youth Service Act and the Select Commission on National Service Opportunities Act of 1985, op. cit., p. 190. This study focussed exclusively on the McClosky national service bill of 1979.

[101] Moskos, op. cit., p. 178.

[102] American Broadcasting Company, "American Agenda" (news feature), ABC Evening News, February 3, 1989.

[103] The upbeat political symbolism of the YES program in counterpoint to the "Just Say No" youth policies of the Reagan Administration made this program a centerpiece of the Bush campaign where strategists felt Bush needed to establish his own identity beyond that of his predecessor. It became a major feature of the Republican social platform. While presenting YES as a fresh approach to reinvigorating America and pledging $100 million dollars for the program, the actual budget proposal revealed that these funds would be dispersed over a four year period. This was not mentioned in the future President's stump speeches for YES.

[104] Calculated from figures given in Moskos, op. cit., p. 50.

[105] Ibid., p. 70 and Note 4, p. 200.

[106] Ibid., p. 80.

[107] With the exception of the Guardian Angels and the Seattle Program for Local Service, figures are derived from Public/Private Ventures, Youth Conservation and Service Corps: Findings from a National Assessment, (Summary and Conclusions), December, 1987, pp. 4-5. Figures for the Guardian Angels and PLS are derived from Moskos, op. cit. p. 74-82.

[108] In U.S. dollars

[109] Moskos, 1988, op. cit., p. 68, sets the residential program costs for the Michigan Conservation Corps at $13,000 per person and the non-residential side at $6,000.

[110] Size figures from Information Please Almanac, 42nd ed., Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1989, p. 311. Expenditure figures from U.S. General Accounting Office, Military Compensation: Comparisons with Civilian Compensation with Federal Civil Service Compensation, NSIAD-88-67BR, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, November, 1987

[111] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit. pp. 270-271.

[112] Moskos, op. cit., p. 107.

[113] Ibid.

[114] Ibid. p. 108.

[115] Ibid.

[116] See, Minot, Walter S., "Students Who Push Burgers", Christian Science Monitor, November 22, 1988, (Opinion Section). An entire generation of faculty members in the U.S. has adjusted their grading criteria to accommodate this reality.

[117] Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit., chapter 1.

[118] ßupporting Sherraden and Eberly's assessment are appraisals from Wetzel, James R., "American Youth: A Statistical Snapshot, Washington, D.C.: Youth and America's Future: The W.T. Grant Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship, 1989. Carnegie Corporation, 1981, op. cit., and the National Commission on Youth, 1979, op. cit., as well as Coleman and Husén, 1985, op. cit. A cursory review of Department of Justice and census data clearly indicates the marginal status of youth on the measures used by Sherraden and Eberly. Coleman and Husén, 1985, note that "malfunctioning of the economy for youth" may be symptomatic of the institutional decline of school and family which has long been tracked and linked as an influence on alienation. See, Moskos, op. cit. p. 25.

[119] Policy research institutions have recognized this character building aspect of youth service, but have tended to confine their youth service cost analyses to comparing program costs with the costs of performing the same tasks at prevailing service market rates. The claim to service as character building has strong intuitive appeal. Such a link is further evidenced with such practitioners of character-building as Joshua L. Miner, founding trustee of Outward Bound, U.S.A., Inc., and member of the Coalition for National Service. The emerging issue of widespread declines in ethical behavior also implies a linkage with alienation and the prescription of service. Moskos, 1988, however, points to the arguments of character building contributing unintentionally to the demise of a proposal for Universal Military Training in 1947. The public at that time was apparently unmoved by the character-building appeal for UMT when both the Compton Commmission and President Truman advanced this line of reasoning in support of it.

[120] Coalition for National Service, National Service: An Action Agenda for the 1990s, op. cit. pp. 25-26.

[121] Sherraden and Eberly, 1982, op. cit., p. 186.

[122] Public/Private Ventures, The California Conservation Corps: An Analysis of Short-term Impacts on Participants, June, 1987.

[123] Public/Private Ventures, Youth Conservation and Service Corps: Findings from a National Assessment, op. cit., p. 11-12.

[124] Moskos, 1988, op. cit., p. 75-76.

[125] Ibid, p. 76.

[126] Calculations drawn from Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit., p. 170. Moskos, 1988, op. cit., p. 59, cites a return of $1.20 for every dollar spent on the YACC.

[127] Public/Private Ventures, Youth Conservation and Service Corps: Findings from a National Assessment, op. cit., p. 12.

[128] Moskos, op. cit., pp. 58-59, 76-77.

[129] See especially, Sherraden and Eberly, op. cit., Chapter 15.

Chapter 3
Youth Service Programs

As a model for national service, CVC works toward several goals: giving a wide range of service to New Yorkers in need; enrolling young people from all backgrounds to work cooperatively on teams; helping the volunteers make a successful transition to adulthood through learning from service and through a specifically-tailored education program; and promoting federal support of national service.

City Volunteer Corps
Factsheet

Introduction

This chapter focusses on the diverse programs of youth service currently operating within the context of pending federal legislation in its support.[1] The chapter begins with a very broad definition of what constitutes youth service, but narrows the discussion finally to the youth service corps approach. It is divided into two main parts encompassing both descriptive and analytical aspects of programs and their relationships to each other.

The first portion seeks to generally describe a number of representative programs along four of the five primary dimensions outlined in the previous chapter. It also contains a brief history of the latest efforts at creating a federally-led youth service. The politics surrounding the establishment of this nominally national service reflects the current tensions attending the debate nationwide.

The models which might broadly qualify as youth service, but which were not in the survey are briefly described. These largely non-governmental youth programs are included to provide a wider framework in which service corps could be compared. Describing these models is not meant to cite them as alternatives to service corps, but are provided to point

out the variety of paths available which lead to community identity through the practice of service.

The religiously based example described here is the service practices of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (The Mormons). This model represents a youth service within the context of a church-based community. While unacceptable as a public policy model because of its religious content and exclusivity, it provides clear evidence in support of the claim that service promotes positive community relationships.

There are a number of other programs which present variations on youth service although they are not the primary focus of this chapter. The YMCA reflects the middle class, voluntaristic, leadership-building design which includes at least nominal service components. Outward Bound represents a character-building approach with an emphasis on a trial by ordeal. Frontlash is a model for a non-governmental political-activist alternative youth program. These programs are presented as counterpoints to the mainstream youth service programs. They are, however relegated to chapter footnotes. Even with these programs included, they chapter is not intended to claim laying any basis for a comprehensive inventory of programs.

The second part is an analytical section informed from a research survey conducted as part of this work. Programs responding to the survey include a number of high-profile service corps such as the California Conservation Corps, the Michigan Youth Corps, and the New York City Volunteer Corps. These programs reflect the current corps approach to youth service, though they do not include the entire range of youth service approaches available either in theory or practice.

State and local youth service and conservation corps dominated the responses. Programs of interest but not part of the analysis included the school-based service programs, religiously-based programs, and the various foreign programs of national

development and integration and alternative civilian service. These related classes of programs represent possible models for broad public adoption over the next decade, but they didn't respond to the survey mailing. The analysis section is thus focussed on the corps approach. This narrowing has anticipated youth corps coming to proliferate throughout the nation along with school-based service learning. Those service corps that responded to the survey include the best funded, most highly developed and prominent programs operating in the nation. The California Conservation Corps (hereafter known as the CCC), represents the residential state-administered conservation corps model. The City Volunteer Corps of New York City (hereafter known as the CVC) represents the urban community service corps approach administered at the local level. Several of the other respondents are considered variations of these two models, with a only three of them non-government affiliated.

The balance of this chapter evaluates and summarizes the anticipated directions of youth service efforts taken from the survey. Their aggregate commonalties and uniquenesses point towards institutionalization along current organizational lines consistent with federal funding preferences towards broad categories such as youth. This is not illustrative of federal determinism at work, particularly since only 20 percent of the programs surveyed received direct federal funding. On the contrary, it implies federal disinterest of running any youth service programs in favor of state-based efforts. However, a possible increased federal presence in budgetary or in-kind support of youth corps is anticipated which favors the growth of these established programs.

A summary description of the principal youth service organizations follows to aid in describing the origins of their respective missions. This will be done to aid understanding the organizations in relationship to each other and to aid in constructing credible scenarios

to be presented later. It is then to a description of these contemporary programs that this chapter now turns.

Out-of-Mainstream Youth Service Organizations

There are several youth groups that do not meet the normative criteria for consideration as bona-fide youth service models. These are the numerous voluntary organizations that include a youth component, as well as youth organizations that include service within their program menus. Their often incidental efforts to engage youth often end up appealing only to the already altruistically-inclined. They are often too narrowly focussed on specific practices congruent with their larger ideological agendas to be accepted on a broad national level. They do, however, carry attributes which ideologically compliment youth service.

One species of voluntary sector programs approach youth with the ambitious goal of building their characters. In this their is an affinity with the human development side of the youth service program.

On the face of it, it is beyond the scope of this work to speculate on whether the Ys or any other similar voluntary youth organizations described below would or could supplant a public policy approach to youth service. It seems highly unlikely that such organizations are capable of such a role despite the intentions of the more conservative elements of the federal government to have them administer the whole of youth service. Even the the largest and best-supported of the non-profit agencies are hard-pressed to fulfill their current tasks. Without guarantees of funding, presumably at the federal level, there is little incentive for them to expand into new areas of public service. The "thousand points of light" gambit to shift the burden of a number of federal social programs to the voluntary sector has not guaranteed youth service being developed. In fact, the effect may be opposite since, because of their already overfilled agendas, the likelihood of a national-level

youth service movement initiated by the voluntary sector is almost certainly nil. These process concerns are further aggravated by the prevailing youth consumerist culture which is well-entrenched and unlikely to be converted overnight.[2] Incentives to enter service will still require both direct funding and indirect incentive funding beyond the capabilities of non-profit institutions. The fact is that youth service is not cheap. The extent to which the public sector will aid the voluntary sector's administration of youth service on these dimensions that may well determine the success of this approach.

Hindrances aside, the non-governmental, decentralized nature of the Y-type model has current appeal, and can be reconciled with mainstream visions youth service, particularly on the human development, or character-building dimension. There are also peripheral contributions that the voluntary sector might make to youth service. For instance, it could come to pass that youth service administrators might be drawn from the ranks of the Ys, which have long had a reputation for superior organizational abilities. Such demonstrated abilities would be crucial to the success of any youth service program.

Voluntary Sector Models of Youth Service

If schools are included as a component of the state apparatus, the mainstream programs of youth service described in chapter 2 are exclusively state-sponsored. Youth service organizations may, however, exist in non-state-sponsored realms as well. One example of this is may be found in the religiously-based movements for youth which include the Young Men's Christian Association, or YMCA. Begun in London in 1844, it was originally organized as a Bible-study forum for young men who had recently arrived in the industrial cities from the outlying farms and towns to secure employment. It was a kind of haven from the corrupting influences of the cities with their saloons and gambling halls which attracted young single men with free evening time and a little money.

The YMCA came to the U.S. in 1851 and spread throughout the urban United States. The in 1890s, it absorbed and institutionalized the "muscular Christianity" theories of Protestant reformers such as Luther Gulick, one of its early directors.[3] Gulick had drawn heavily upon the theoretical work of G. Stanley Hall, and other widely-known advocates of strenuous physical activity as a purifying agent for young men. The YMCAs provided a forum for wholesome exercise and fellowship with like-minded peers. Over time, it became a solidly middle class institution successfully migrating to the suburbs in the post-WWII era.

Responding to pressure from the burgeoning Scouting movement of the turn of the century, the YMCA expanded its services downward to the younger age cohorts. Nonetheless, it has always been an organization centered upon the "young man", or what is called here youth. Thus, despite its expansion in both directions over time, it is still primarily a voluntary service agency for male youth.

The YMCA eventually moderated its emphasis on developing moral character through physical activity in favor of the more therapeutic theories embraced by the the religious psychologists. The YMCA has thus slowly but consistently broadened its mission to include meeting the psychic needs of its membership in the therapeutic tradition. In attempting to promote a whole-person approach to shaping character, it has included projects, mostly small and ad-hoc, that have both an esteem-enhancing component and a positive social impact. This trend in the direction of character-building through a human development approach makes the YMCA a potentially important model for other, more explicitly service-oriented programs. It would seem to be a relatively small jump for the YMCA into enter into a more active role in the promotion of youth service. However, the present popular image of the YMCA is still that of a middle-class institution of recreation and guidance. For youth service advocates, its middle-class orientation makes the YMCA

model appealing as a means through which the service ethic might be transmitted into the heart of popular consciousness. For example, the "Hi-Ys", the high school clubs contained in the suburban YMCAs, currently offer a range of activities which could be interpreted as character-building and community service. While modest in scope, these activities are more numerous and engage many more middle-class youth than do the youth corps.

Another feature of the YMCA model is its highly integrated local/national organizational structure. YMCAs rely upon the organizing abilities of individual chapter heads and local group solidarity to define their missions. This aspect is very appealing to those inclined towards decentralized voluntaristic approaches to service.

The program objectives of the YMCAs are centered around individuals and families. A consensus towards an explicit service orientation has yet to coalesce. There are formidable structural and attitudinal barriers to be overcome. The Ys are still predominantly viewed as being recreation centers. Club activists are a tiny portion of the membership. There are less than 8,000 staff members to organize a membership of nearly 13.5 million.[4] They work to actualize the broad institutional goals of family development, healthy lifestyles, international understanding, youth development, and community service. Within this framework, the linkages between youth development and community service seem tenuous at best. The YMCA administration describes its current programs as focussing on, "strengthening families, increasing international understanding, promoting healthy lifestyles, and developing communities, youth leadership, and adult health enhancement programs."[5] These goals have been fairly consistent and not substantially changed in the past sixty-five years.[6]

The only programs of note in the realm of citizenship training are in its teen leadership programs which include Youth and Government, Counselor-in-Training, and support of

the Model United Nations Programs.[7] The Youth and Government, and MUN programs are simulated sessions of these institutions. The Counselor-in-Training program is offered as an apprenticeship within the Y's extensive resident and day camp system. These programs are thus not service in the formal sense, but they do have the effect of enhancing commitment to the community. In summary, the YMCA is currently inappropriate as a model for youth service, but it has the potential to play a significant and active role in the future. As the youth service movement gains greater acceptance and support, there may be opportunities for the YMCA to involve itself in its integration and institutionalization as a constellation in the zodiac of youth organizations.

In the case of the YWCA, there is a significant orientation towards more assertive social activism, particularly in relation to women's issues. It describes its orientation as directed towards, ". . . service programs of health education, recreation, clubs and classes, and counseling and assistance to girls and women in the areas of employment, education, human sexuality, self-improvement, voluntarism, community citizenship, emotional and physical health, and juvenile justice."[8] In these areas, the YWCA is well ahead its affiliated brother organization in promoting service among members, which, by extension, includes youth. In terms of a model for community and social service, the YWCA may be a more vigorous non-governmental model. However, while national in scope and large (2,000,000 members), it is eclipsed in membership by its larger male-oriented affiliate.[9]

Youth Service Under Religious Sponsorship

Unlike the YMCA, which has all but secularized its youth service mission, a number of communities have benefited from religiously-based service programs. Prominent examples of this include the Brethren Volunteer Service, Catholic Youth Organization (CYO), and the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints (LDS), popularly known as the Mormon

Church. Most of these organizations are popularly believed to be concerned only with the promotion of the spiritual growth of their participants. Despite a broad array of activities organized under their auspices, they are often perceived to minister to youth more than they promote service by youth. Still, the social gospel has very much influenced the orientation of several of their projects. Much front line social work is done through them, often with youth volunteers.

The relationship between this work and its involvement of youth, is a well-established tradition in the American Protestant application of life-cycle theory. Youth is considered the optimal period for conversion and commitment. The very word "youth", was something of a code for the time for conversion in the missionary literature of the 18th and 19th centuries. The youths who participated in this practice were very much engaged in a sublimated rite of passage experience. In this sense, missions facilitated a passage into spiritual maturity and reproduced for the American Protestant tradition, the Roman Catholic Sacrament of Confirmation which enlisted youth as soldiers of Christ.

The missionary work has directed young believers into institutionally-approved expressions of devotion. If left to their own devices, these "born again" youth would, in their zeal, run afoul of the authorities over questions of scriptural interpretation and prevailing doctrine. Some young zealots might go so far as to establish predominantly youth-inhabited religious communities undirected by the steadying hand of more mature brethren. The conversion process has thus been termpered by instituting a commitment to the missionary obligation which demands faithfulness to the authority of the elders.

The Mormon missionary work follows a pattern which is indicative of this life course channeling process. Young males are sent out, often abroad, to witness to the unconverted and to serve the converted in various capacities. The mission period has the added feature of confirming young males into the values of the church just when males in other

communities are most likely to be leaving their churches. The twin acts of leaving home and leaving the church, which are principle steps in the American male's rite of passage, are reconstructed as challenges of faith and a call to duty in Mormonism. For the male believer, one leaves home to serve the church, and validates his standing within the church through this. The church then becomes the vehicle for entering the adult world and leaving the familial home behind. This better approximates the more primal rites of passage to adulthood that males experience in their going to war. Like a returning veteran (the Vietnam veteran notwithstanding), the returning missionary has an identity with, and a psychic stake in justifying and legitimizing the larger institutional enterprise. The outcome is a loyalty to the institution that usually lasts a lifetime. The female experience is quite different in that there is less call for them to participate in service work outside of the immediate community. The home itself is their challenge. It is their center with auxiliary church-sanctioned support organized in support of the homemaker role. This gender differentiation reflects the community structure on this dimension. It runs in opposition to the national trend towards gender role convergence. It is a testament to the power of the socialization program that this has not resulted in a profound crisis for the church.[10]

The Constitutional issues of the separation of church and state as well as the indoctrinating potential of these organizations would be legitimate concerns for public policy makers. Youth service as missionary work is quite obviously a non-public policy route to the adult world. It would be unrecognized by state institutions as youth service even though the effects are quite similar to those sought in government-approved youth service programs. In the case of the Mormon missionary pattern, it provides a vehicle for confirmation of that community's values which seem to persist in contratrend to the prevailing secular norms. Of course, choosing the missionary commitment indicates an individual predisposition to altruism and service. However, the majority of Mormon youth

do opt for missionary work. In a sense, it demands a committment even from the initially unmotivated. This also confirms the potential of programs that carry with them a value system that youths are obliged to test in the field and then integrate into their lives, shaping their attitudes toward the world. It also reiterates the utilitarian aspects of rites of passage.

Character-Building Youth Organizations

There are organizations which more narrowly focus their activities upon character-building. A noteworthy organization of this type is Outward Bound. Like both the YMCA and Scouting, Outward Bound was founded in England. It was originally established to train sailors for the war effort in 1941. Later, it was expanded as a training program in coastal searches and sea rescues. It came to the United States in the 1960s under the direction of Joshua Miner, its long-time director. In the U. S., Outward Bound challenges youth in various wilderness settings. It compels them to confront and overcome their psychic dread of physical dangers through the use of teamwork and self-reliance. It is an example of the rite of passage approach to character-building. It creates ordeals which must be successfully resolved through direct personal action. Participants go through extensive training with the tasks calculated to challenge, but not overwhelm them.

Outward Bound is a youth service organization that, while effective in its character-building mission might be very controversial if established as a large-scale youth service entity. One particular problem with Outward Bound is its rigorous training component which some consider militaristic. While it has provided participants with a balance of personal enrichment and a service ethic, it has done so by exposing them to challenging situations where both individual discipline and teamwork are essential ingrediants for success. This, along with its early relationship with the British military, has lead to concerns over Outward Bound by pacifist groups as a proto-fascist spawning ground.

Such was the essence of the Quaker critique.[11] If there was a political indoctrination component within Outward Bound, the program would clearly be objectionable. As it is, there is little evidence to support a contention that participants come away from the program with authoritarian, or otherwise manifestly intolerant, or dedicated ideological outlooks. Rather, the evidence points to the Outward Bound experience leading to a more positive self-image and self-confidence among the participants. Still, the approach is highly structured which many confuse with militaristic tendencies.

As with all models of youth service, the extent to which individual participants develop and maintain an altruistic bent is unmeasured at this time. There is some indirect evidence for this claim documented by Fletcher, 1971, and impied in Miner and Boldt, 1981, but the concept is nearly impossible to measure as characteristic. Its being available for programmatic manipulation is also questionable. The programs are relatively short-term; lasting a few weeks or months. In this respect, participants are not well prepared to deal with the long-term, tedious, and persistent problems that challenges the stamina of the public server. Again, there is little evidence to support this speculation, particularly given the fact that a large number of participants in the British Outward Bound experience are drawn from the populations already altruistically inclined such as public employees.[12]

Outward Bound has actively supported youth service in both the U.K. and the U.S.. Joshua Miner, the founder of Outward Bound U.S.A., is himself a member of the Coalition for National Service. He, and the others involved in Outward Bound, carry a positive assessment of youth and view them as essentially interested in proving themselves. This association with the Coalition, and its similar philosophy towards youth does not make it a youth service model. Outward Bound is not itself configured as a mass service providing program. It is perceived to be more of an educational program in self-discovery and personal development which also includes a service component. There are, however,

enriching elements within the Outward Bound experience which could profitably be integrated into a mainstream youth service program. Outward Bound does not engage in moralizing participants into compliance, nor does it attempt to incite personal altruism through voluntarism. Instead, participants are recruited by making it clear that they are to be tested. The 1980 mission statement appears to be a sufficient presentation of the program's goals for youth to mobilize them. It reads in part:

> Outward Bound's purpose is to develop respect for self, care for others, responsibility to the community, and sensitivity to the environment. The Outward Bound process assumes that learning and understanding take place when people engage in and reflect upon experiences in challenging environments in which they must make choices, take responsible action, acquire new skills, and work with others. Outward Bound implements its educational and social purposes by providing leadership in experience-based programs, offering courses in its schools, conducting demonstration projects, and helping others to apply Outward Bound principles.[13]

The confidence and competence-building aspects of Outward Bound would be useful in the preparation of youth servers. Among the various character-building educational organizations in current operation, Outward Bound has the most dramatic effects upon its participants.[14] The extra-costs involved in training, transporting, housing, and feeding the participants might make this approach appear unfeasible, but the benefits in terms of participant retention, effectiveness, and positive public image might offset this concern. Since any serious program of youth service would have to include a training component, this relatively intensive approach might be particularly attractive.

Politically-Oriented Youth Service

Advocates of youth service have consistently embraced it as a rite of passage vehicle for entrance into adult citizenship, as was discussed in the second chapter. The fullest

expression of this ideal would be realized in those participants go on to participate actively in public life. Ironically, there are few existing organizations that explicitly encourage active political participation in the community by youth in the U.S.. The opportunities for inculcating a political consciousness as one prepares to encounter the world as a statutary adult seems apparent, yet formal civic education has been in long decline. While the youth service literature has much to say about transforming youth into community assets, they have very little to say about how they might act as positive political change agents. Mainstream youth service advocates, with the exception of Janowitz and Moskos, have tended to evade this question. After all, politicization is too easily associated with radicalization in the public imagination. Organizations that emphasize political involvement by youth in social movements are thus eschewed as service models. The rationalization is essentially based upon norms of what constitutes service. If the public determines that an activity has no positive material or attitudinal results, then the activity is not public service.

Frontlash, a group oriented toward cultivating greater youth involvement in civil rights and labor movements, is an example of an organization that suffers from this concept of service. It actively seeks to increase the political participation of young people by young people through voter registration drives and coalition-building. Its ideological bent is towards political-economic reform along a liberal-to-radical lines somewhat akin to the agenda of the Jesse Jackson wing of the the Democratic Party. It isn't a subversive organization in the popular sense of attempting to work as a revolutionary front type of organization. If anything it's a political lobby which operates along classic pluralist lines. It specifically seeks to educate youth in how to go about exercising their power to bring about change through the electoral process. For instance, Frontlash has worked to open up restrictions in state voter registration laws. It has also been engaged in educating youth on such issues as education policy, health care, housing, and veterans programs. In this effort

it also exposes youth to the policy agenda of the democratic labor movement. It works to support of organizing drives and boycotts. It also links youth with other groups working on related issues in the tradition of coalition politics. It has supported the expansion of programs in vocational education, youth job training, full-employment, national day care, low interest housing loans, and affordable housing for lower and middle-income families. It has also conducted ten annual training institutes for youths to develop skills in turning out voters, using the media, precinct analysis, public speaking, and volunteer recruitment.[15]

The question that quickly comes to mind is whether this kind of organization is consistent with the spirit of mainstream youth service. Youths who participate in such a program might technically be servers, but the normative vision of youth service denies this. The rational for denial is that they are serving an ideology and not the interests of the public as popularly defined. Political activities are not perceived as service to community and society, but more as service to an agenda that may not serve the public, or prevailing leadership's interests. An organization such as Frontlash certainly confronts the interests of the institutionally privileged. This threat to the structurally-invested deny it and other political organizations of its type the status of a youth service organization.

This uncovers another point of criticism of mainstream youth service in that it generally avoids presenting youth service as a truly meaningful agent of positive political change. The radically inclined would see little merit in service devoid of political content. They would view this species of service as too narrow. By avoiding political content, youth service, by default, becomes an agent for the preservation of the prevailing social structure. Advocates, except for Moskos, have tended to suppress the potential for politically disrupting impacts, perhaps out of fear of alienating the more conservative elements of the youth service coalition. The contributions of the more overtly activist youth service groups

such as Frontlash are thus not considered in the literature and are, in fact, explicitly denied funding in the national youth service legislation. Of course this is criticism is itself an avoidance of the problem of cultivating institutional and public support for youth service. Youth service as a policy has, after all, been vying for institutional and public acceptance for a quarter century. This matter will be considered further in the next chapter.

School-Based Service

In contrast to the small, non-statist models discussed above, school-based youth service is favored by a number of advocates who see it as part of a larger program of school reform and innovation. They have, in turn, influenced several policy makers at the national, state, and local levels. Their advocacy has resulted in limited school-based service being undertaken in a number of districts, and has lead to promotional legislation at the national level.[16]

There is much merit to the school-based approach. Even the normally cautious Danzig and Szanton, 1986, noted that, "The U.S. school system could use a large number of national service participants."[17] They further noted that American public education is a large and extensive system employing some 2.5 million teachers in the late 1980s, and engaged in the education of some 45 million elementary and secondary school students. A 1977-1978 Urban Institute/American Institutes for Research study estimated that some 680,000 young people could undertake tasks in service to their schools. These tasks would include teaching assistance, tutoring, counseling and remedial assistance, office and clerical work, and school facility repair and maintenance. The potential for including even more students is also very high. Donald Eberly estimated the potential school-based participant figure to total around 1 million.[18] The Potomac Institute's Community for the

Study of National Service reckoned that a national tutoring corps alone would absorb 240,000 students.[19]

There are many compelling points in support of the expansion and integration of school-based service-learning throughout the country. The administrative and physical structures are in place, most youths are concentrated there, the incentive of academic credit for service could be easily granted, and it would be the least intrusive of service designs.[20] Theodore Sizer, the educational consultant to Danzig and Szanton, 1986, sums up the appeal of the school-based option in this way:

> In all . . . the schools represent an ideal partner for a National Service program. They are stable, institutionally. The system is large, and thus could absorb many NSP's. The schools are numerous where the population is numerous: there will be few CCC-like relocation problems for NSP's. Educational authorities have a bureaucracy in place to select and supervise participants; some instructors who have trained student teachers from colleges have substantial experience with this sort of supervision. The rewards of labor in the schools are often very visible and heartwarming, quickly attained even by the inexperienced - nice attributes for a National Service program.[21]

Beyond Sizer's observations, there is the fact that American schools are on the verge of confronting massive demographic challenges. Immigrants continue to enter the United States in great numbers. The result is that the proportion of foreign-born and second-generation youth of color is expanding. Their growth is eclipsing even the relatively high birthrates of the traditional "all American" Chicano and Black minorities. The need for social as well as life-experience integration is as great as it ever was. Yet, the national demographic trend points to a decline in secondary school enrollments over the next few years. This means that there would be space available in the average high school for a service program. The decline in the secondary school student population might also allow

for some administrative personnel to take on this new role instead of being laid off, or worse, retained to continue to staff superfluous posts.

There are also remarkable technological innovations such as personal computers and interactive videos, that will challenge American schools. Any such move would quickly confront the issue of how to provide important socialization functions held as a virtual monopoly by the traditional institutions of mass education. Once this socialization function is popularly acknowledged as a basic mission of schooling, but presently lacking, service-learning, especially at the secondary level may be more widely embraced as an alternative. These considerations contribute to the support that service-learning has enjoyed within educational policy institutions, a view initially expressed in the now oft-quoted Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee report of 1974.[22] The Carnegie Corporation later took the lead in promoting service-learning as a viable variation of experiential learning.[23]

The fact that these observations have been made for decades with little apparent movement is unfortunate, but hardly surprising to veteran scholars of education policy. However, the years of advocacy have begun to have an effect, though less on the federal level than on the state and local district level. Calls for service-learning are now being taken up in a number of school districts throughout the country. One early example is the Atlanta Community Service Program, which operates out of the Fulton County School District. It offers a standing model of service as a required part of the secondary school curriculum. This and similar programs in Detroit and Springfield, Massachusetts are among the most recent of the secondary-level programs. Because of their newness, it is particularly difficult to assess the impacts of the service requirement on the students. The good news for this model of service is that most school service programs are still active.[24] District administrators have apparently maintained sufficient enthusiasm to retain the

requirement, and community attitudes have remained positive, if not supportive. The most distinctive and heartening aspect of this program of school-based service is its universality. As mentioned in the second chapter, students are required to contribute a modest minimum of 75 hours of administratively approved, unpaid service sometime between the 9th and 12th grades. Because it is a graduation requirement, there is no targeting, tracking, or other loopholes which could bring inequalities into the program. The specific kinds of service students take up is guided, but is sufficiently open-ended to essentially leave it up to the student to choose. As with youth service programs in general, the tasks the students engage in do not significantly threaten government employees or other public servers since the service is voluntary and temporary. The requirement does not end with the simple performance of the service. Students are required to write a paper detailing what they had learned during the work, demanding time from them to reflect upon and articulate their attempts at meeting public needs in at least a small way. Upon completion of the service, students are given credit for a full semester course.

The apparent success of the Atlanta program has had the unintended effect of making service-learning a very politically attractive program option for an otherwise timid federal administration. In the 1988 presidential campaign, candidate George Bush embraced school-based service-learning as one of the foundations of his YES (Youth Engaged in Service) program. This was part of the President's "thousand points of light" approach to federal retrenchment. School-based service learning has the particularly attractive fiscal appeals of being attachable to an existing institutional structure, and being funded primarily at the local rather than at the federal levels. It's acceptance and expansion would serve administration claims of solidarity regardless of actual level of executive branch support. This would also help to distance the administration from scandal, mismanagement, or

popular rejection of any parts of the program.[25] The structural relationship of the YES program to service-learning is thus politically attractive at a pragmatic level.

The recent federal support of service learning is not to suggest that its involvement is something new. Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), had a service-learning component within its Office of Domestic Operations for several years. However, like so many similar federal programs, the mandate was limited to activities that had to directly benefit the poor. This limited the scope of service-learning that VISTA could engage in. Again, it creates a self-imposed barrier from middle class youth who might also be attracted to service for credit, but cannot qualify for stipends for lack of impoverishment. This and similar restrictions which accompany targeted youth service make open-enrollment an important ingredient for subsequent program success.[26]

The Proliferation of Service and Conservation Corps

Service and conservation corps are probably the fastest growing and best known of contemporary youth service programs. Beginning with the California Conservation Corps in 1977, they have now grown to include over 60 state and local efforts nationwide operating either summers or year-round as of 1989.[27] Their combined annual budgets are about $165 million, and their total number of participants are around 39,000.[28] While there are minor variations in stated orientation from corps to corps, they do not cluster together into any catagorical niche as a group, nor fall into any significant subcatagories.[29] They are all organized to enhance member solidarity and teamwork through strenuous manual labor, seeking to privilege these values as positive characteristics with completed projects standing as monuments to their achievements. The corps, as the organizational designation implies, use a military, or more properly, a militia metaphor which acts to cue the participants into program expectations of discipline and esprit du corps. The significant

difference is that their activities are in defense of the environment, and/or human dignity rather than of the nation-state.[30]

While service corps have proliferated throughout the nation quickly, particularly over the past five years, most of these programs are very modest with only between 20 and 130 participants involved year-round. Virtually all of the programs include an educational and training component. Several increase enrollments during the summer months and fund them with Title II (B) Job Training Partnership Act funds.[31]

The California Conservation Corps is the oldest, serving as the model for virtually all of the other conservation corps now in existence. An aspect of the CCC's origins in the high-unemployment 1970s is its orientation towards providing employment training, which places its mission in proximity to the Job Corps. Unlike the Job Corps model, however, the CCC places special emphasis on providing direct service to the community, seeking a wider participation beyond the traditional job training pool of disadvantaged or "at-risk" youth. This orientation has been more imagination than fact since most corps members are from just such backgrounds. Nonetheless, the image of broad accessibility to all youth has been cultivated by the CCC, and has carried it for well over a decade. Despite in-house efforts at trying to recruit college youth and more women, 70 percent of enrollees were "at-risk" as of 1985.[32] As its name implies, the CCC has generally focussed on environmental projects, although this is now in some flux with the expansion of non-residential centers in suburban areas. Some examples of projects it has undertaken in cooperation with related state agencies include reforestation, park development, salmon restoration, energy conservation, wildlife habitat improvement work, and response to fire and food emergencies.[33]

Public/Private Ventures, funded from a number of foundations as well as the State of California, reviewed the performance of the CCC in 1983.[34] The review generated five

reports which focussed on how the CCC works, who participates, the value of the work performed, who stays with the program, who leaves it, and what happens to corps members after their terms of service are over. The P/PV evaluations, as a whole, were positive and supportive of the CCC's work. There were criticisms regarding its administrative dimension, however. Two significant problems were the relatively high costs of administering the program ($20,000 per participant in 1983), and its very low retention rate (29 percent over a full year in the mid-1980s).[35] However, since this P/PV study was undertaken, there have been a number of changes in the CCC's administrative structure and mission. P/PV noted in its executive summary that several changes took place over the course of their study. These changes included a consolidation of residential centers from 23 to 18, an increase in non-residential satellites from 3 to 20, a related increase in the proportion of non-residential participants from 13 to 25 percent of all corps members, and a net reduction of cost-per-participant from $20,000 to $17,000 annually.[36]

These recent changes have yet to be formally evaluated from within or without the CCC, but they indicate a trend towards a more decentralized and broad-ranging structure. The effects of the expansion of non-residential centers might include more numerous and representative participants. These centers would have greater appeal to the middle class youth since they would impinge less radically on their relatively more comfortable lives. At the same time, this reorientation signals something of a retreat from the vision of the Corps as a rite-of-passage. It is speculative, at this point, as to whether nonresidential programs can be as effective in keeping an esprit du corps and integrative function as vigorous as that found in a residential setting. It is also as yet undetermined whether or not these changes will have an impact upon the very low retention rate which has dogged the CCC. The remarkably large dropout rate seems to be an indicator that the CCC has not been successful in cultivating group identity and solidarity. It could be that the figure is

misleading if interpreted as an indictment of the effectiveness of the CCC. The majority of these leavers are not discouraged, or disinterested dropouts, but rather, move on into employment or schooling.[37]

The high attrition rate is still bothersome to corps administrators, and funds providers. To address this nagging issue, the CCC has considered trying to recruit more college students, rural youth, and women. This reorientation would focus recruitment on those more likely to be committed to the conservation ethic. Thusfar, the CCC has moved ahead only on plans to more actively recruit women into the corps.[38] If plans on engaging the more environmentally conscious are actually implemented, then the CCC will have broken through in the quest to attract more middle and upper-middle class youth. The low-SES urban at-risk youths which, at 70 percent of its membership have been the CCC's mainstay group, will probably diminish proportionally though probably not in terms of absolute numbers. They will continue to be recruited through the channels already established for them, attracted in-part, by augmentations of the academic aspects of the program. In particular, a recent scholarship/bonus option has been offered to help attract and retain this original base group.[39] It is thus unlikely that the CCC would abandon the low-SES participants in its quest to go for a more upscale pool of youth. It is rather seeking to broaden its acceptance within the broad middle, while at the same time, keeping the best of the lower-end backbone of the program. If the CCC is successful in expanding into the middle class, it might lead the youth corps movement into a new phase of expansion in the 1990s. However, if the CCC picked up only modest numbers of middle-class youth, it could lead to a crisis of legitimacy for the entire youth service movement.

A recent spin-off of corps design has been the urban corps which, as the name implies, looks to engage urban youths in both environmental and social service. The City Volunteer Corps of New York City, or CVC, is the urban analogue of the California Conservation

Corps. Much like the CCC, it seeks to engage youth in socially useful, and personally enriching tasks within a corps structure. However, unlike the CVC, it is non-residential, and focuses on the social environment of the city and less on the mangement of the natural environment. It is thus somewhat more diverse in scope than the CCC, and is administered as a non-profit organization. Its early success was largely due to the enthusiastic personal support it received from then New York Mayor Edward Koch. With over 1,000 participants, it is the largest of the locally-based youth service corps. The CVC operated on an $8 million budget in 1988 with most of the funding coming from the city administration. The remainder was derived from contract services with private sources. This is a 20 percent decline from an initial 3-year budget of $30 million which supported up to 800 enrollees at its peak in 1986.[40] In 1988 some 625 youths aged 16 to 20 years old participated in the program, which rendered an annual per-participant cost of $12,800. The 1989 figures show a net participant decline to 500 with per-participant costs also dropping to $12,600 annually.[41] This relatively low cost figure reflects both the more modest training of participants compared to that of the CCC, and its non-residential makeup. While less extensively endowed, it still offers a number of completion incentives, and further aid to those who wish to pursue higher education. It is administered as a private, non-profit organization housed under an entity known as the National Service Corporation, which isn't formally related to any other youth service organization. Its primary funding comes from the City of New York which is also a primary contractor. Other work contracts have come from various non-profit organizations in the area.[42]

The city volunteers were allotted only $81 a week for expenses in 1988 with a $2,500 cash bonus awarded upon completion of a year of service. They are also given the opportunity to receive a $5,000 scholarship for higher education contingent upon their qualifications for entering. The program also includes a component aimed at high school

students which allows them to perform service full-time in the summer, and 6 hours a week during the school year. Corps members are also required to attend evening classes in math and literacy twice a week.[43] This reflects the CVC's attraction of low-SES youth consistent with that of most service corps. This characteristic is reinforced by the CVC's participant ethnic profile. According to the CVC's own 1989 fact sheet, 65 percent of its members are Black, 26 percent are Hispanic, and 9 percent were either Asian or Non-Hispanic Whites.[44] The ethnic breakdowns reflect its predominently inner-urban setting.

Like the CCC, the CVC has a chronic attrition problem. Its 6-month attrition rate in 1985 was 46 percent, with the 9-month rate was set at 59 percent.[45] This attrition was not necessarily due to negative factors such as quitting, or disciplinary terminations. Many were attracted by good job offers, or left to continue their education. Still, the high participant turnover severely limits program continuity, effectiveness, and efficiency. Projects become difficult to complete in a timely manner which doesn't enhance the image of youth servers in general, or that of the CVC in particular. Moreover, its program target of maintaining a corps force level of 1,000 members has also recently become problematic. Increased allocations to recruitment and training draw much needed resources away from program administration, personnel benefits, and project supplies. In spite of this difficult problem, the CVC continues to enjoy strong backing from the city administration, and is often held up as a model for other community-based programs.

The CVC has kept up a record of innovation and sensitivity to participant needs by providing for life beyond the corps. Recent participant-centered programs created at the CVC are oriented towards following up the transition needs of completing corps members.[46] One program informs volunteers on issues in government, ethnic diversity, college and career planning, and other topics determined by the corps members themselves. There is also a new resource directory of jobs available, and individualized career planning

for corps members who have been in the program nine months or more. This aspect of the CVC is a manifestation of the larger issue of preparation for adult citizenship that attends the service corps model and sets it apart from job training programs.

Urban corps based upon the CVC model have gained wide acceptance and have proliferated at a rapid rate in the latter 1980s. Eight other such corps have been established in the cities of Philadelphia, Chicago, Atlanta, San Francisco, East Bay (greater Oakland), Los Angeles, San Jose, and Sacramento in the 1980s.[47] In addition, sixteen other cities have been chosen by the Urban Corps Expansion Project for local-level youth service development.[48] These programs show great promise, but must overcome their overrepresentation of minority participants if they are to be considered bona fide service providers rather than service recipients. Again, the challenge of engaging the middle class reappears.

These programs are often the local receptacles for federal funding, and act as the lead organizations for youth service. The proliferation of such programs in the past few years is testament to the confidence on the part of policymakers in the success of this approach. The arrival of youth service appears close at hand, although its becoming an institutionalized feature of the culture is still some years away. This presumes a combination of effective administration, community support, and an emphasis on preparation for adulthood beyond the dimension of career preparation. It is important to consider the programs that are emerging from an anticipatory point of view. This approach should especially consider the capacity of these programs to both accommodate and effect change, as well as to actualize the citizenship potential of all participants. Some guidence might be drawn from experiences with youth service outside of the U.S. which have been in operation for a considerabley longer time than any domestic programs.

Programs of Youth Service Outside of the United States

Any survey of youth service would be impoverished in content if it focussed exclusively upon programs being developed within the United States. The bulk of youth service efforts have and still lie outside of the U.S.. These efforts provide a valuable base for determining what kind of youth service might be appropriate in this country. They are thus mentioned fairly often in the American national service literature, although they are not extensively evaluated. Naturally, foreign models of national youth service must be carefully evaluated with an acute awareness of their distinctive cultural and historical contexts. For example, the vast majority foreign youth service programs are organized around the highly salient economic development and national integration concerns of Third-World governments. Their concerns include employment training for their disadvantaged youth, study services to distribute professional services to otherwise neglected rural areas, and social and technical development services which act as civil service apprenticeships.[49] Other national service models, particularly those found in Western Europe, are appendages of their compulsory military service policies. The remaining youth service programs include the foreign volunteer services of advanced industrial nations which are mostly spin-offs of the American Peace Corps model.

While these foreign models may aid the social development and integration of youth into adult society, it is very unlikely that these models would be advanced by policy makers here. Americans have had a traditional aversion to embracing foreign program models, prefering instead to rely on home-grown innovations. Still, these models exert an influence on such prominant youth service advocates like Roger Landrum, head of Youthservice America, and former head of the Committee for the Study of National Service. Under a German Marshall Fund grant, he reviewed the German system of alternative service in the late 1970s. His report received wide circulation within the community of youth service

advocates.[50] Danzig and Szanton also modelled their draft-based model almost exclusively upon the West German system.[51] It is this German model of draft-based service that has had the most influence upon American advocates among the foreign models available, and is therefore the focus of discussion here.

There are four obligatory service options available to the young German male. They include eighteen months of military service, three years with the police or border patrol, two years with a Peace Corps-type of overseas program, or an unpaid ten-year commitment to civil defense and disaster relief.[52] The non-military options for German youth include the Overseas Development Service, the Technical Aid Service, and the Civilian Service, which is specific to conscientious objectors.

The Overseas Development Service is a collective of Peace Corps-like programs administered by five private organizations under government sanction. It is elitist in structure, selecting only about 1 in every 29 applicants who pre-contract before age 18, and agree to extensive educational preparation. The overseas service programs are thus a kind of apprenticeship period for specialists in international business, foreign policy, and cross-cultural education. The Technical Aid Service is made up of about 50,000 participants with roughly 65 percent entering under alternative service status.[53] It is organized at the Federal level to provide quick assistance in disasters or public emergencies, particularly those related to transportation or floods. The obligation requires one day of service a week without pay for a period of 10 years. The system is decentralized with 600 local units reporting to 100 area headquarters throughout the country. The final option is the Civilian Service. The program is run under the Federal Commissioner of Civilian Service which is housed within the German Department of Labor. It provides conscientious objectors with a suitable vehicle for performing alternative service without resorting to the specialized or long-term commitments which are features of the other alternative services. It has proven

to be an increasingly popular option with some 80 percent of conscientious objectors (10 percent of West German youth in 1980) participating. In all, some 30,000 youth participate in the Civilian Service as of 1980 with fully one third of them devoted to elderly care.[54] The rest are distributed in other public service functions, especially in the areas of health care. The work is designed to be as strenuous as that of military servers. For their work, they are given the same wages and benefits as their peers in the armed forces.

One need not claim conscientious objector status to be eligible for non-military service options. Landrum notes, "The right not to bear arms, and thus to serve the country in other capacities, has constitutional status in West Germany."[55] Conscientious objectors also still have specific statutory recognition, and in 1983, the qualifications were relaxed to what Moskos describes as a "pro-forma" matter.[56] German conscientious objectors now serve some twenty months of alternative service, *Zivildienst,* which is a one-third longer term than that of regular military servers.[57] Their service is generally confined to the health fields (mostly physical and mental and aged care), social work, and similar human welfare tasks.

While there are a number of non-military options available, most males subject to compulsory service in Germany still join the military. According to Landrum, 1982, conscripts represented just under 50 percent of the total domestic military manpower in 1979. Given that the majority of German males have opted for military service when given a choice, the American defense community's concerns over having to compete with a civilian youth service, while legitimate as concerns, are at least partially overstated. Of course, direct comparisons of the impacts of youth service between the German and contemporary America are tenuous at best, especially because of the AVF. There are obviously significant changes in store for military service in the United States, but the direction back to a draft-based system seems most unlikely. Nonetheless, the German

system represents a distinctive type of youth service that obliges consideration as a contingency design.

Initial Survey Findings

A basic question associated with the development of state-based programs is the extent to which they either echo each other as generic service providers, or respond to the unique needs of both the youth and the publics within their borders. How similarly or differently do these newly-emerged service programs stand in relation to each other? This became the central research question of the survey of selected programs undertaken in 1989. The survey was specifically constructed to answer this question, and to systematize descriptions of the respective programs in terms of their size, budgets, goals, operational characteristics, and advocacy on various youth service issues. The survey was sent to youth service programs gathered from the literature.[58] The instrument itself included sections on personnel, admission criteria, program goals, compulsory and voluntary activities, types of project activities engaged in, budget, and youth-service related issue positions. Information on the programs' voluntariness, size, scope, inter-institutional relationships and costs/benefits were requested for 1985, and for 1990 estimates. The bulk of the survey, however, was concerned with the actual areas of individual program involvement. The survey included space for further elaborations on the responses made, particularly concerning program goals and how these goals were being met. The main section was designed from program categories from Danzig and Szanton, 1986 which, in turn, were developed from their extensive analysis of the literature.[59]

The survey was sent to a number of youth service programs, both public and non-profit, drawn from the field's literature, and from organizational reference works. The respondents' results were coded and factor analyzed.[60] The data matrix was structured in a

Q-sort fashion (the organizations were treated as variables and their characteristics were treated as cases). The factor analysis, explained in greater detail in the next section, employed an orthogonal varimax solution which was the appropriate statistical application to the problem of uncovering the principal organizational dimensions which characterize and distinguish these groups from each other. This analysis yielded dimensions consistent with those outlined in the second chapter. Specific programs were drawn from each dimension and their youth service activities described.[61] The criteria for selection included program representativeness of the dimension from which it was drawn, and the availability of information about it.

Sampling bias certainly occurred in the omission of the religiously-based, and foreign youth service programs which were not solicited in significant numbers. This is not a particularly serious problem in terms of informing a youth service design for a domestic public policy effort because of the practical incompatibilities between approaches. The trend towards the privatization of certain government functions has been anticipated by these organizations, many of which are already doing contract work with both public and private agencies. Any claim to these groups being willing or able to perform the administration of youth service on a large scale is doubtful in any case given the relatively risk free nature of the venture on their part.

A number of caveats must be invoked concerning the survey, some of which pertain to the methodological approach as a whole, and others that pertain specifically to the survey itself. First, there are many youth service programs not surveyed that are also worthy candidates for continued scholarly inquiry. For instance, the political organizations are simply too few, too marginal, and too problematic to consider much beyond the descriptive discussion presented above. This is also true of the religiously-based groups which perform services within their communities, but which would not qualify as bona-fide youth

service in the normative sense of the term. These programs nonetheless contribute significantly to the discourse on youth service designs in their dedication to operating on the tiniest of budgets. Some appear to have attributes effective in engaging youth who might not otherwise be interested in programmic service. Community security programs were not featured in the sample in spite of their being mentioned as models by Danzig and Szanton, and by Moskos.[62] Outside of the Guardian Angels, youth service specifically oriented towards criminal justice and public security is limited to auxilliary or pre-professional training efforts. Non-police associated service of the neighborhood watch variety involving youth is indistinct from adult voluntary efforts. Large-scale youth service involving public security work is also unlikely to develop in the near future given the risks that such activity would entail.[63] For this reason it seems equally unlikely, at this time, for any youth-led activities to expose participants to violence, such as in drug interdiction, or possibly even halfway-house work. The liability issues alone would make any legislative or other funding entities think twice before sanctioning such programs.

The survey cast a broad net in order to systematically lay out the length and breadth of youth service programs extant in the United States and elsewhere. The focus of the survey was fixed exclusively on domestic youth service and conservation corps. While non-U.S. organizations were solicited, only one group responded with most items left unaswered. The lack of response from foreign organizations had the effect of underrepresenting the variety of services that youth routinely provide in other cultural settings.[64]

Table 3.1 below summarizes the survey in an item-by-item format. Here the aggregate commonalities and diversity of the various programs are revealed in the areas of size, scope, sponsorship, criteria for entry and their respective costs to operate. This initial analysis revealed a heretofore unexamined dimension of relative organizational development, which accounts for the small size of many of the groups surveyed.

Table 3.1 Summary of Youth Organizations Surveyed by Item

Item #1 - Organizations participating in the survey included -

* The Vermont Conservation Corps
* The Florida Conservation Corps
* The Arundal Team
* The Marin Conservation Corps
* The City Volunteer Corps
* The Youth Resource Development Corporation
* The Michigan Civilian Conservation Corps
* The Washington Service Corps
* The Wisconsin Conservation Corps
* The Washington Conservation Corps
* The California Conservation Corps
* The Philadelphia Youth Service Corps
* Legacy International
* The Pennsylvania Conservation Corps
* The New York State Conservation Corps
* The Michigan Youth Corps
* The Parks Council
* The Minnesota Conservation Corps
* The Northwest Youth Corps
* Volunteers in Social Service

Item #2 - Total Personnel in 1985 for programs then in operation ranged from 10 (Vermont Youth Corps) to 14,700 (Michigan Youth Corps).
Total Personnel expected in 1990 ranged from 20 (Philadelphia Youth Service Corps) to 18,010 (Michigan Youth Corps).[65]

Item #3 - Organizational Goals included -

* Protecting natural resources (45%)
* Teaching job skills (45%)
* Community development (25%)
* Teaching responsibility, life skills, personal development (25%)
* Academic education (20%)[66]

Table 3.1 Continued

Item #4 - Criteria for program participation included -

* Age (70%)
* Residence (50%)
* Interest in gaining employment / unemployed (45%)[67]

Item #5 Compulsory participant activities included -

* Full participation in projects / work (35%)
* Attendance in training / career development sessions (30%)
* Academic education (25%)[68]

Item #6 40% of the participating organizations didn't list any voluntary participant activities. The remaining respondents named diverse activities with no reasonable categorical overlap.

Item #7 Percentage breakdown of programs providing listed services -

Education -	Mentors	50%
	Teaching Auxiliaries	50%
	Management Auxiliaries	15%
Health Care -	Hospitals	20%
	Mental Retardation Facilities	15%
	Mental Illness Facilities	15%
	Alcoholism Treatment	15%
	Community Mental Health	20%
	Meals on Wheels	20%
	Voluntary Associations	25%
Child Care -	Center-Based Care	20%

Table 3.1 Continued

Conservation and the Environment -	Habitat Improvement	65%
	Hatcheries	50%
	Surveys	40%
	Planting	80%
	Timber Improvement	60%
	Slush Disposal	30%
	Grazing Land Conservation	45%
	Abandoned Mine Lands	20%
	Coastal Zone Protection	50%
	Trail Construction and Maintenance	90%
	Facility Rehabilitation	70%
	New Facility Construction	80%
	Facility Maintenance	50%
	Urban Parks	75%
	Water and Air Quality Monitoring	30%
	Solid Waste Collection, Separation	25%
	Energy Conservation Audits	15%
	Heating Leak Elimination	25%
	Heating Insulation	35%
	Miscellaneous Energy Conservation	30%
	Emergency Energy Assistance	20%
Criminal Justice -	Police Staff Support	10%
	Youth Diversion	30%
Services Not Listed on the Survey -	Structural Restoration	15%
	Disaster Relief	20%
	On the Job Training	15%
	Stream Clearance	15%
	Homeless Relief	10%

Item #8 Total program budgets reported for 1985 ranged from $40,000 (Volunteers for Social Service) to $39,700,000 (California Conservation Corps). The annual cost per participant ranged from $160 (Volunteers for Social Service) to $19,557 (California Conservation Corps). The average budget and cost per participant for 1985 was $5,723,077, and $4,579 respectively.

Total program budgets reported for 1990 ranged from $200,000 (Arundal Team) to $56,000,000 (California Conservation Corps). The annual cost per participant ranged from $357 (The Parks Council) to $28,571 (California Conservation Corps). The average budget and cost for per participant for 1990 was $5,361,000, and $6,335 respectively.[69]

Table 3.1 Continued

Item #9 For 1990, only 4 programs, or 20 percent of those surveyed, reported receiving funding from the federal government. Only 1 of these (Arundal Team) was totally funded from federal sources. Another program (The Youth Development Corporation) received 59 percent of its funding through federal sources.

70 percent of all programs surveyed were operating with state funds with half of them totally funded by the states.

35 percent of surveyed programs received local funding including 2 programs (10 percent of the total) which were predominantly locally-funded (The Marin Conservation Corps, and The City Volunteer Corps of New York City) at 55 percent and 96 percent respectively.

45 percent of surveyed programs received at least some private foundation support with 2 programs (Legacy International and the Parks Council) receiving 55 and 50 percent of their funding in this manner respectively.

5 programs received partial funding through non-profit organizations.

4 programs received partial funding through individual sources.

4 programs mentioned funding from other sources not listed above including the Northwest Youth Corps which claimed 95 percent of its funding through fees for services which was listed under this category.

Item #10 Issue positions -

Federally-led national youth service -	65% favor	45% neutral	
State-led youth service -	85% favor	15% neutral	
Locally-sponsored youth service -	70% favor	20% neutral	10% oppose
Compulsory national youth service -	30% favor	50% neutral	20% oppose
Academic credit for social service -	70% favor	30% neutral	
Civil service preference for servers -	30% favor	60% neutral	10% oppose
School loan preference for servers -	40% favor	45% neutral	15% oppose
A large-scale study of service -	30% favor	65% neutral	5% oppose
Tax credits to sponsors -	55% favor	45% neutral	
Part-time youth service -	60% favor	30% neutral	10% oppose

The survey yielded a total of 21 responses of which 20 were sufficiently complete to enter into the data set. The subsequent factor analysis revealed a complex profile which indicated a great diversity in the sample's orientation and structure. While many of the groups shared similar orientations, there was less of a correlation than expected. For

instance, the relative homogeneity of the nameplates found in the sample would lead to an expectation that the inter-program relationships would be close. Of the twenty service organizations reporting, nine were identified as conservation corps, five were self-designated youth corps or youth service corps, while one used the term, "volunteer corps". The remaining quarter of the sample were non-corps service providers. In fact, there was little commonality between these groups based upon their names. The titles nominally predicted primarily activities such as the conservation corps doing general conservation work, but the borders between conservation corps, service corps and non-corps activities were hardly discreet.

The size dimension had a considerable range. This could be attributed to the relative development of programs, the size of their respective recruitment pools, their criteria for selection, varying attrition rates, and, of course, budgets. The Philadelphia Youth Service Corps, a new program, had a 1990 participant and staff level of 20, while the Michigan Youth Corps boasted a combined force of over 18,000. 80 percent of the sample had personnel totals of between 100 and 1,000, but even this indicates the broadness found from program to program. Some of the larger, more developed programs indicated some confrontation with ceilings with four of them reporting absolute drops in their total personnel figures from the mid-1980s. Three of the four had their budgets cut, while the fourth, the CCC, saw a drop of 71 participants to 1,956 in 1989. The rest showed robust growth indicative of their newness.

While the initial purpose of the survey was to clarify the relationships between species of youth service, the analysis did not yield any comprehensive picture, nor did it identify any preferred program of youth service. With at least some empirical lines drawn, a new analytical phase can begin, informed by this work, which anticipates courses of youth service policy development. The robust development of state-sponsored youth service,

given impetus from Congressional legislation and potentially benefiting from decreased military force levels, suggest an institutionalization at this location.

Another useful outcome is that the observations of Danzig and Szanton, 1986, concerning their low expectations for large-scale programs of voluntary national service ever becoming manifest didn't discourage state and local efforts.[70] Still, all surveyed programs represented only tiny proportions of the youth population in their service areas. Reasons for their relatively small scale include their newness, resistance to a programmatic approach, institutional reluctance to embrace innovation, and a lack of incentives to participate in a demanding and time-consuming activity. For now, incentives beyond certificates, basic sustenance, or even aid to education, appear to be essential for any kind of quantum program expansion.

Interprogram relationships may be constructed and read as a map. This map of types of youth service generated by the survey might provide useful guidance for policy makers. Despite the large number of organizations involved the movement, an analysis of their relationships on the dimensions of size, funding, goals, personnel, services provided, and positions on the future shape of youth service had never been attempted before now. To do this required a Q-sort factor analysis of the survey results. This factor analysis would confirm the broad variety of youth corps and corps-like programs implied but never quantitatively expressed in the general literature. It was constructed to provide very general indicators of the relational constitution of youth service along the framework presented in chapter 2. The previously described dimensions, integrated into the survey instrument, naturally reflected this descriptive framework.[71] Much of the survey included open-ended elaborations which were coded, standardized, and factor analyzed along with the specific responses.[72] These elaborations were helpful in better fixing the shape of individual programs beyond the preconceived notions implicit in any closed response format. The

large number of responses that were open-ended confirmed the multi-dimensional aspects of youth service, and the broad scope of project activities currently available.

Factor Analysis Results

Youth corps might have been expected to make up the principal cluster since they were the most numerous of the youth service organizations surveyed. However, this was not the case, as this designation did not uncover any significant inter-program texture. The most representative organization, Legacy International, does not identify itself as a youth service corps, but rather as an intercultural organization. Even here, it accounted for only 11 percent of the variance.[73] Several corps had more in common with non-corps programs than they did with each other. There was some indication of the job training efforts being distinct from the more mainstream models of youth service. This confirms Moskos 1988, in his observations on exactly this point of distinctiveness. The Congressional national service proposals have been vague concerning what constitutes service as opposed to job training. This is a function of their being influenced by the state programs already in place.

The non-state supported community youth efforts such as Legacy International, The Arundel Team, The Parks Council, Volunteers for Social Service, and The Dutchess County Youth Resources Development Corporation, were remarkably scattered. The Arundel Team was particularly unique, making up a dimension unto itself. This confirms their two-edged property of providing more targeted, specific services. Their somewhat specialized orientations are valuable models for non-corps approaches that might be valuable alternatives, and thus also deserve support.

It should be quickly mentioned that the findings of the factor analysis do not in any way imply relative effectiveness or any other qualitative attributes of the programs surveyed.

The survey was not configured to extract specific information concerning their performance characteristics. The results describe only those attributes built into the survey.

Summary

Weaknesses in the survey design and distribution scheme were, in retrospect, significant, but not devastating. One design problem concerned the bias in favor of describing existing programs which are bound to change as conditions around them change. The survey was not appropriate for evaluating the impacts of the new Congressional and state legislative initiatives expected over the next few years. This is the reason why the chapter's contents were divided into two sections with the first emphasizing various alternative approaches, while this second part deals specifically with the survey.

Formatting was a second possible point of criticism. Several items invited extensive elaborations that had to be placed on a page in the back of the survey. This made the process of completing the survey clumsy and time-consuming. This was in-part, an inconvenience by design. The survey had to strike a balance between adequately describing the broad program characteristics, and dealing with the fine details of the program functions that make the programs unique. The format thus inhibited the presentation of program rhetoric, and promoted short responses to the survey items. The extent to which this may have had the effect of inhibiting any response at all is difficult to gauge. It was probably insignificant since the decision to complete the instrument was probably made before being confronted with this particular feature.

In reviewing for distribution flaws, the survey might be criticized for having at least two. One concerned the timing of the mailings. The sample was mailed out over the summer which is not a good season for responses from institutions. Also, the sample selection itself was neither random, nor systematized under any formal criteria such as

common membership in any association. These were problems that were difficult to avoid. The timing of the mailing was a matter of meeting scheduled completion dates for this study. Waiting would not have necessarily guaranteed an improved response rate. It certainly would have delayed the analysis and the completion of this work. The less than comprehensive nature of the sample was a function of having no authoritative youth service program directory to draw from. The sample thus came from three reference sources of youth service programs. Two of the sources were standard organizational reference guides. The other source was from the Human Environment Center, associated with the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps. The combined sample totalled over 60 separate youth organizations, most of which having bona fide youth service components. This conformed with numbers gathered by NASCC in its youth service corps listing.

While the generic weakness of survey research as a forcasting tool, the survey was still very important in terms of contributing towards an understanding of the youth corps approach. It definitely contributed towards an appreciation of the variety of contemporary government-sponsored approaches. Its primary purpose of gauging the characteristics and relationships of known projects was also fulfilled. Any attempt at assessing non-existent programs would have been absurd. The responses here told advocates and potential sponsors of proposed programs what to expect in terms of actual numbers of participants, attrition rates, and other such items which might otherwise have been speculative. Since the proposed larger-scale programs are essentially fortified projections of existing ones, this information has immediate utility in their design.

The wide variety of youth service proposals imply exciting possibilities ahead. The small-scale programs, originally considered useful as demonstration projects, or as seed programs might be optimally scaled programs as they stand, possibly leading to a highly

individualized and democratized approach to the issue of youth participation. While these programs have not been sufficiently powerful to engage a critical mass of youths into a popular movement, they have served as models upon which virtually all forms of small-scale youth service has come to emulate.

As interesting and useful as these current small-scale state, local, and voluntary sector programs are, they are not national service. They are nation-wide expressions of local youth service. Still there is nominal congruence in terms of intended outcomes for youth, administrative issues, and similar institutional challenges. The inclusion of the various Congressional proposals for youth service within the general survey was thus essential. Its inclusion worked especially well in indicating the relationship between national service and youth service in the voluntary sector and at the state and local levels.

The empirical portion of this work is completed, but, of course, more questions are raised than are answered. While the analysis did outline the range of youth service corps, it was hardly comprehensive. Youth service activities spill out beyond the corps context. As pointed out by Danzig and Szanton, the U.S. has a large number of other well-developed voluntary youth service programs. This makes problematic the creation of any agency which could claim to formally certify and regulate services that they provide. As well, corporate or professional institutional support for those who complete "official" service stints would probably be directly tied to their guidelines as to what constitutes program success. For instance, certain industries or professional groups might not determine whistle blowing as an appropriate civic act. These issues must be considered in any assessment of just how long it might take to prime the pump for an institutionalization of youth service.

This issue aside, the analysis can now proceed to a review of the program issues confronting youth service corps in the 1990s. This includes an evaluation of various

implementation issues which such programs are likely to encounter. This evaluation will be drawn from the mainstream youth service corps literature which is oriented less towards a national youth service, than towards a nationwide network of state youth service programs funded through federal/state inter-agency partnerships. Particular attention will be paid to their administrative aspects.

The emerging NASCC literature is the primary basis for this portion of the work, along with information provided by the established national service literature previously cited. This literature points to the next generation of youth service programs being even more diverse. The new developments of the latter 1980s will also be added to the analysis, including the impact of the military force reductions not considered by the previous literature. There is also the impact of enhanced demand for social services brought on by coming demographic and economic change. There is also the influence of organizations such as the NASCC and its associated constituencies which are presently shaping and guiding the development of these corps. It is within this milieu that the issues of service corps design and implementation in the 1990s are to be considered. .

Chapter 3 Notes

[1] The chapter limits its range to the late 1980s, which is unfortunate in that crucial federal legislation which would fundamentally affect youth service in the U.S. had not yet been passed by Congress. The basic form of the National and Community Service Act of 1989 is, however, set and appears to be assured passage.

[2] The extent to which altruism will be promoted by the popular youth media is a indeterminate in this calculation although there are considerable indications that this is already taking place. Community activists and corporate advertisers share a belief in this group's potency for mobilization. Given the time that they devote to assaulting the hearts and minds of the Post-Pepsi generation, there must be effects, although the extent of their impacts are beyond the scope of this work. This is not to say that altruism isn't also a reflection of maturing values. Witness the quote from Roger Waters', "On the Turning Away", which introduces the second chapter. Constrast this to the earlier Pink Floyd album, The Wall, which is an explicit commentary on youth alienation. The commercial success of both of these recordings was due to their articulating a collective transition from youth to adulthood; a journey from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s. The popularity of both The Wall, and The Delicate Sound of Thunder, albums despite their very different themes, reflect the maturity of the audience as well as the band's own songwriting development. In the final analysis, however, Pink Floyd's success is a credit to Water's in sensing the shift in values from merely complaining about institutional dominance to calling for personal committment, and expressing this in a lyrical manner that has kept the band at the opinion-leading forefront of rock and roll. As one interviewer put it, Waters built The Wall, so that he might tear it down. Taken from an interview with Roger Waters on The Wall, broadcast on KPOI FM, Honolulu, 9:00 a.m., July, 16, 1989.

[3] Kett, Joseph F., Rites of Passage, New York, Basic Books, 1977. p. 203.

[4] Koek, Karin E., Susan B. Martin, and Annette Novallo eds., Encyclopedia of Associations, Part 2, 23rd edition, Detroit, MI: Gale Research Inc., 1989. Ref. 11640.

[5] Ibid.

[6] Kelt, Joseph, op. cit., 249-250.

[7] YMCA of the USA Program Services Division, Programs Training Resources, (pamphlet), Chicago, YMCA of the USA, 1989.

[8] Koek, et al, op. cit., Reference 11641.

[9] Ibid.

[10] A very scholarly elaboration on the intricacies of gender relations developed within the Mormon faith is found in Beecher, and Anderson, eds., Sisters in Spirit: Mormon Women in Historical and Cultural Perspective, Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987.

[11] Kurt Hahn's retort was that the Friends were more interested in pacifism than they were in peace. See, Miner and Boldt, Outward Bound U.S.A.: Learning Through Experience in Adventure-Based Education, 1981, p. 45.

[12] Fletcher, Basil Alais, The Challenge of Outward Bound, London, Heinemann, 1971.

[13] Miner, and Boldt, op. cit, p. 348.

[14] Fletcher, op. cit., pp. 98-108.

[15] Koek, Karin E., Susan B. Martin, and Annette Novallo, eds., op. cit., Reference, 15959.

[16] Title I of S. 1430 funds school-based service, administered through the Department of Education.

[17] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 21.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.

[20] These reasons favoring a school-based service were dealt with at some length in the previous chapter, and to avoid redundancy, they will not be developed again here. Suffice to say that this design enjoys at least co-equal status of support among youth service advocates.

[21] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 23.

[22] Coleman, J., et al., Youth: Transition to Adulthood. The Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.

[23] See Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, Giving Youth a Better Chance: Options for Education, Work, and Service, San Fransico, Jossey-Bass, 1979.

[24] The programs mentioned above are still in operation, as well as optional programs in the states of Connecticut, Maryland, and Utah. Maryland's program was a demonstration program started in 1979, involving two high schools, one of which dropped the program in 1983. See, Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 90.

[25] This reluctance of the administration in taking the lead might also be due to a lack of push to do so by school administrators who are also wary of taking on a venture that they are unfamiliar with. This has been the situation in Hawaii where the state Department of Education has shown reluctance at embracing school-based service legislation, For example, the D.O.E. suggested in testimony on a 1990 school-based service bill, that the program be run by parent advisory groups rather than directly by the D.O.E. itself.

[26] This is a point made throughout Moskos, 1988, op. cit., as well as The Potomac Institute, 1979, Sherraden and Eberly, 1979, and Eberly, 1989. Given these expert observations, it is remarkable that there are as many targeted programs in operation as there are.

[27] National Association of Service and Conservation Corps, "Conservation and Service Corps Profiles", (Pamphlet), August, 1989.

[28] Ibid.

[29] My survey findings inform this statement.

[30] The resemblance has probably been as much a hindrance as a help since there are lingering concerns among some that there is a hidden militarist agenda associated with the conservation and service corps. This has been apparent in numerous conversations with people, mostly within the academic community, who still carry suspicions of any uniformed service being anything for them.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Lah, David, Sally Leiderman, and Wendy Wolf, "The California Conservation Corps: An Analysis of Participant Characteristics", (Executive Summary) Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures, 1985. p. ii.

[33] National Association of Service and Conservation Corps, 1989, op. cit.

[34] This report series was made public by Public/Private Ventures in 1985.

[35] Moskos, op. cit.

[36] Public/Private Ventures, The California Conservation Corps: An Analysis of Short-term Impacts on Participants. Philadelphia, PA: Public/Private Ventures, June, 1987.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Telephone conversation with Susanne Levitsky, Public Information Officer with the California Conservation Corps, April 16, 1990.

[39] Moskos, 1988, op. cit., pp. 71-73.

[40] Ibid.

[41] National Association of Service and Conservation Corps, 1989, op. cit.

[42] Moskos, 1988, op. cit., pp. 71-73.

[43] City Volunteer Corps, Fact sheet, April, 1989. City Volunteer Corps, New York, New York, p. 1., and The William T. Grant Foundation, "Citizenship Through Service: Pathways to Success for America's Youth and Young Families", (pamphlet of a chapter excerpt from, The Forgotten Half: Pathways to Success for America's Youth and Young Families, Washington, D.C.: Youth and Americas Future: The William T. Grant Commission on Work, Family, and Citizenship, November, 1988.

[44] Ibid., p. 1.

[45] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 194

[46] Lewis, Anne C., "Facts and Faith: A Status Report on Youth Service, Youth and America's Future: The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship", August, 1988. p. 14.

[47] Brochure information furnished by the Urban Corps Expansion Project; a collaborative effort by the NASCC and Public/Private Ventures.

[48] The Urban Corps Expansion Project is a collaboration between the NASCC, Public/Private Ventures, and six other foundations to promote youth service nationwide.

[49] See, Pinkau, Irene, "National Service in Kenya, Nigeria and Indonesia", in Sherraden and Eberly, eds. National Service, Social, Economic and Military Impacts, New York, Pergamon Press, 1982, pp. 53-70.

[50] See, Landrum, Roger, "National Service in France and West Germany", in Sherraden and Eberly, eds., op. cit.

[51] Danzig, and Szanton, op. cit., p. 134.

[52] Landrum, op. cit., pp. 72-73, and Römer, Karl, ed., Facts About Germany, Lexikon-Institut Bertelsmann, 1987, p. 156. According to Römer, the German military service requirement was extended from fifteen to eighteen months in June of 1989.

[53] Landrum, op. cit., p. 72.

[54] Ibid., p. 74.

[55] Landrum, op. cit.

[56] Moskos, op. cit., p. 186.

[57] Ibid.

[58] The programs were mostly drawn from the NASCC literature, but a standard organzational reference, Burek, Deborah, Karin E. Koek, and Annette Anovallo, eds., The Encyclopedia of Associations 1990, 24th ed., Detroit, Gale Research Inc., Volume 1, parts 1 and 2, 1989, was also used for selecting non-corps youth service organzations. The instrument design drew upon the typologies developed within the literature, particularly from Danzig and Szanton, 1986; various publications of the Human Environment Center, 1988-89; Moskos 1988; The National Service Secretariat's youth service survey for 1987, and the William T. Grant Foundation's Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship, 1988.

[59] Danzig, Richard, and Peter Szanton, National Service: What Would It Mean?, Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1986. p. 29-38.

[60] The analysis was run using the factor analysis program on the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences package (SPSSx).

[61] The instrument's organization for the purposes of this study varies from that developed in the second chapter, ignoring the voluntary/compulsory dimension for lack of variance (no compulsory programs were surveyed), and the cost-benefit dimensions since all surveyed programs were voluntary and the data on the worth of completed projects was virtually impossible to measure in any meaningful comparative fashion.

[62] Danzig and Szanton, op. cit., p. 37-38, and Moskos, op. cit. p. 79-82.

[63] This is despite the findings of Wilson, 1968, that indicated 37.8 percent of all police activities are non-order maintaining, non-law enforcing service in nature, mostly consisting of responding to accidents, illnesses and ambulance calls, fires, downed power lines, and trees. See Wilson, James Q., Varieties of Police Behavior, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968, p. 18.

[64] Some features of these foreign services may be useful to consider for application in the American context. This is true particularly in terms of their approaches to national integration as well as creating and maintaining an esprit du corps. This is not without precedent. The now well-established, YMCA, Scouting, and Outward Bound movements were all originally British. As well, Donald Eberly's original inspiration for a national youth service came from his work in Africa.

[65] There was a net 1985 - 1990 decline of 5.7% in the average size of programs.

[66] 20% of the participating organizations didn't respond to this item.

[67] 15% of the participating organizations didn't respond to this item.

[68] 20% of the participating organizations didn't respond to this item.

[69] Net declines in budget and personnel are mostly due to lower youth unemployment over the past 5 years.

[70] Ibid., p. 212.

[71] As mentioned in end note 3 above, the voluntary/compulsory dimension was dropped from the analysis since all youth service in this country is voluntary. Even the adjudicated community service option is technically voluntary given the element of choice presented to the convicted. However, laying the more exotic definitions of service aside, the survey did find that the vast majority of programs (80 percent) had at least one compulsory duty built into them, while 70 percent had at least two. These compulsory elements were diffuse with the largest single element being the demand for full participation in the work projects.

[72] The data matrix was standardized by both row and column. Many factor analyses are flawed for not being standardized by row, especially where the individual values have a wide range such as in this study.

[73] See Appendix A.

Chapter 4
Implementation Issues

With the president's proposal in hand, it now appears to be a virtual certainty that Congress, for the first time in decades, will enact some new "national service" programs, as they have come to be called.

Phil Kuntz
Congressional Quarterly
June 24, 1989 p. 1555

. . . this does appear to be the year in which some sort of a form of legislation of this kind is going to come together.

Ted Koppel
Nightline
April 15, 1989

Introduction

Support for youth service gained momentum in the late 1980s. Unlike the late 1970s and early 1980s, both Congress and the administration came to publicly favor it. The Bush administration tentatively pressed for a national youth service after the 1988 election. Congress, guided by the National Association of Service & Conservation Corps began to move towards providing enabling legislation for a nationwide youth service initiative. These actions in support of the youth service indicated a transition in the issue from movement to program.

With the enactment of state and local youth service programs nationwide, a number of implementation issues confront the 101st Congress and the Bush administration. This chapter will be primarily concerned with these issues as they pertain to the Congressional model of youth service. The administration's vision is also considered, but more as an alternative - a second line of thought which has influenced the Congressional version. The

purpose is to both anticipate and evaluate the practical administrative issues that accompany initiation and organization of youth service projects, within the context of the state-based models which both the Congress and the Bush administration favor. To the extent that it is possible, it will elaborate on those issues that are specific to youth service programs. In this regard it will especially refer to the features of those programs described in chapter 3 which are now impacted by the federal-level legislation. This chapter is then something of an anticipatory investigation of the institutionalization issues of youth service organziations. It will especially focus on the administration and Congressional versions of youth service developed in 1989. These divergent program designs are evaluated in terms of their ideological underpinnings largely associated with these two branches of government. Their characteristics stand in sharp contrast to the hypothethical models employed by Danzig and Szanton, 1986. Having actual legislation to evaluate rather than models is a modest advance in the discourse of youth service, but it also brings about a confrontation with the mudane issues of actually running such programs.[1] Since major federal legislation has only recently been passed, issues attending the administation of youth service are unavoidably speculative. The observations here are supported by the practices of programs currently in place and running, which is actually one of the main points of this chapter. Government sponsored youth service efforts are prone to treating youth as a problem group and can be expected to maintain this attitude indefinitely. This is abetted, in large part, by the operations of front line youth policy advocacy groups like the Human Environment Center, an affiliate of the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps. It has come to greatly influence the debate by framing the debate within the context of a crisis which is an effective means for gaining attention by policymakers within the beltway.[2] One result of this is that implementation issues tend to be presented in generic and

standardized terms, regardless of their sponsorship, since the focus of the discourse is towards shaking loose federal funding.

To a large extent then, this chapter is an exercise in anticipitory public administration, emphasizing both immediate and long-term program concerns. The final section departs from this theme somewhat, touching upon youth service as a catalyst for developing non-programmatic structures. It will also serve as a basis for describing the efforts at creating a youth service program in Hawaii. A narrative of that effort is presented in the fifth chapter.

Organizing Youth Service in the 1990s

The Bush administration has, for its part, been sensitive to the communitarian nostalgia which has become a signature of the late 1980s, but has been unwilling to take programmatic action citing budget constraints. It has maintained a rhetorical posture in support of voluntarism and has implied support for youth service. Since the inauguration, however, this support has consistently stayed rhetorical and non-programmatic.

In spite of administration indecision, several demographic and economic factors have come together to create a political and social climate favorable to the advancement of youth service. The baby-boomers have made the transition into parental adulthood, and have turned their attention towards a widening set of relations beyond that of the immediate family. Social commentators such as Bellah, 1985, have found a receptive audience to their suggestions that American individualist utilitarian values be tempered with community concerns.[3] Americans have become more sensitive to the quality of life issues that affect their own children such as crime, education, unemployment, and the environment. The dissolution of communism in Eastern Europe and the relative tranquility in our international

relations has cultivated greater popular reflection on domestic conditions. This has lead to popular support for reforms of various kinds.

Several public opinion polls conducted over the mid-1980s have supported this view contradicting the neo-conservative line which claimed a mandate for federal retrenchment. Composite polls by the National Opinion Research Center conducted from 1984 to 1986 indicate broad support for increased federal intervention in the provision of social services. The poll results indicated support for increased federal spending in such areas as assistance to the poor (65%), education (65%), law enforcement (63%), the environment (61%), health (59%), and protecting social security (56%).[4]

The attitude that the federal government should do more for people has not come from a sense of malaise, however. There was still widespread optimism, and satisfaction with life. Some 78 percent of Americans surveyed felt they had a good chance at having a good life.[5] This optimism coupled with a nagging concern over social ills has not hurt the cause of youth service. Voluntary youth service commanded an 83% favorable rating according to Gallup, 1987.[6]

Such numbers were not lost on the Bush campaign strategists who were never ideologically dedicated to the Reagan Revolution to begin with, but who saw merit in government partnership with private and volunteer agencies. Their "kinder, gentler America" gambit struck a positive response among voters. Later, in his inaugural address, George Bush would continue associate himself with the communitarian line:

> My friends, we are not the sum of our possessions. They are not the measure of our lives. In our hearts we know what matters. We cannot hope only to leave our children a bigger car, a bigger bank account. We must hope to give them a sense of what it means to be a loyal friend, a loving parent, a citizen who leaves his home, his neighborhood and town better than he found it.[7]

Poll numbers and electoral success based upon communitarian themes have not been ignored by a new generation of Congressional leaders who have placed youth service on the national agenda and on the fast track to passage. A heretofore timid Congress has come so far as to construct at least a skeleton national youth service entity. Even with the Gulf War, economic necessity will drive an otherwise idealistic sentiment for demilitarization and redirection of youth into more constructive and economical routes to reintegration. Enough Congresspeople recognize the preeminent threat to American security is domestic infrastructural, economic and social disintegration, and will seek remedies consistent with this understanding.

It has come to pass that the two principal lawmaking branches of government have acknowledged a popular consensus for a national-level youth service. This acknowledgement, while bipartisan, has not yet resulted in a unified response. Nineteen of the twenty-one youth service measures originally introduced in the 101st Congress were sponsored by Democrats. This was due, in part, to the Republicans waiting for the administration to propose legislation. It also indicated a profound ideological split between the two parties on how to approach the institutionalization of service. The Democrats sought a programmatic solution in the tradition of the New Deal CCC, while the Republicans sought a more economical solution, promoting programs of mass voluntarism. President Bush made this preference clear in his inaugural address, " . . . we will turn to the only resource we have that in times of need always grows: the goodness and the courage of the American people."[8]

Voicing support for programs and effectively implementing them has always been a study in political doublespeak. The massive federal budget deficit has made an intervention along New-Deal lines untenable. On the other hand, the reactionary-populism incited by the

Reagan administration has also dissipated. The classical-liberal/neo-conservative ideology of the Reagan presidency has given way to the more "enlightened" corporate Republicanism of the Bush administration.[9] The administration, nervous over the deficit, has not been inclined to transform its rhetoric into a national social reform agenda, presumably because of its costs. It has, instead, embraced voluntarism and has attempted to equate youth service with it. The combination of the twin virtues of altruism and austerity are thus manifested within the Bush administration's youth service policy. This policy vision was set forth with little consideration as to how very daunting the combination would be to the vast majority of youth. After all, they have been largely socialized into the consumerist ethic and are suspicious of programs which sound like something for the poor. As well, they have the option of creating their own informal rites of passage. To make the programs popularly acceptable to youth and successful as a rite of passage, Congress, as a practical matter, would have to provide youth service programs with significant incentives. Under the Bush plan, there would simply be too few substantive incentives offered.

The National Service Bills of the 101st Congress

There were originally 21 major youth service bills in the 101st Congress which ranged from the expansion of existing programs, to the implementation of virtually compulsory service. These bills divided into five general categories of youth service, a number of which were described in the previous chapter. They included programs to expand existing youth service programs, incentive bills, school-based learning grants, bills to authorize a national conservation corps, and hybrid bills which combine two or more of the four types.

Table 4.1 National Service Bills of the 101st Congress by Type, Number and Purpose[10]

Type	Number/Sponsors	Purpose
Supplements to Existing Programs	HR 1312/Owens	VISTA program expansion
	HR 2159/Fascell	Peace Corps reauthorization
	HR 2421/Kildee	ACTION elderly programs reauthorization
	S 539/Bumpers	DOE requirement to publicize loan deferments for student volunteer work
	S 683/Cranston	Reauthorizes Peace Corps
Youth Service Incentive Bills	HR 660/McCurdy S 3/Nunn	Student aid contingent upon completion of service
	HR 948/Kennelly	Student aid or home-buying incentives based upon service
	HR 985/Morella	Incentives for Peace Corps volunteers
	HR 1000/Bonior S 408/Mikulski	Student aid or home-buying incentives based upon part-time service
	HR 1615/Garcia S 576/Pell	Student aid for full-time community service
	HR 2084/Kennelly	Student aid or home-buying incentives provided before actual performance of service
	S 540/Bumpers	Partial forgiveness of Perkins student loans to full-time volunteers
	S 541/Bumpers	Partial forgiveness of Stafford loans for full-time volunteers

Table 4.1 (continued)

Type	Number/Sponsors	Purpose
School-Based Service Programs	HR 2591/Ford S 650/Kennedy	Grants for school-based programs
	S 382/Grahm	Grants for school-based programs
	S 689/Domenici	Grants for school-based community service programs
Conservation Corps	HR 781/Gaydos	A national conservation corps
	HR/ 1408/Williams S 232/Moynihan	A national conservation corps
	HR 1474/Martinez	A national conservation corps
Hybrid/Miscellaneous Programs	HR 717/Panetta S 322/Dodd	A national conservation corps and a Youth Service Corps for more general social service
	HR 1947/Owens	School-based service grants and expansion of VISTA
	HR 1951/Porter S 781/McCain	Part-time national service, enhanced student aid to military servers, and requirement for an executive branch plan for a comprehensive national service program

However, their introduction as ad hoc, particularized legislation put each bill at risk of being bogged down in committee, in conference and/or competing for votes with the other similar measures. It was thus obvious, for both political and practical reasons, that the bills had to be merged into a single omnibus bill. If legislated piecemeal, youth service would

be administered as a diffuse set of programs with no central guiding authority. Agencies charged with the added task of administering any new youth service programs would do so with varying degrees of comprehension and enthusiasm. The new programs in old agency bottles would also be quickly captured by the administrative norms of the respective agencies. There would be less of an opportunity for developing an autonomous and innovative program congruent with the preferred mainstream vision of youth service.[11]

At the time of this writing, Congress has still not enacted youth service legislation although the process is well underway. It is therefore difficult to speak with authority on its final characteristics. The situation, however, is very consistent with the mainstream proposals mentioned in chapter two and the various state, local and voluntary-sector programs organized along the lines outlined in chapter 3. This, and the other bills presented in this Congressional session give a good general indication of the intentions of national legislators. Exactly which vision, or combination of visions of youth service will prevail is still undetermined at this point. There has been significant variation among the various bills competing for passage. It then becomes speculative to attempt to anticipate those issues expected to accompany youth service plans coming out of Congress. Any discussion must be approached by examining the programs by general type.

S. 1430 - "The National and Community Service Act of 1990

The Senate Democratic leadership was very cognizant of the problem of the sudden influx of competing youth service legislation. An omnibus bill, S. 1430, was created under the their guidance. It combined features of the other youth service bills previously introduced which helped to guarantee its passage in the Senate. S. 1430 was passed by the Senate in January of 1990, and is currently under consideration by the House where it has

languished through the summer of 1990, bogged down in a number of committees. It is still expected to be passed, albeit with significant changes which will then be negociated in conference committee.

The most troublesome player in getting S. 1430 assembled was Georgia Senator Sam Nunn who only grudgingly gave up provisions entitling youth servers to exclusive access to federally-backed student loans. Its final list of sponsors included Senators Kennedy, Mitchell, Pell, Nunn, Mikulski, Dodd, Robb, Graham, Simon, Matsunaga, Inouye, and Bumpers. With its passage the Congressional model for youth service was made a full-fledged national program.

S. 1430, as introduced and reported out of committee, was composed of six titles. Title I established a school-based community service at all grade levels including university, integrated with work-study programs; as well as provisions for student loan deferments, cancellation, and forgiveness. Title II created a Youth Service Corps. Title III established a supporting apparatus for a National Service Demonstration Program. Title IV established a Corporation for National Service to oversee the implementation of titles II and III. Title V authorized a $10 million increase in the VISTA program authorization. Title VI allowed the expansion of a set volunteer programs for senior citizens originally mandated under the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973.

Under the initial Title I proposal, $100 million in funds were to be authorized for the Secretary of Education to provide grants to, "create or expand service opportunities for students and out-of-school youth and for community members, particularly senior citizens, to volunteer in schools.[12] Service opportunities included any, "program or project enabling students or out-of-school youth to perform meaningful and constructive service in agencies, institutions, and situations where the application of human talent and dedication

may help to meet human, educational, and environmental community needs, especially those relating to poverty."[13] It could be presumed that these service opportunities would also be determined through the models already operating in several schools and institutions of higher learning. Expert groups with access to the Secretary of Education such as the Carnegie Corporation, and the National Association of Youth and Service Corps, would also influence the constitution of service.

Title II authorized $100 million for the creation a youth service corps under the direction of a National Service Board established under title IV. The youth service corps were defined as that which, " . . . offers full-time, productive work (to be renumerated through stipends) with visible community benefits in a natural resource or human service setting and gives participants a mix of work experience, basic and life skills, education, training, and support services."[14] The intent of this title was to support the establishment and development of state and local youth corps, many of which were already well underway. This title was thus closest to the emerging popular conception of youth service. The title contained a provision that youth corps projects could not duplicate work already done as a routine of the employing agency. This would placate those state or local employees who would be threatened with displacement by corps participants.

Title III authorized $100 million for National Service Demonstration Programs which would also seek partnerships with private and non-profit organizations, as well as with institutions of higher learning. This title was created to provide for service projects not already covered under titles I and II. This title would also be administered under the National Service Board which would award grants to those state applicants that met a rather loose set of criteria. A unique feature of this title was the provision for special senior service members, individuals age 60 and over, who would work full or part-time in a

service program.[15] Like the provisions in title II, the orientation was to be in the area of anti-poverty services, but with special emphasis on human services in the areas of health, literacy, child care, public safety, as well as environmental service.

S. 1430's Title IV created a nonprofit Corporation for National Service, which would be statutorily autonomous from the federal government. This corporation would be charged with the administration of funds for titles II and III.

Title V contained supplementary 1990 to 1993 appropriations to the VISTA program. Its funding was bolstered in an attempt to bring its participant levels back up to its previous peak levels. This was a non-age specific title aimed at encouraging voluntarism throughout all age cohorts. The title seemed to be designed to increase support for the bill from volunteer agencies nationwide.

A "National Older Americans Volunteer Programs Expansion Act of 1989", was added as Title VI. It was intended to expand various existing senior volunteer service programs mandated under the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973. It especially sought to fortify such ongoing operations as the Retired Senior Volunteer, the Foster Grandparent, and the Senior Companion Programs. This was in line with earlier recommendations that senior citizens were a valuable resource pool that deserved federal support as much as youth service did.

A wide variety of youth service programs nationwide would thus benefit from the bill, but to what end? Its primary intent was to, "renew the ethic of civic responsibility in the United States."[16] How this intention of renewing civic responsibility through service activities was going to occur was not specified, but was instead left to a national youth service board to determine. This board would become the final determiner of civic responsibility. Despite the dearth of guidance on how service would create civic

responsibility, the intuitive appeal was sufficiently powerful to allow for its passage without overdetermining its administration. The presumption in Congress has been that engaging youth in environmental and social service would automatically lead to increased civic consciousness. Certainly youth would now have an option of expressing themselves in active environmental, and/or social involvement instead of working as fast food counter help. The experience would certainly bring youth into contact with community problems. In this sense S. 1430 was powerful legislation even beyond its intent. Its realization would be, however, a challenge in the administration of service. In this sense, the legislation, itself years in formulation, was the easy part of the process. This aspect was recognized, in part, by the competing vision of the Bush Administration which relied more on promoting the rehabilitation of communitarian values. The administration alternative was also subordinate to the larger project underway for a graceful federal exit from its substantial commitment to social services it had assumed over nearly sixty decades. This approach is examined below in counterpoint to the Congressional vision of youth service.

YES to America vs. S. 1430

George Bush's administration made initial moves in support of youth service. An office for voluntary service was set up in the Old Executive Office Building within a month of the President's inauguration. It was headed by Gregg Petersmeyer, who was the former Colorado Bush campaign manager. His office has acted as the main clearinghouse and information provider for the Administration. After this quick installation, however, the YES to America movement orchestrated by the White House stalled through the balance of 1989. In the interim, the U.S. Senate put its own package (S. 1430) together and took the initiative away from the administration.

The Bush plan essentially centered around a general voluntaristic package to be administered by a Congressionally mandated "Points of Light Initiative Foundation". This foundation was to have been the principle coordinating, funding, and regulatory entity for youth service in the United States. The foundation would have administered $25 million a year in seed funds matched by private donations.[17] It was not a youth service entity as it would have also encouraged voluntarism by all Americans. The expansion in scope beyond the focus on youth was the result of influences from within the Senate which wanted an emphasis on lifelong voluntarism.[18] This emphasis was taken up and promoted by the Bush administration in order to consolidate all of its voluntarism programs into a single and presumably cost-effective agency.

The details of the initiative reflected the demands of the Republican Party conservatives to continue the Reagan policies of federal dismantlement, while also heeding moderate admonitions to be sensitive to public expectations of leadership from above. The initiative sought to have the program emphasize intrinsic rather than material incentives for participation, to better encourage a sense of sincere civic involvement as well as help to offset its low level of federal fiscal support. To this end, the foundation proposed to sponsor at least two award programs for outstanding young community participants, and integrative service organizations respectively. The media was called upon to spotlight these community servers, and to cover ceremonial events such as the "President's Build a Community Awards". These awards would ceremoniously honor the people and organizations that worked to rebuild families and communities, as if the intrinsic value of the President's stamp of approval would suffice as government support. It begs the question of how such awards would be substantively different from those already routinely handed out by voluntary agencies whose low funding levels permit no other incentives.

The innovative centerpiece of the foundation was to have been a two-part volunteer service coordinating network called ServNet and ServLink. ServNet would solicit corporations, unions, and other institutions for volunteers. ServLink would be a national telephone and computer network to put volunteers in touch with appropriate volunteer agencies. There would then be a unified network to bring organizations into contact with motivated individuals. There might possibly be savings by voluntary agencies on their recruitment campaigns, but this generally accounts for a small proportion of their total budgets which still have substantial portions devoted to solicitation and promotion of services. This cheerleading approach carried the administration's signature characteristics of being calculated to promote its "kinder and gentler" image by giving the appearance of addressing environmental and social issues with a minimum of fiscal investment. It also promoted large institutional sponsorship over individual or grassroots movements. This would have the effect of giving the already established agencies a monopoly over the constitution of service.

The foundation was to also involve itself in developing new community leaders. The details on how this would be done were sketchy. The June 22 press release announcing the framework of the points of light initiative devoted only four sentences to this aspect:

> America's community service movement must have the **strongest, most creative leadership** nationally and locally. Such leadership must be constantly recruited. The foundation, with the help of existing organizations, will **identify the most promising new leaders** in all walks of life, who are not now engaged in community service, and **encourage them** to devote part of their talent and energy to community service. The foundation will give special attention to **young people** and to **those who have not had the opportunity** to fulfill their leadership potential.[19]

This part of the initiative clearly carried with it political implications concerning the constitution of both community and leadership. It also indicated the administration's continuing fascination with political symbolism over substantive political support. On the other hand, the initial plan suggested a certain astuteness. It did by giving the appearance of keeping service in the hands of the people while all the long determining just what kind of service would be legitimized. The Bush plan was certainly not interested in creating another federally-administered project. It instead sought to encourage the private and voluntary sectors to take up the cause; a preference clearly in keeping with long-standing Republican ideology, as well as current fiscal realities.

The principle problem of the Bush administration's effort was that it sought to encourage youth service as a movement rather than a program in the face of the Democratic majority caucus' commitment to a programmatic solution. At the same time it wanted something that would function more as an embodiment of the nostalgic communitarian/voluntaristic vision than as an agent of progressive participatory social change. It was in essence, the scouts vs. the service corps. Under this approach, details on program oversight and guidelines for youth participants were absent as they were essentially aimed at fortifying existing efforts at the grassroots level. The initial presentation to Congress seemed designed to invite elaboration. It also seemed calculated to put Congress in the position of having to take the political heat from those concerned with government spending. The administration package was also ill-defined in its scale and scope. It would have sought to coordinate nationwide activities, and distribute seed funds to new and existing voluntary organizations. This was the apparent extent of its mandate as far as the administration was concerned. The foundation would associate itself exclusively

with the high-profile, successful programs and thus bask in the reflected glory of their successes.

This opening gambit proved to be inadequate in the eyes of Congress. The Democratic leadership responded with its own set of initiatives. The Bush administration stalled and sought to fortify the legitimacy of the Points of Light Foundation. It did so by commissioning a working group. An expert advisory panel led by New Jersey Governor Tom Kean was established on June 22, 1989, to help fine-tune the structure and mission of this new Foundation. However, the commission's entire membership was not appointed until October 23, 1989. According to Donald Eberly, the only national service advocate among them was Vernon Jordan.[20] The report of the the commission, completed December 7, 1989, was too little, too late, and Congress pressed on with its own version.

The Democratically controlled Congress, on the other hand, was not at all inclined to allow youth service to become a Republican trophy. The majority leadership had seized youth service as its own. It multiplied the Administration's request by a factor of about thirteen allowing for the creation of bona fide programs of youth service. The Congressional fiscal support for programs for youth service was threatened throughout its legislative course by an Executive veto. Such a move would have hurt the President politically, given his public commitment to youth service. It still held sufficient threat value to bring the Congress into negotiations on costs. The separation between Congress and the administration on the issue of the appropriation amount thus reflected a fundamental conceptual difference between the two branches and their respective ideologies. Rhetorical support continued unabated by the administration. This maintained the political climate that has slowed the establishment of youth service nationally to a crawl. The President has been able to influence the outcome by insisting upon and getting a Points of Light

Foundation to promote voluntarism nationwide.[21] The compromise legislation now sits in the House of Representatives awaiting enough votes to send it to the floor. No substantive changes are expected at this juncture. The first national youth service program since the Civilian Conservation Corps will probably be enacted and underway by the end of 1990.

There are opportunities for substantial revision in future Congresses. It is speculative whether national service would be a beneficiary of any so-called, "peace dividend" spun off from the military cuts anticipated from the collapse of the Warsaw Pact. The popular consensus among opinion leaders close to the issue seem to see this dividend going into deficit reduction rather than towards increased social spending. A large-scale federally-driven youth service seems as remote a possibility as ever.

The Congressional action appears unlikely to invite any significant transformation of social relations along age lines. Returning to an earlier assertion, much of the Bush initiative could be read as an attempt to associate the administration with successful local and state programs for its own political benefit. On the other hand, it demanded the engagement of the local community which will at least nominally democratized youth service. Defenders could argue that it was sincerely an attempt to promote a broad-based movement, or, at least, a public-private partnership in the public interest.

Training Issues

The problems of reconciling the Congressional visions of youth service with that of the current administration is reproduced at the state and local levels. Youth conservation corps have synthesized the two lines to some extent. They have kept costs down by a combination of Spartan staffing, and supplementary funding from related state departments

who were serviced by them. The national service plan would not have any immediate effects upon their already established structures.

The pending national service legislation would have a far greater impact upon those youth-serving organizations, especially schools, which have responded to the Title I legislation positively. Some school administrators had picked up on cues offered by NASCC, and echoed by Maryland Senator Barbara Mikulski on a Nightline broadcast. Elements of the educational establishment would see the merit of her assertion that, "You have to teach people to be volunteers".[22] Her remedy, which was placed into the original S. 1430 bill, consisted of a three to five-year service training component, ". . . to learn the habits of the heart that made this country great."[23] Such a training component would institutionalize youth service, at least in part, as schooling. It would oblige the creation of service training set either within the schools or within academies such as was created by the California Conservation Corps. Over time, this approach might inspire a broad re-orientation in teacher training by colleges of education, or foster the creation of specific specialized service training programs within them. However, the contravening standardizing influence of mass education contained within these structures would probably overwhelm the more creative possibilities contained in a service pedagogy. Such an assessment might be unduly pessimistic especially since service learning is almost by definition unbound by the classroom.

A new service curriculum would necessitate the creation of appropriate materials for the trainees. This would involve a new kind of curriculum development. This is already underway with educational publishers producing over a dozen textbooks featuring a service theme in the late 1980s.[24] The scope of materials would have to be quite broad, and would probably include at one level or another, equipment training, social skills training

(including leadership and teamwork training). The present Congress might also mandate or at least encourage a civics component. This presumes that a sufficient number of Congresspeople have come under the influence of Eberly, Moskos, and others who stress this as essential to program success. In-program training in other broad life-skills areas might also be added as needed in such areas as consumer economics, driver's education, and health education. These possible additions are unlikely to be part of an initial youth service effort. They are nonetheless matters which one can anticipate as likely to enter into the development of service learning.

Eberly underplays the need for any elaborate training component. Such a program would unnecessarily drive up costs.[25] In this he departs from the California Conservation Corps model with its academy and its relatively extensive training program. He suggests that training be limited to a few weeks of Outward Bound-like activities with subsequent training done only for participants who need specific skills to perform their tasks. The general training would be aimed more at creating an espirit du corps. The specialized courses would be funded by those contracting for the services. They would also furnish the equipment and the instructors. This way, program costs would be minimized, and the commitment by contracting agencies to youths beyond their utilitarian value as free-labor would be confirmed.[26] This approach reflects the Seattle PLS, and Youth Conservation Corps experience which reported good results under this arrangement.

Staffing Issues

As a practical matter, any new program will be challenged to assemble an administrative team. Finding the right people is especially crucial for the success of youth service. There are substantial obstacles to securing competent administrative and supervisory personnel

for the new or expanded programs under the best of conditions and the problems are sometimes compounded in programs dealing with youth. The staffing issue works in favor of supporting programs already in place which have secured at least nominally expert personnel. Youth corps cannot ignore the politics of service provision found at all levels of government especially as it relates to staff recruitment. It behooves new programs to seek out and invite veteran administrators from similarly-oriented voluntary programs. This is in part, borne out by the approach used to recruit administrative volunteers into the California Conservation Corps. The recruits might not necessarily be from the top ranks of their organizations. Middle-level administrators would be much more apt to offer fresh and substantive ideas tempered with a sense of knowing what would work and what wouldn't.[27]

This observation is buttressed by the experience of veteran administrators. An example of this was a presentation on volunteer recruitment at the 1989 National Association of Service and Conservation Corps Conferencee. Bud Shepel, head of the California Conservation Corps offered 5 principles for success. The presentation was related specifically to unpaid volunteer staff, but the principles provide useful guidelines for management/staff relations in general. The principles set forth included:

1. Getting rid of the term "volunteer".[28]
2. Providing a clear mission, a "together" organization with positive leadership.
3. Not underestimating job or time requirements.
4. Not looking for people to help do a job, but bringing in people to do the job.
5. Not using the shotgun approach to recruitment, but seeking exactly the individual who is needed for the task.

The generic administrative design may also build in a means to cultivate in-house talent such as is done by the California Conservation Corps in its training academy and through its workshops.[29] This would help to stabilize and professionalize the programs. It would also work to enhance program autonomy since personnel would not have to be pulled from other agencies. On the other hand, this could give rise to concerns over the incenstuous tendencies that might attend such a remedy. A pragmatic alternative approach would be to establish short administrative tenures that would inhibit the growth of rigid attitudes associated with career-long appointments.[30] Graduating participants completing administrative-track training could be placed outside of their home programs which would help to prevent administrative dynasties from forming. The introduction of veteran "fresh blood" would keep the programs both grounded with expert continuity, as well as responsive and innovative. On the other hand, programs with an administrative turnover of two to three years might be disadvantaged in the competition for funding with other organizations and agencies sporting career staffs. Basic policies might become discontinuous and prone to contradictions with successive regimes layering their agendas over sediments of previous practices. Staggering the administrative tenures and instituting grooming tracks for promising candidates might help, but would again confront the original issue of encouraging creativity. However, care would have to be taken to make the selection of candidates reasonably open, and absolutely fair. Of course, the terms, "open" and "fair" are open to many interpretations. A continuing debate over what constitutes an open and fair system of selection should be anticipated and perhaps even welcomed. Such a debate would indicate a the development of civic consciousness, one of the primary goals of youth service.

Other Implementation Issues

There are many immediate implementation issues that simultaneously compete for administrative attention. Ordering and meeting these various demands is an essential skill for any program coordinator. This section will touch upon four such issues that youth service organizations must be particularly concerned with. They are participant recruitment, the administration of discipline, public relations, and inter-institutional relations.

The first immediate issue under the topic of participant recruitment concerns recruitment guidelines. This involves a sensitivity to establishing a set of criteria acceptable to youth, the public, and the various program sponsors and clients. If youth service is not committed to universality, then there are a number of problems attending the recruitment of the targeted groups not the least of which is the alienation of the non-targeted participants. Again, program success rests upon initial conditions at start-up time. A program that starts out stratified by race and/or class, will find it difficult to rectify its composition later even if its administrators appreciate the harmful outcomes to the program. Aside from the usual anti-discrimination clauses which attend all federally-funded programs, both Congress and the White House appear willing to leave specific recruitment guidelines in the hands of individual youth service administrators. The onus is thus on the program administrators to create a youth corps that reflects the makeup of the community.

Even with the anti-discrimination components in place, there is certainly ample opportunity for practices that might run afoul the ideal universality - a primary objective among youth service advocates. As a practical matter, universality might be a problem, particularly at the start-up phase where programs will be compelled to show quick results and can ill-afford random recruitment and placement.[31] Criteria for program acceptance

may be largely determined by existing state and federal hiring guidelines. It would be unlikely for these guidelines to be ignored by the administering agency, particularly in the area of racial or gender discrimination. Universal youth service might demand an open enrollment into programs and contracted projects, but restrictions for specialized activities are almost certain to be left to administrative discretion. The administrative entity (or entities) would surely take advantage of this.[32] The guidelines for entry and placement might be loosely written, but not necessarily become problematic for the program as a whole. Those tasks involving higher degrees of skill and competence would necessarily have to be screened. Disputes by rejected applicants to higher skilled positions would be resolved through a hearings process involving the applicants, immediate supervisors, and the personnel administrator. Certainly the intent of universality is not to saddle an administering agency with having to retain incompetent participants who might embarrass, or even endanger clients and/or their fellow servers.[33] As a whole, this concern is perhaps overstated since similar programs haven't reported participant incompetence as a significant problem. Youth servers are by definition highly motivated and, if presented with a menu of service options, would be inclined to enter programs which would afford them a reasonable opportunity to perform successfully. The challenges of universal recruitment is certainly manageable as long as there is administrative dedication to it.

A second implementation issue focusses on the matter of maintaining discipline. This is extremely important in that undisciplined participants (or nonparticipants) can have a profoundly demoralizing effect upon programs, and create severe public image problems. On the other hand, solutions that may look pragmatic, such as summary dismissal can lead to selective discriminatory actions or other abuses that might come back to haunt the programs a generation later. Of course, no suggestions for preventing administrative abuse

of the dismissal option would be effective against an administration committed to its abuse. A participatory structure emphasizing responsibility and sanctions set by community consensus would probably satisfy the requirement for an equitible distribution of justice within the programs. This approach has been used with good results by the Job Corps. The rules of behavior there are clearly spelled out as are the penalties. Incidents are referred to a committee composed of counselors and participants for evaluation. Those involved are given an opportunity to state their case to the committee. Judgements are rendered through consensus between the counselor/participant committees with great attention paid to the circumstances of the incident as well as to the intent of the rule(s). This legitimizes the judgement and validates the sanctions among the program community. Committees are rotated on a timely basis and, of course, records are kept of infractions which are referenced as promotion evaluations are scheduled. Such a design would aid in community building by decentralizing and democratizing the disciplining procedure.[34]

A third implementation issue concerns the cultivation of good public relations. This is true for both state-run, and independent, non-profit designs. While a good public image is important in any program, youth service corps are sensitive to public opinion because they demand significant levels of funding to a suspect segment of the population. In the case of non-profit designs, there is a particular need to maintain the good will of its sponsors, since their alienation could quickly end a program. State-run programs can better survive adversity if only because of the relatively greater distance that they have between themselves and their sponsoring constituencies. They, however, must also actively cultivate good relations with key legislators, and sponsoring state agencies. Of course, this arrangement is not without its costs. State-run service corps are given less latitude in

responding to public needs since they are generally directed by a more formalistic and complex set of bureaucratic procedures established both statutorily and internally.[35]

The fourth implemention issue to be considered here revolves around the potential for disasters in public relations that can come from unexpected sources. As mentioned in the third chapter, the U.S. Friends Service Committee, and other pacifist groups have been concerned with the potential for militarist, or other forms of political indoctrination being transmitted through corps programs.[36] Established voluntary agencies may object to another entity tapping into a resource that they also draw upon. Youth corps would certainly compete with some of these programs. It is then quite important to cultivate an understanding and sensitivity to what they consider to be their turf, and work out understandings with these other agencies. One tried and true guideline might be that youth service programs concentrate on developing those of areas of need that are neglected not only by the state apparatus, but by the voluntary sector as well. This is probably why conservation work is an activity of choice among most youth corps programs. There is, of course, nothing to prevent cooperative arrangements to be made between voluntary agencies as well.

A fifth implementation issue involves the problem of maintaining a fix on the long-term program goals over time. Mainstream youth service must also be kept responsive and effective in the twin roles of being a service provider in the normative sense of the term, and a civic enhancing experience for its participants. This former role may seem less an immediate implementation issue since it would best be demonstrated by developing a track record of effective performance. Still, clear mission statements create powerful first impressions. This is not to say that the public should be led to expect instant results, but rather, an articulated commitment to the ideal of civic responsibility as the central goal and

backed up in actual performance will keep public support high. On a practical level, this would help to cultivate recruitment channels both within the community of youth and within the community of institutions concerned with them. Just what constitutes civic responsiveness is less problematic than might first meet the eye. The literature on youth service, from Eberly, to Janowitz, Etzioni, Moskos, the youth corps administrators, Congress, President Bush, and popular sentiment are in essential agreement on this question. All agree that programs with a civic content should transmit the values of democracy, equality, justice, and individual sacrifice for the common good. With programs in place with these intentions already established, it appears that the real issue for youth service the 1990s revolves around expansion more than design.

This expansion imperative will involve developing and maintaining a good relationships with the popular media as a matter of practicality. Youth service programs already feature their own public affairs/public information officers to help advance program goals in both recruitment and public acceptance. Despite rising communitarian consciousness, service activities need to be promoted through the media or they will go unnoticed. This is largely what happened to the Youth Conservation Corps, which, when faced with extermination through Reagan administration budget cuts, had no significant public awareness of its activities. The YCC fell into oblivion despite its being, "the largest and most successful of the civilian conservation programs."[37] Because public support is essential for public programs, the public relations component would best be in put place almost immediately. Youth corps that have state or local sponsorship, and are thus fully involved with the legislative funding cycle, have publicized their successful projects at every opportunity.[38] The result is continuing high public support for those programs that the public and legislators know about.[39]

A sixth implementation issue involves the practical management of inter-institutional relations. This is not a short-term issue, but the groundwork for cooperation with established institutions must be established from the beginning. Because youth service programs generally cover a broad range of activities, there is ample opportunity for both cooperation and competition with other organizations. The better these groups compliment each other's efforts, the greater the ultimate effectiveness of programs as a whole. Realizing this goal will depend upon early and frequent cultivation of good working relations including maintaining open lines of communication. The promotion of these relations would best be done in the form of creating an advisory board made up of those with the talent and political clout to nurture the program through its infancy where intra-program enthusiasm might be high, but demonstratible results nil.

There are a number of pitfalls related to the cultivation of interinstitutional relations. Of course, there is also the politics of deciding suzereignty over respective turfs. There is also the risk of program compromise, and even program capture if too much emphasis is placed on interinstitutional accomodation. The problem varies from one institutional environment to another, but the matter of good personal relations with potential allies or rivals is as important as demonstrations of administrative competence. The institutional culture spun off from the institutional environment, obliges youth service administrators to at least partially conform to its norms. This underlines the importance of administrative leadership that can assert its mission within the larger bureaucratic culture in a friendly manner. An adept program director must be able to marshall support and internal loyalty to the mission and convert suspicious or competing elements within the sponsoring agency. The director must work to inspire the rest of the staff and participants, but can do so only by purchasing the inter-institutional space necessary to be creative within the program.

As a practical matter securing politically savvy administrators may be considered a pipe dream since people with these highly desirable talents are already at a premium in government. Finding an able, respected, and influential administrator who would join such a project may prove to be difficult, but necessary, and not altogether impossible. Youth corps have the potential to attract able and talented administrators who are frustrated with the other agencies which can no longer innovate or otherwise respond effectively to their clientel. There is also a net outmigration of the best and the brightest at the federal level as the budget deficit works as an active disincentive to stay at that level.

The administrators' full understanding of the intended impact of transforming the relations between youth and citizenship is also an implementation issue. Finding an appropriate program head at the outset can go a long way toward creating good inter-institutional relationships. This also extends to any acting head administrator named during the start-up phase of the program, an effective acting head would buy time to have someone either grow into the role or be groomed for the position within the ranks. Still, the California Conservation Corps experience suggests that having the right people for the job at the start is preferable to relying on an interim-agency, or a governing board approach. This combined with an early investment in partnership relationships with adjacent projects, constituents, and clients should enhance success.[40]

Measuring Program Effectiveness

Timely creation of youth service does not insure viability. There must also be positive results. The definition of what would constitute results is a key implementation issue, but distinct from those mentioned above since it shifts away from setting the administrative agenda and instead works to shape and define the results.

The implementation of youth service as a policy must be measured using a variety of criteria. There is the quality of the experience among the participants in terms of building self-image. There is the civic consciousness impact. There are also the social benefits derived as measured by the type of program tasks performed. There are efficiency and costs measures as well. The evaluations mandated by statute are modest, but the designation and subsequent realization of program goals are crucial for measuring practical program success.

The measures can be initially broken down into three functional categories; impact upon participants, impact upon the community, and the quality of program administration. These categories can then be used to develop a number of possible measurement instruments. The specific measurement instruments implemented would be determined by the needs of individual programs. For instance, the surveys of participants before, during, and after their service would be an important initial approach for determining the impact of the service experience upon them. There might also be assessment surveys from peers, immediate supervisors, parents, subsequent employers, and/or academic advisors. Community impacts can be assessed by cost-benefit calculations which are now the standard tools of program rationalization. Those studies of general youth service program effectiveness thus far done have shown mixed results with programs developed over the course of the 1980s receiving generally good assessments.[41] However, these studies are incomplete and inconclusive. NASCC is now in the process of developing a more comprehensive data base of standard participant profiles and program activities to be compiled and shared with association's membership. When fully developed, it will provide a valid source of information to better assess individual program effectiveness.

The evaluation process would also have to consider the extent to which the programs are influenced by or, in a more positive language, responsive to their various constituencies. The influences of constituent groups, (unions, corporations, state agencies) that might benefit from the development of the labor of youth is a point that might be overlooked unintentionally or otherwise. Constituents, almost by definition, seek to influence the administration of programs to suit their particular interests. Youth as clients would have to have a direct role in program administration to have their interests maintained. This is particularly salient as youth service is supposed to promote the empowerment of youth as citizens. The balancing of these demands again becomes a matter of maintaining an effective administrative style, which is not reducible to any predetermined solution. The administrator must determine a balance through sensitivity to the desires of superiors, constituents, clients, staff, as well as the demands and constraints of the program.

Conclusion: Youth Service and the Crisis of Programmatic Solutions

The concept of youth service as both a pragmatic solution for dealing with the costs of public service provision, and as a rite of passage to citizenship, isn't particularly radical on the face of it. Even so, it hasn't been sufficiently powerful to gain full acceptance by policy makers or the public. Its novelty value isn't necessarily much of a lever for promotion since it has been advocated, with little notable change, since the time of William James. The basic premises are familiar to any student of youth policy. The problem lies in validating the claims for a need to mobilize youth in the service of public policies that the public has not yet discerned a compelling interest in promoting. In the case of national defense, for instance, the claims have been in place at least as long as the nation-state

system itself. Mounting a campaign to raise environmental and domestic social care issues to a coequal status might have to precede any large-scale youth service programs.

A complicating factor arises out of the minimalist and neo-conserative objections to state-sponsored programs of this sort. There are a significant number of people who would view such programs strictly as efforts for creating structures of increasing government control. Indeed, youth service can certainly be viewed as programming that could lead to a relationship of control by the state by its calling youth to earn their citizenship through service.

Another view takes a counter-intuitive stance in this regard, asserting that such a program might lead to an unintended activism on the part of service completers. This view suggests the reestablishment of neo-Jeffersonian-style of citizen participation made possible with the emergence of informational technologies that promote a more complete mass understanding of their political-economic environment. In the public administration field this has been anticipated in the public choice models suggested by Fredrickson in the mid-1970s and further developed through the 1980s.[42] The state, in coming to an embrace, however nervous and tentative, of youth service, is admitting the pending demise of more traditional bureaucratic forms which acted to screen the public from the operations of government.

The process of transformation to the citizen choice model of government demands something like a youth corps effort. Of course, the effort is still quite small in scale, with less than 50,000 to 60,000 participants nationwide as of 1989.[43] The structure of these programs have, for the most part, been very simple. Intra-organizational responsibilities, communication, and coordination can be carried out informally, or in group meetings with program personnel from all levels well-represented. Decision-making appears to be fairly

open within the programs as is characteristic of most new organizations. This is not to imply a lack of a formal hierarchical structure. The prevailing structure of both conservation and urban corps is three-tiered, composed of administrators at the top, crew leaders in the middle, and crew members on the bottom. There is little apparent aloofness between these levels owing to an emphasis on a shared sense of mission, a sense of espirit de corps, and the small size of the organization as a whole. Rules are clear-cut as are the lines of authority. The contract terms are expected to be understood from the beginning of the participant's term with the programs. Program heads are fairly accessible, and generally close to all phases of the operation. However, among the larger programs, and those where the participant pool is restricted to at-risk youth, the contact between the administration and the participants appears less frequent and more formal.[44] In this tendency, youth corps share the problem of any organization passing out of its springtime phase of how to keep itself flexible and vital over time.

The process issues associated with youth service programs are not especially unique beyond their calls to broad mobilization to undertake more than mere labor. This very point, however, carries a very large challenge concerning the matter of how to effect a passage to citizenship. It demands a fundemental re-examination of what citizenship is, and how it may be promoted in the post-liberal state. It also brings up the whole question of how to effect the administration of a rite of passage to citizenship which the radically inclined are, almost by definition, troubled over. However disturbing the concept of the administration of this rite of passage may be, the undertaking is obligatory. As odd as it might sound, efforts at social transformation must be managed. They must be managed even in conjunction with Congressional actions in its name which appear calculated to strangle, or at least handicap this child at birth.

At the personnel level, the administration of a rite of passage must confront the problem of responding to a huge range of individuals. Most will either come in for the program incentives, be seeking refuge, or expect to leave a real impact upon the projects that they invest in. For programs in the springtime of their institutionalization, this may be an exhilarating and heroic challenge from the very beginning. A certain number of truly innovative approaches to a range of environmental and social problems may be raised, but the challenges of the participants to the program will have to be responded to consistently and constantly. Again it will not be enough to shape an organization of energetic servers available to get the neglected jobs done. It seems unlikely, however, that challenges to the participants will be lacking. Projects begun with enthusiasm might be stymied by bureaucratic resistance, or simple poor planning which would still work as challanges under the heroic principle. This would be educational to be sure, though it might also instill a certain cynical attitude regardign the programs rather than the intended civic content.

Ultimately, youth service may come to be the training ground for a new generation of political and social activists. This is suggested by Barber, 1986 in his argument in support of national service. Barber sees national service as a foundation for institutionalizing an ethos for strong democratic participation by all members of society.[45] It is an agenda which appears to work against the interests of elected representatives, government officials and other groups heavily invested in the prevailing political order. In order for the citizen choice model to prosper, service programs must be committed to universality.[46] Certainly youth service as a claim to empowerment could not be publicly identified with any single sub-population, although the low-SES, "at risk" youth are in considerably greater need of avenues to empowerment than are the more privileged. Whether programs can realistically

undertake universality at the outset is unlikely since there is bound to be distortions in recruitment such as the creaming imperative mentioned in the third chapter.[47] However, the commitment to universality may be set within the program's mandate, and thus be made an imperative eventually.

The empowerment issue is not the final argument in support of youth service. Beyond empowerment, lies compassion, which is the true root of service. This quality must be cultivated as a policy guide, and given visability in the world through service activities. The demands of universality as an implementation issue are not only over empowerment, but over the cultivation of compassion as a universal challenge to continuing human development. This is less an immediate implementation issue as the founding generation of youth service programs are essentially already fonts of the compassionate sentiment. It is with the second and third generations of administrators that the root of empowerment must be understood to be located in compassion.

Summarizing the administative role of youth service demands an understanding of its appearance at an historical transition point in society towards more participitory structures. Its own organizational structure will be subject to these challenges. Since youth service in the 1990s is still likely to be programmatic in orientation, it will be subject to the same tensions that accompany public programs generally. These tensions include maintaining the organizational flexibility to respond in the face of significant social stresses which can be expected to continue, and even accelerate in the years ahead. This may be the ultimate challenge of youth service - to transcend its programmatic aspects, and become a full-fledged feature of the culture. The challenge is great and fraught with perils as the institutionalization of mass education has shown.

Programmatic or non-programmatic, institutionalized youth service may spin off impacts over the next decade. The coming challenges over this period perceived among long-term planners, will be in developing the means to bring about fundemental social restructuring without first suffering profound institutional collapse. Unlike the earlier challenges of the 1950s and 1960s to encourage greater scientific and technological prowess in line with the perceived demands for national defense, this next effort may not be federally-led. In fact, youth service may provide, at least in part, a vehicle for restructuring the public's relationship with the state. This could be the case both in terms of answering social needs, and in terms of forcing individuals to confront this relationship. Such a confrontation would almost certainly provoke a more critical reexamination of bureaucracy as the sole legitimate guarantor of the equitable distribution of public goods and services. With the development and proliferation of democratizing technologies, such as personal computers and communications devices, and mass participation in what was an exclusive professional domain, bureaucracy will certainly be transformed. This is one of the potentials of youth service, if understood as a universal rite of civic passage, and not as another government program. To those promoting youth service, however, this point is not as clear as it could be. It may be beyond their immediate concerns, or it may be a point to be avoided for its obvious political implications. Not many now actively engaged in promoting youth service in Congress or the various State legislatures are likely to acknowledge the consideratble impacts of a higher civic consciousness in our society. Nonetheless it is a future for the concept which, given the certainty of looming large-scale institutional transformation in virtually every other sphere, is quite probable.[48]

Chapter 4 Notes

[1] This is an important advantage over the otherwise authoritative work of Danzig and Szanton. The primary criticism of their study was that it was an evaluation of essentially straw-man models with insufficient linkage to real youth service proposals. See, Eberly, Donald, "Ford Foundation Study Finds Need for 3,500,000 National Service Workers", National Service Newsletter, No. 49, 1986.

[2] See especially, Human Environment Center, "Program Design and Implementation Issues", (Resource Report #3), April, 1986. 39 pp.

[3] Bellah, et al, Habits of the Heart, 1985. See also the interview of Robert Bellah by Bill Moyers in, Moyers, Bill, A World of Ideas, Doubleday Dell Publishing Group Inc., New York, 1989. This compilation of interviews with a broad cross section of American and foreign intellectuals seems to be constructed to reinforce this consensus.

[4] American Enterprise Institute, "Class Differences and Issue for 1988?", Public Opinion, May/June, 1987, p. 21.

[5] Ibid.

[6] "Voluntary Youth Service Favored; Support for Mandatory Service Wanes, Gallup Report, (Report No. 267) December, 1987, pp. 20-21.

[7] The White House, "Selected Presidential Statements on National Service", (excerpts from the inaugural address of the President).

[8] Ibid.

[9] The Reagan era is more accurately characterized as a "presidency" rather than an "administration" reflecting the power of his personality and also his adversarial relationship with most of the federal government apparatus. Bush's tenure appears to sound better the other way around which is subtle testimony to their very different philosophies.

[10] Congressional Research Service, "National-Service Bills Compared", in Congressional Quarterly, June, 24, 1989, p. 1556.

[11] Even crack administrative staffs would rely upon familiar patterns of behavior rather than risk experimentation. This observation tends to be consistant with all diffused multi-armed responses to public issues such as crime, drug use, and poverty. Of course, the experience and presumed expertise within these agencies would be a positive feature in their favor. A completely new program would probably have to recruit from their ranks in any case.

[12] 101st Congress, 1st Session, S. 1430, "National and Community Service Act of 1989, Sec. 102.

[13] Ibid., Sec. 103, 16..

[14] Ibid., Sec. 202, 15.

[15] Ibid., Sec. 302, 8.

[16] Ibid., Sec. 3, 1.

[17] Congressional Research Service, op. cit., p. 1555.

[18] Ibid.

[19] The White House, Office of the Press Secretary, "Points of Light Initiative", June 22, 1989, p. 6. (Bold face theirs).

[20] Letter from Donald Eberly, October 24, 1989.

[21] National Service Secretariat, "Senate Passes $125 Million National Service Bill", National Service Newsletter, No. 56, March 1990.

[22] ABC News, Nightline, broadcast April, 1989.

[23] Ibid. Mikulski's reference to Bellah, et al, 1985, reflects the impact of that book upon a number of opinion leaders. It speaks to the powerful sense of a loss of civic identity that many Americans have perceived, and which Bellah, et al articulated. This is not a simple case of nostalgia. Senator Mikulski's invocation of Bellah goes directly to the aspirations of the mainstream service advocates in Congress who have created a mission to build a new sense of civic identity.

[24] Publishers and promoters of service curriculum materials include, The Carnegie Corporation and The National Association of Service and Conservation Corps

[25] His discounting of the need for a corps training academy does not extend to post-service educational grants which are at least as expensive as in-house training, but which leads to more widely accepted credentials of competence.

[26] From personal conversation with Donald Eberly, August 28, 1989.

[27] From a presentation on recruiting volunteer staffs by Bud Shepel, head of the California Conservation Corps, at the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps Conference at Alisomar, California, August 26, 1989.

[28] This point was meant to be specific to the issue of recruiting unpaid volunteer staff, but is nonetheless applicable here in the sense that the public (and not a few lawmakers) become confused over "volunteers" being paid for their work. This debate over terminology continued on up into the floor of the Senate where opposition was voiced over this specific point. See National Service Secretariat, "Senate Passes $125 Million National Service Bill", National Service Newsletter, No. 56, March 1990, p 2.

[29] The California Conservation Corps, in addition to its general training programs, develops work crew leaders from the ranks of its veteran participant pool. They are given special training in counseling, leadership and other operations central to the program.

[30] Youth service programs have the auxiliary function of providing a training ground for those oriented towards working in the social-caring field. This is consistent with the premises of the service-learning wing of the movement.

[31] It is almost a given that youth service programs will be tempted to "cream". They are obliged to do so not only to make the program look successful in the public's eyes, but also to maintain acceptable participant retention figures. See, Chapter 2, "The California Conservation Corps". For an elaboration of this practice as it applies to youth service.

[32] Administrators would not necessarily seek to restrict the access of marginal applicants. In fact, they might actually welcome their recruitment through inter-institutional negotiations that would make flexible any statutory restrictions. This was done, for instance, in the Job Corps which was legislatively forbidden from taking convicted felons into the program. Nonetheless, people charged with a felony were given the option of entering the Job Corps as result of plea-bargaining. This was revealed in conversations with an attorney formally in the Hawaii public defender's office who had personally participated in such arrangements.

[33] Much of this is more a concern to be addressed under training issues. Certainly, training personnel would be expected to determine the potential of each participant and have the authority to reassign the clearly incompetent to safer duties.

[34] Personal observations made during my tenure at the Hawaii Job Corps from January to December, 1986.

[35] For elaborations on the public vs. private sector management issue, see Allision, Graham T., "Public and Private Management: Are They Fundementally Alike in All Unimportant Respects?", in Lane, Current Issues in Public Administration, 3rd and 4th eds., New York, St. Martins Press, 1986, 1989.

[36] See chapter 3, p. 138.

[37] Moskos, op. cit., p. 56 - 59.

[38] In the course of conducting the survey presented in the third chapter, I was impressed with the amount of accompanying literature sent out which listed the number and types of projects completed. The literature reflected the universally recognized imperative of constituency building, and also indicated the precariousness of the youth corps in their having to justify themselves to the public be having public information offices of some size.

[39] The beginning of 1990 saw a new set of youth corps mandated at the state and local level which are confronting the issue of linkages with the public. Several speakers at the 1990 NASCC Conference, particularly the NASCC executives emphasized the importance of strong information activities.

[40] Of course, if youth service programs hit a takeoff point and begin to eclipse other established programs, the inter-institutional politics could shift to the legislative sponsors of the respective programs in which case program destiny would be shaped not only by the skills of program heads, but by these legislative sponsors as well.

[41] See Danzig and Szanton, 1986, op. cit., Moskos, 1988, op.cit., Sherraden, and Eberly, 1982, op. cit., Public Private Ventures, 1987, op. cit., and , chapter 2, above, pp. 100 - 109 (The Fifth Dimension: Costs and Benefits). The NASCC takes the position that cost/benefit analysis is something of a trap since there are too many intangibles involved to allow for any credible measure of effectiveness in dollar values.

[42] See Fredrickson, George, H., "The Lineage of New Public Administration", Administration and Society, August, 1976, pp. 149-174.

[43] Taken from Samual Halperin in his keynote address to the NASCC Conference, September 10, 1990.

[44] This is especially apparent through the literature provided by the Michigan Conservation Corps, a relatively large-scale program which only allows youth on public assistance into the program. Whether the relationships between the administration and the participants are as formally drawn as the literature indicates is difficult to gauge at this distance. The California Conservation Corps has attempted a decentralized, satellite center structure of administration with as yet undetermined results. The fact that it has trended in that direction, however, indicates its attractiveness, or, at least, a dissatisfaction with its previous more centralized structure.

[45] Barber, Benjamin, Strong Democracy: Participatory Politics for a New Age, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984, pp. 298 - 303.

[46] Ibid.

[47] See above, p. 127.

[48] For an elaboration on this theme, see Barber, op.cit.

Chapter 5
The Hawai'i Youth Service Corps: A Foundation Narrative with Recommendations

BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of the Fifteenth Legislature of the State of Hawai'i, Regular Session of 1989, the Senate concurring, that the Department of Labor and Industrial Relations is requested to study the feasibility of establishing a pilot program for volunteer youth service similar to the California Conservation Corps or the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) program . . .

House of Representatives
Fifteenth Legislature, 1989
State of Hawai'i
H.C.R. NO. 268, H.D. 1.

The legislature finds that the development of such a (youth corps) program in Hawai'i will benefit the people, youth, and the environment of the State. To ascertain the needs, focus, and structure of such a program, a youth corps volunteer pilot project should be established for the youth of Hawai'i.

House of Representatives
Fifteenth Legislature, 1990
State of Hawai'i
H.B. NO. 2581

Introduction

Funding for a pilot Hawai'i youth service corps project was appropriated in the 1990 Hawai'i State Legislature's supplementary budget. The pilot project was a product of many hours of personal effort at presenting to the state a proactive approach to providing service to youth through youth service. The narrative portion of this chapter will be taken from this first-hand involvement in the process that yielded the program.[1]

As implied in the title, this chapter also contains a list of recommendations pertaining to the pilot project's immediate design and orientation. These recommendations are based

upon the knowledges contained in the previous chapters, applied to this specific case. The presumption here is that these knowledges would inform the program as it organizes itself. If the program is to be treated as a claim by the state of suzerainty over youth, then this set of recommendations would not be appropriate. It is that the spirit and the will for success that is the key. Youth must come out of the experience enriched by it and empowered to citizenship. To realize this is the purpose of the recommendations.

A Personal Narrative on the Origins of the Hawai'i Youth Service Corps

The initiative to undertake the establishment of a state-wide youth service was begun in 1984 when I was doing graduate course work in futures studies. What was initially an exercise in identifying and tracking an emerging issue would soon develop into a personal full-scale study over the course of the next year. My engagement in the issue didn't transform into policy advocacy until a letter from Hawai'i State Representative Roland Kotani was circulated around the University of Hawai'i Political Science Department. The letter, written in December of 1988, essentially invited ideas from the department community that might serve as a basis for legislative action. Kotani had been a graduate student at the University, and was seeking an opportunity to avail himself of the resources for innovation that he knew existed there. He was also an ambitious young lion freshman at the capitol who was not adverse to cultivating a reputation as a voice for the more radically inclined in the community.

In a letter responding to his invitation, I suggested that the legislature consider a feasibility study and/or a pilot program in youth service. I had visited Washington, D.C. two weeks earlier, and had gotten word on new Senate Legislation that had some real promise for passage. Kotani responded favorably and drafted a bill which would become, H.B. 1374. The bill would have amended the general duties of the state Office of Children and Youth to include the coordination and assisting of youth voluntary service programs.

It would have also appropriated $25,000 to the office of children and youth. The purpose of this appropriation was, "for a feasibility study on the establishment of a pilot youth voluntary service program to be submitted to the legislature prior to the 1990 session."[2] There was certainly nothing exotic about this approach. This is the modus operandi for establishing the need of virtually any new program.

I set about the task of informing key members of the legislature on the particulars of the bill. The first member to be contacted, after Kotani, was Dennis Arakaki, the chair of the House Human Services Committee. This would be the first committee to consider the bill. I managed, with difficulty, to get an appointment with Arakaki, which turned out to be after the hearing. There were only three days available for preparing testimony. Since the chair and the rest of the committee would not be cued on the issue, and that they would be informed of it for the first time in the hearing chambers.

I was fortunate to get a timely appointment with Representative Joseph Souki of the House Finance Committee which was also to consider the measure. He was favorably disposed to the proposal and gave the impression that he would support it in his committee. This turned out to be a mistaken impression, but it had a soothing effect in the period between our first and second meetings.

H.B. 1374 was heard in the House Human Services Committee early in the 1989 legislative session. The hearing for this bill was placed on a very crowded calendar of other larger appropriations bills for human services. Hearing testimony was presented by myself and by Lynn Fallin, the Director of the Governor's Office of Children and Youth. The testimony was confined to brief statements of support accompanied by several pages of testimony.

Deputy Administrator Lynn Fallin testified against conducting the study through their office much to the surprise of the bill's backers. OCY felt that they didn't have the resources to competently carry out the study. As it turned out, she was under the

impression that the bill would have created a service corps in OCY which would have overwhelmed their sparse facilities and staff. A legislative aid to Roland Kotani who was in attendance confronted Lynn Fallin outside the hearing room when her testimony was completed. He animatedly explained the purpose of the bill and the rationals for housing the study in OCY. She returned to the committee and put in a timely word to Arakaki. This awkward moment undoubtedly contributed to Arakaki's decision to hold the bill in committee. This signaled its demise and was reported as such by the Kotani staffer charged with observing actions of the Human Services Committee.

There was disappointment with the decision, but I was also sufficiently invested in the issue to meet with Kotani again and go over the options with him. He still had time to submit a resolution calling for a study, but this didn't seem satisfactory since there would be little chance of having funds attached to it. A resolution would have been little more than a consolation prize for a good idea, but one which wouldn't see the light of day soon in Hawai'i anytime soon.

I had a second appointment to meet with Representative Joseph Souki, chair of the House Finance Committee, the next day. I was looking for support in getting funds attached to the resolution as it was still scheduled to go through his committee. However, in contrast to his initial support for youth service, he was much less sympathetic this time around, noting that he hadn't found much enthusiasm for the idea on the part of other groups who he felt should have also been lobbying for it. This was a valid observation consistent with the pluralistic framework that drives legislative behavior in general and state legislators in particular. Support had been solicited from various quarters, mostly from selected state agencies such as the State of Hawai'i Commission on the Handicapped and the Social Science Research Institute. There were indications of support from these groups, but their support did not translate into visits, letters or phone calls to Representative Souki's office.

The resistance on the part of the Finance Committee was circumvented however, when on April 5, 1989, in an unexpected move, the House Human Services Committee reported the Hawai'i Youth Service Corps feasibility study out as a resolution.[3] The resolution was adopted by the House nine days later, with the Senate approving a week after that. It authorized the Department of Labor and Industrial Relations (DLIR) to conduct a feasibility study for creating a pilot program modelled after the California Conservation Corps, or the Volunteer in Service to America (VISTA) program. Arakaki apparently saw sufficient merit in the original measure to authorize the study, and chose to direct it to an entity with ample personnel and resources to carry it out without strain.

No one, to my personal knowledge, was informed of this action for several days, which precluded any attempt to influence the measure. The amended bill was flawed in that it cited specific models which, while familiar to many people, were not the best templates for a Hawai'i Youth Service Corps. By this time, however, there was little anyone could do to influence the resolution, especially with the deadline for the legislative session less than a week away.

The final day of the first session of the fifteenth Hawai'i state legislature was notable for its greater than usual confusion. In the rush to end on time, not one, but two resolutions were passed. S.C.R. 155, S.D. 1, and H.C.R. 268, H.D. 1 were identical except that the former authorized the DLIR to undertake the study, while the latter mandated the Legislative Reference Bureau for the job.[4] Because the duplication was recognized early, and the resolutions requested evaluations of two distinct program models, the DLIR and the LRB agreed to divide the study between them. The DLIR would examine the California Conservation Corps model, while the LRB would investigate the feasibility of a state VISTA style program.

Samuel Chang, Director of the LRB, and David Komori, Special Projects coordinator, DLIR, were briefed on the context of the study, which included informing them of the

pending Congressional activity in support of youth service. They were also informed of the rich variety of alternative models available beyond the two programs cited in the operative sections of the resolutions. While they appreciated the background information, and the reference materials, they felt bound to follow the letter of the resolutions' request to conduct their study based strictly upon the two programs cited within them.

Dave Komori was very receptive to the presentation, and suggested that I keep him abreast of developments as they related to the study. I had been in recent contact with the public information office of the California Conservation Corps, and was happy to share the materials they had sent to me. I would stay in occasional contact with Komori over the inter-session period, furnishing relevant information, and also receiving very useful materials from a national voluntary service conference in Washington, D.C. he had attended that Fall.

The commissioning of the DLIR and LRB studies were positive steps in that they formally signaled to a number of voluntary social service organizations that a program of youth service might soon be coming on line. Their interest would be noted in the studies, and eventually beget greater support in the legislature which would still have to fund the program. The next step would be to continue to organize a voluntary and public sector constituency to garner sufficient support for a pilot program to get underway in 1990. In essence, a lobbying effort would have to be created and set into motion. The merits of youth service would have to be sold in the pluralistic marketplace in the form of enabling legislation much as with any other policy proposal. This phase would also be a test on how well the ways of coalition building within the context of the local political culture had been learned and applied. It turned out that the foundation had been well-laid and the process would yield limited success despite waning of interest by many of the early players, and a spotty informational campaign.

Preparations for the 1990 State Legislative Session

The effort at promoting interest in a state youth corps would get a boost when I was contacted on July 12, by Brien Hallet, an Instructor of English at the University of Hawai'i, and Lou Anne Guarson, then Assistant Director of the University of Hawai'i Peace Institute. They were planning to propose their own scheme of civic service for Hawai'i inspired from the Moskos, and their own vision of youth service as a vehicle for promoting non-violent change. This collaboration would lead to the creation of the Coalition for Service to Hawai'i which immediately set about compiling a listing of key players in the state's service provision industry.

In anticipation of the 1990 legislative session, I arranged, under Coalition auspices, for an inter-agency brown-bag lunch meeting of likely youth service sponsoring agencies at the state capitol October 18, 1989. Thirteen government and voluntary-sector participants attended out of an invitation list of about thirty.[5] The ninety-minute meeting consisted of three parts. First came a listing of issues pertaining to the needs of youth was solicited from the meeting's participants. Next, the concept of a youth service corps was presented, augmented with a packet of literature taken from Moskos and the National Association of Service and Conservation Corps. Finally, possible remedies to the issues listed at the beginning of the meeting, that service could provide was brainstormed by the group. The procedure yielded an impressively high agreement between the problems initially cited, and their positive treatment through service. In all, eighteen of nineteen issues raised were impacted for the better if a large-scale corps program would be implemented. In illustrating the potential of service corps, the meeting succeeded. It also went well in terms of igniting sufficient interest among the participants for many of them to indicate their personal support for the approach after the meeting had ended. Their perceptions of the state's shortfalls of services to youth were aired, the youth service solution was successfully presented, and the

applications that were developed by those in attendance, gave them a real sense of proprietorship in the process.

This interest was both greater and more developed than anticipated with the discovery, after the fact, of another informal inter-agency meeting coincidentally slated for the next day. The eight participants of this meeting were focussed on the Congressional activity in support of youth service now manifest as S. 1430, the "National Community Service Act of 1989".[6] David Komori had recognized the opportunity for these community service players to get involved in shaping programs to be created under this legislation, particularly the youth service provisions under titles I and II. He briefed the group on the study now underway within his office, suggested the need to network and coordinate activities among the interested parties, and solicited advice on how best to proceed. In connection with last point, the Campus Outreach Opportunity League model was suggested by Kawika Yahiro of the Boys' Club, but the discussion quickly turned back to the issue of legislative funding. The essential message communicated to the group was that something would be coming down, and that here was an opportunity to prepare and coordinate a response that would effectively channel funding to the qualifying agencies. The group finally turned to discussing the other local players not present who might also be interested in getting involved in coordinating a unified response to the new legislation. This first meeting was primarily informational, but it would lead to a series of planning meetings which would increasingly focus on the issue of who would get what, or more exactly, who would ask for what.

The next month, a second organizational meeting was held. This one was attended by several of the same group representatives augmented by members of the Coalition for Service to Hawai'i and by State Representative Tom Okamura. The meeting got off to an awkward start with some confusion among over whether the group was going to present itself as a coalition or simply work as a pre-planning committee for determining how best to

secure funding. The latter course was finally agreed upon as the principal goal largely due to the insistence of Kawika Yahiro who, as a Boys Club director, was securely placed and not interested in engaging in the distractions that usually characterizes coalition politics. This meeting yielded agreement that the Congressional action indeed merited close study, but, that the first two titles of the bill which were of the greatest interest; school-based service, and a national service corps, were speaking to two different constituencies. It was decided that those assembled would divide into two study groups, based upon their particular interests regarding the two titles, to plan their strategies. This made sense given the funding entities under the two titles; the U.S. Department of Education, and the Corporation for National Service were quite different, and would have their own distinctive requirements.[7]

Two weeks later, the youth service corps group met in front of the locked offices of the Honolulu Community Action Program office in Kaimuki. The error of the facility being locked up was taken in stride by the four people that showed up. Kawika Yahiro, Noburo Yonamine and myself moved the venue to the nearby Kaimuki Inn to plan strategy over beer and pupus. Here, I was instructed in the state funding process by Nobu who demonstrated a firm grasp of the state's service distribution system. He well understood which offices would receive funds for this kind of activity and, conversely, which offices, and departments should definitely not be involved in this program. He also knew the peripheral activities of many of the other interested players and their various motives for entering into this particular project. In a stroke of serendipity, Nobu would be selected by the Governor to fill the State House seat left vacant by the death of Roland Kotani the very next month.[8] A notable aspect of these series of meetings was how very familiar each of the players were with each other. This was my first experience in local politics, and I was seeing the theories of political relationships come alive before my eyes. The process was very personal, yet, on the face of it, fairly open with a marked informality throughout. The

issue had an obvious benefit to the service providers, who would get funding for their projects in the name of service, and to the legislators who could fortify their claims of taking positive steps on behalf of Hawai'i's youth. This understanding of the motivational dynamics played out among public service providers made it easy to present and receive support. It also rendered highly problematic, the carrying out of youth service as it was initially conceived.

The Actions of the 1990 State Legislative Session

The 1990 state legislative session loomed with no substantive movement for S. 1430. As a result, interest began to wane, and group members began to take up other issues of interest. By the beginning of the state legislative session, the planning groups for Titles I and II had ceased meeting. The Coalition for Service to Hawai'i had also become essentially dormant due to lack of interest by other groups in joining.

The lack of Congressional action did not bring about the demise of the issue in Hawai'i. The concept of a program of youth service had been presented to a number of policy makers, and the reports of the DLIR and the LRB supported its establishment. There appeared to be sufficient interest in both the State House and Senate to mount another attempt at establishing a youth corps pilot project. To this end, Representative Dennis Arakaki introduced a bill, H.B. NO. 2581 H.D. 1. It called for funding nonresidential volunteer programs in environmental or human service issues, operated by private or nonprofit organizations, and open to individuals aged twelve to twenty-four. This version requested $590,000 for establishing such a program with the appropriation administered through the newly created office of youth services.

In the meeting with Souki, it became clear that the funding would not clear the Finance Committee without considerable struggle. The state had an extraordinarily long list of supplemental budget priorities led by urgent requests for stadium refurbishing and mass

transit appropriations which were squeezing out the softer requests. Souki essentially felt that the youth service corps pilot project wait another year. His preliminary inclination was not the end of the matter, however, since Nobu Yonamine, who had been appointed to fill Roland Kotani's vacant seat, was on Finance Committee. He indicated strong support for the project, would try to carry the other members of the committee. For my part, I would lobby the other committee members on the merits of H.B. 2581, and muster support from the NASCC, and the Coalition for National Service.

H.B. 2581 officially died in Finance Committee, but a pilot project for a Hawaii Youth Service Corps, made its way into the 1990 supplementary budget with a $1 appropriation. This transformation was a device intended for keeping the issue alive for consideration by the Senate Ways and Means Committee. Nobu Yonamine was instrumental in keeping the project alive and in providing information as to its disposition as well as advice on how to proceed on its behalf. I was able to contact Committee Chairman Mamoru Yamasaki, and Vice Chair Ann Kobayashi and inform them on the particulars of the project. Yamasaki had been familiar with the federal Youth Conservation Corps which had had operations in his home district on Maui. He was therefore more than happy to support the measure. However, he wasn't sure about giving it full funding, and asked me about what a bare minimum for starting up would be. I suggested a figure of $125,000 for preliminary work for program planning, staffing and recruitment work. Kobayashi was likewise enthusiastic about the concept. I was able to give her a detailed presentation of about forty-five minutes during which she demonstrated a full grasp of the project's potential for fundamental engagement and integration of youth into community affairs. At the end of the presentation, she indicated that she would promote it in the committee deliberations.

The other members of the committee were informed of the proposed program through a fortified information packet assembled from pieces gathered for other presentations. The packet still included a descriptive chapter from Moskos' book, but now had materials more

specific to the issues of program design courtesy of the NASCC. Earlier, I had contacted the NASCC office for support during the hearings phase of the process. With the help of Don Mathis, the Assistant Director, and Andrew Moore, a Project Director with NASCC, a number of very pertinent materials were provided which described youth corps, and their startup, care and feeding.[9]

It was now late in the session, and the appropriations bill went into conference committee for final disposition. The last act in support of the program on my part was to prevail upon Tom Dinell of the Office for Social Ministry and Catholic Charities, to contact the committee in support of it. He asked me what level of funding the program would tolerate. By this time, I knew that the bare minimum of $125,000 was probably going to be negotiated downward, and that OYS would need at least one full-time staff member to proceed. I suggested a minimum of $60,000. There was little more to do at this point, but wait for the outcome.

The fate of HYSC was finally determined by the strong support for it given by Wayne Matsuo at OYS. Earlier in the legislative session, during the Human Services Committee hearings on H.B. 2581, he happened to be in the chamber to give testimony on an unrelated youth bill that shared the hearing calendar. He was called forward by Chairman Arakaki to give his views on the youth service bill, and, with no apparent preparation or previous consultation, other than what he heard in the hearings, testified in favor of it. Matsuo would again demonstrate his support for youth service when the conference committee considering the measure found itself divided on whether to fund it or not. The committee was on the verge of deleting it from the budget when they decided to contact Matsuo directly to gauge his commitment to it. Matsuo indicated to the committee that he would accept the bare minimum of a single staff slot dedicated to the project consistent with his earlier statements on the matter. With that, the committee, and later the legislature as a whole, appropriated $70,000 for the establishment of the pilot project.

After a year and a half of effort, the Hawai'i Youth Service Corps pilot project, was mandated to begin operations July 1, 1990. However, the actual startup was delayed by a number of organizational issues within the OYS, and didn't actually get underway until Mid-October. Here the narrative ends with the HYSC on the verge of bringing in its first group of participants. The process to this point was lengthy, but, with the ground prepared and the seeds planted, there is optimism for its success.

The Preliminary Structure of the Hawai'i Youth Service Corps Pilot Project

The pilot corps project has been contracted out for implementation to a Waianae-based community group with final administrative control held by the OYS. This arrangement would naturally color it in shades consistent with the larger mission of the OYS, based upon both the legislative mandate and the previous experiences of its head, Wayne Matsuo. As a former group worker with Palama Settlement, a social service institution with roots extending back to the plantation era of Hawai'i, his previous experience was with at-risk youth, including the sons and daughters of immigrants. This second-generation immigrant youth are obvious targets given their profile of being in both cultural and life-cycle transition.

Wayne Matsuo's vision is unique when compared to the orientations of the larger community of youth service corps. In terms of its general structure, he intends to create a voluntary school-based program oriented towards providing support to local service providers. The pilot study would be based in two schools chosen primarily by virtue of the high level of support offered by the principals. This is important because many schools in the state are disproportionately targeted for various special projects, which have the effect of burdening their teachers, students and administrators with matters of control and coordination between class and project priorities.

The most challenging aspect of this project is likely to be in recruiting sufficient numbers of volunteer students. One state legislator bet Wayne Matsuo a lunch on precisely this issue, disputing the contention that offering youths an opportunity for service without pay would be enough incentive to retain them over the course of the program. This would be a difficult achievement for any service corps. However, as a small-scale pilot project, the recruitment and retention of only a relatively small number of volunteers would be needed to for the project to claim success. The claim of a need for a stipend to attract youth into an expanded program would also be significantly compromised as well. It could be an especially difficult point for supporters of a large-scale corps to overcome. Opponents could point to a number of precedents available where youth were mobilized for short-term, ad-hoc community service projects in Hawai'i without pay.[10] Since OYS has opted for an unstipended service, the extent to which the HYSC might grow as a voluntary project will be known shortly. Modification to a compensated service will most likely be determined by longer-term economic and social conditions in Hawai'i.

Whether or not the Hawai'i Youth Service Corps (HYSC) will take root and evolve into a bona fide service corps cannot yet be ascertained. The pilot program is only just underway at the time of this writing. It is highly improbable that any valid evaluation can be made for the balance of 1990. Until the program is actually up and running, any further analysis becomes speculation. There are, however, recommendations to OYS for the Hawai'i Youth Service Corps which will make up the balance of this chapter.

Design Recommendations for the Hawai'i Youth Service Corps

The HYSC has been founded with no specific policy requirements imposed by the legislature. The original bill was killed, and its attendant guidelines were thus rendered de jure null and void. The subsequent program architect would be Matsuo who would operate with only minimal Department of Human Services guidelines in place. The legislative

intent has not been ignored since the pilot program's mandate was clearly understood and supported by Matsuo from its very outset. Because of his closeness to the legislative framers of the program, there is considerable mutual understanding and consensus concerning its design.

The pilot project would be located in the outlying Oahu community of Waianae with funding channeled through the RFP (Request For Proposal) process. Waianae is a low-SES area with a number of medium and high-risk youth residing therein. The location thus predicts a remedial socialization role for the program which, while common among youth corps, is among the most challenging to organize at the outset. There is also the issue of distributing the program through an RFP with such modest funding. This approach entails some risk for the project since the day to day oversight is removed from OYS and placed in the hands of an organization with, at best, a limited understanding of the multidimensional mission of a corps.

Corps building requires a constant reference to the future needs of the wider social and environmental agenda, as well as satisfying the more immediate public and sponsor demands which is also an integral part of its mission. As with service organizations everywhere, these two aspects do not always coincide. This leads to an often tedious process of educating the public and the sponsors on why, for instance, the training of participants in social skills should be done in the corps instead of at school. The tendency has been for the mission to be obscured or reified as an historical icon, ritualistically revealed on founding days, and for investigations and budget sessions. The rest of the effort is then directed towards doing whatever it takes to maintain a strong organization. There is thus a continuing challenge for administrators to maintain the primary mission, while simultaneously keeping the organization viable. There is nothing to indicate that this is less true for youth corps. The HYSC, as a new organization and particularly as one which is oriented towards transforming youth, has a special obligation to anticipate and

competently respond to future issues. Towards this end, the balance of the chapter will turn to recommendations for an expanded Corps program to consider as part of its mission.

Divide the Corps into a School-Based and a Non-school Based Program

Among the initial issues to be considered in the context of HYSC's expansion, is the matter of the original bill's targeting of twelve through twenty-four year-olds. Suffice to say that this is a very broad range for a corps to engage. The effort at being so inclusive on the age dimension poses an immediate recruitment problem since it spans pre-adolescents, adolescents, youth, and young adults. The attempt at recruiting across such a large range carries with it the challenge of being sensitive to a number of differing human development issues that are likely to be mutually repellent if lumped under a single nameplate. Over 65 percent of youth corps participants are aged between 17 and 20 years old. This narrower age cohort would be the optimal group to target in a non-school-based program. School-based programs would help to create a socializing environment for children and adolescents into service that could then be carried onward into high schools and culminate in the corps. While cultivating service at the intermediate-school level is important, for promoting community involement at an early age, it is not the optimal pilot program recruiting ground. A more narrowly focussed program, besides conforming more closely to the mainstream programs of youth service, would also allow for projects of greater scope and higher visibility in the community as a whole. There are also liablility factors which HYSC cannot ignore, particularly in its early phases. Finally, there is a multitude of child labor issues that might so constrain a 12 to 15 year old target group, as to make their contributions marginal at best and dilute the productivity of HYSC as a whole. A programmatic division coinciding with the acquisition of the driving privilage, the passage point from adolescence to youth, seems most practical for all concerned.

Broaden Corps Services to Include Conservation, Preschool and Elderly Care

The next recommendation concerns the area of service provision. As a pilot project, the scope of services provided has been narrow, focussed exclusively on health care support services. This is a prudent first step in that the program is currently placed within a well-defined field where basic supplementary care services are needed. In this, the OYS has avoided the trap of over extension by opting not to take on a big project where the risk of high-profile failure would be great. The difficulty faced by the HYSC here could lie in becoming over-identified with health care provision to the neglect of other important areas of service provision. There are two related lines of concern on this. First, the pool of participants might be too small if only one area of service is promoted. Health care, while a fast growing industry, is also perceived to be very specialized. Either this perception would have to change, or the corps would come to exclude large numbers of potential participants not interested in the field as they presently relate to it. Second, health care providers already have established arrangements for volunteer services with which the HYSC would have to accommodate or compete. For example, there is already an Aloha Health Corps which would perform virtually identical functions. In either case, the result would create constraints on the amount of service opportunities that the HYSC could offer either in the number of facilities that would have them or in their designated duties. It thus behooves the HYSC to diversify its offerings of services beyond the health care field as soon as new service opportunities can be developed.

Expansion can take the HYSC into other areas of social services delivery or into the field of conservation work, particularly in the areas of hiking trail development and recycling. Both are established policy goals languishing for lack of personnel.[11] The hiking trail development and recycling areas both feature new policy initiatives that are being promoted in Hawai'i. The Department of Land and Natural Resources has a state-wide trail development program just underway operating with rotating crews originally

hired for other tasks. The City/County of Honolulu has a pilot trash recycling effort, and an H-power garbage-to-energy program that can be enhanced with corps participation. The trail maintenance work could support either a summer residential corps, or a rural/neighbor island-based non-residential corps. The recycling work could support a non-residential urban-based corps.

There is little in this recommendation that should be considered remarkable. Service corps, as a whole, are by nature multidimensional in the scope of services that they offer.[12] The diversification of corps activities leads to structural implications concerning command and control, but are largely matters amenable to cooperative solution between concerned agencies, and are best left to the specific relationships that emerge between them over time.

Develop a Summer Residential Training Component

The original CCC was a residential program which housed young men in rural work camps. It was the camp experience and the human relations skills that they learned, at least as much as the accomplishments of the work itself, that stayed with the participants throughout their lives. It removed them out of their familiar patterns of behavior, accrued since childhood, and provided a new setting for their passage to adulthood. This abrupt change of setting is recognized as an important component for fostering significant behavioral transformation. This is witnessed by the modus operandi of the armed forces across history and culture. Given that the armed forces are, by their nature, in the business of shaping behavior, this near universal constant of removing the recruit to a new setting for training is instructive on this point.

The principal problem associated with residential programs is their operational expense which is often two to three times more than non-residential programs.[13] To dampen this fiscal reality, many corps have opted for summer-only residential programs. The Vermont Conservation Corps is such a program. Other variations can include summer training sites

which operate as a kind of boot camp for new recruits. A single central basic training facility can be located on a neighbor island which would lessen the expense by fixing the instructional equipment and staff. The camp would also become an incentive object, serving as a jumping off destination for those seeking to leave home on the heroic journey to adulthood.

Target the Middle Class for Recruits

This recommendation is possibly the most challenging and controversial, but is one that is already familiar as a theme throughout this work. The HYSC should make every effort to engage middle class youth into its ranks. This is not to say that it should be promoted as an untargeted program. It must specifically target the middle class. The alternative is to have a program that will labor under a popular perception of being an entitlement training program for dropouts and low-SES youth. Such a perception will result in the probability of chronic under-funding, and under-appreciation of services provided, as well as a certain failure to make service a rite of passage into adult citizenship. Class-specific youth service is very likely to evolve into servitude, and be little different from a judicial sentencing option. All intentions to the contrary would not alter this highly probable outcome.

Targeting the middle class is largely a marketing issue. This does not mean that it is to be marketed exclusively to youth, but to all involved players. This includes legislators, sponsors, parents, and the public as a whole. Each group will need to be approached on their own terms and educated as to the value of the effort to them. This includes engaging in a dialogue which will engage the respective players and allow them to develop a stake in the program.

Institutional candidates for promoting middle-class involvement in a youth corps in Hawai'i include the YMCA and YWCA. The Ys have already been involved in supporting the more middle-class oriented corps on the mainland. The association between the Ys and

the middle class is both well-established and sanctioned by Eberly as providing qualifying national service activities.[14] Recruitment through the Ys would virtually guarantee a significant middle class participation. In a conversation three weeks before his death, Roland Kotani, the legislative father of the HYSC, and a member of the local YMCA's governing board, indicated his intention to bring the corps concept before the board for their support. His death preempted this action, but the intention helps to underscore the possiblities regarding alliance-building with existing youth organizations.

Encourage the Development of Social Skills

The social skills of most youth are greatly underdeveloped.[15] The neglect of social skills education seems almost calculated, possibly because of the issues of cultural dominance it would reveal. The practical effect of a non-policy on social skills education, however translates into very real dysfunctions. Most youth do not know how to give or receive criticism, compliments, or moderately technical oral instructions. They are unschooled in introducing themselves or others to individuals or groups, in how to interrupt conversations, and in how to accept or refuse suggestions. Many are unable to deal with gossip, speak up effectively in group settings, or respond positively to peer pressure. Social skills are learned patterns of interaction that, when practiced and integrated into regular patterns of behavior, make the interactions more comfortable and productive. Shyness, misunderstandings, and conflict, which are very often features of youth behavior, are eased with the development and practice of basic social skills. More specifically, research indicates a high correlation between a low social skills and delinquent behavior.[16]

Service corps provide an ideal vehicle for enhancing social skills. Their setting within an existing government agency, with its various procedural channels, demands not only a goal-oriented approach (getting the job done), but a means-oriented one as well. This

provides an environment through which an understanding of the importance of developing the ability for working well with others enhances the likelyhood for long-term success. Several corps, especially those that emphasize job training, also engage in considerable social skills development. In the words of one Iowa Conservation Corps administrator, "Social skills is the corps."[17]

Develop a Completor Tracking Capability

The HYSC, as a publicly funded program, must account for its activities and regularly justify its budget. This entails the usual practices of keeping administrative accounting records on fixed capital and recurring costs; maintaining files on participants recruited, trained, and detailing those services provided by the corps. Presuming a federal-state matching arrangement, much of the program-review procedures will be spelled out in the federal guidelines. The federal guidelines are usually sufficiently comprehensive to provide the requisite justification for funding at both levels. However, because of the uncertain ability of the federal side to guarantee funding due to its precarious deficit, the newness of the HYSC, and the large number of competing programs, state satisfaction cannot be ensured. Given the uncertainty of all of these factors, it behooves the program administrator to supplement the justification process.

Because the most compelling general claim of youth corps has been on their positive impact on the participants, this is the natural area for the state to seek confirming evidence. Unfortunately, this is also the most difficult claim to substantiate historically. Outside of the impact study by Public Private Ventures on the California Conservation Corps, there is no established database on the fate of service completers. This is due to the difficulty in tracking completers over a sufficiently rational period of time. There is also an expense involved that has worked as a disincentive to undertaking tracking.

Create Scholarship and Academic Credit Incentives

Several service corps have thrived from partnerships with high schools and institutions higher education. Such partnerships can provide middle class enticements into youth service, as well as formalize the obvious linkage between experience and knowledge. Policy options concerning service preferences for admissions, tuition waivers, or credit for service performed could be considered for implementation in a statewide program. Such a partnership would not only create incentives for entry into service, but would also yield a more mature, prepared and disciplined student. The benefits for all concerned would be multiplied throughout this service/education pathway. Support for this approach has come from many quarters elsewhere on the mainland where service corps with these arrangements have flourished. Opposition to the concept virtually unknown and is difficult to speculatively identify. It would seem that only the doctrinaire minimalists and moribound educational bureaucracies might offer resistance. Hawai'i's political structure has no significant numbers of the former, and the state's Department of Education, while often seen as moribound, is too interested in shedding the image to oppose the innovation.

On the support side, the University of Hawai'i Professional Association is a likely ally, and there is support for such a partnership found at the highest level of the University of Hawai'i administration.[18] Their active support is essential since these groups represent the institutions that are most likely to be affected by the scholarship and academic credits feature. Other peripheral support could be forthcoming especially if it could be demonstrated that the benefits are specifically aimed at retaining the kamaaina youth. The long-standing complaint of a Hawai'i brain drain to the mainland might thus be successfully responded to through this device. With this understanding, even the unions, which have had historical reservations about youth service, could be brought into the alliance.

Provide Hiring Preferences for Servers Seeking State Government Employment

Hiring preferences might appear to be heavy-handed as an incentive, but the function of the HYSC as an effective empowering tool must be supported by offering real incentives to service completers. One immediate, meaningful and rational post-service benefit is offering a state civil service hiring preference. This, coupled with grants for higher education along the lines of the GI Bill, would underscore the state's commitment to the success of the HYSC and to those who participate in it. A hiring preference for completers is reasonable given that social and environmental service be given the same priority as national defense in terms of the public interest. It could claim compensation set at the levels of military service for its importance to the public welfare and integrity of the social order.

Post-service benefits can go beyond strictly the provision of state hiring preferences. There are opportunities to promote employment pathways into the private sector as well, especially if service completers begin to develop a reputation for discipline and industriousness. These attributes that are already associated with the armed forces, and can be easily linked to civilian servers as well.

The political resistance to the offering of hiring preferences might not be as great as it might first appear. The Hawaii State Teacher's Association took an early interest in the plans for youth service, attending the brown bag lunch meeting held October 18, 1989. Their support would have a significant effect upon the state legislature. Naturally, some accomodation with the government employee unions would have to be made, but their opposition is not neccesarily automatic. They may demand to be given some authorization to evaluate the constitution of service programs much as trade unions determine the constitution of apprenticeships. If this is the extent of their concern, then some arrangement might be forthcoming which would give the public employee unions a voice on entry into those areas of public service that they are involved in.

Promote Character Building Throughout the Service Experience

The service experience is presumed, by many in its community of supporters, to demonstrate a character-building aspect that will manifest itself in enhanced self-esteem and productivity on the part of the participants. Consistent with the theories with lineage back to the scouting movement and the Ys, character building activities are designed to be demanding yet not overwhelming.

Service corps have already demonstrated an ability to produce participants who have self-confidence and marketable skills while still retaining their street-wise spirit.[19] This is an important feature of the corps' project-oriented practices, but is also one which is not automatically part of the structure. The emphasis on building self-esteem and character must be consistently understood and promoted at every level of the HYSC in order to cultivate a true sense of empowerment among the participants. The challenges must be equally applied, and the attendant lessons of trust and teamwork under physically stressful conditions must be conscientiously taught and not simply presumed. In this the HYSC can be instructed by the more traditional character-building organizations such as the Scouts, the Ys and the military.

The chief concern regarding any emphasis on character building lies in the confusion between personal development and indoctrination. The concerns are valid to the extent that the character building involves the participants in an examination of their personal values as they relate to those around them, and to society as a whole. For this to occur, some guidance is necessary. How this guidance can be regulated so as not to over identify with "official" policy preferences is problematic, but hardly daunting. To begin with, the character building components are largely built into the activities contained in the service itself. There is no need create a formal structure to evaluate individual performance on this dimension. With no specific, measurable component available, adminstrators are less likely to devote time and energy to developing "correct" character building procedures.

Institute Fee-for Service Arrangements with Contracting Parties

A lesson that HYSC can learn from the experience of previously established corps is to avoid the trap of depending upon a single funding source or grants that restrict program latitude in recruitment, training and service delivery. Many mainland corps have relied mostly on JTPA funds which limited them primarily to job training activities that have inhibited them from widening their programs to the middle class. They have especially suffered from the perception of exclusively providing remedial job training for low-SES youth, particularly minorities. In addition to the obvious inflexibility that accompanies this overdependence, there is the chance that the funding might be cut off resulting in catastrophe to the program. In the case of the Canadian national youth service Katimavik, the Parliament's cutoff of funds in 1986 had precisely this effect. Katimavik ceased to exist almost immediately thereafter.

The fee-for-service approach, on the other hand, has helped in fixing a value for the services rendered, thus helping to justify state support as a program that can stand on its own merits. The fee for service approach can also make corps services more available to a wide range of appropriate undertakings beyond those offered by any single department or agency. For instance, the State Department of Agriculture could contract HYSC for farm conservation projects, while the State Department of Health could simultaneously contract for elderly home care services. In the case of emergency services such as forest fire fighting, fees could be billed to the appropriate state agency, or to the state's general fund. In either case, the fiscal value of the corps could be accounted for to the satisfaction of those whose concerned with the rationalization of expenditures for government services along cost/benefit lines. The HYSC would thus be able to escape the designation of entitlement program, and establish itself as a bona-fide public service.

Retain HYSC under OYS, but Augment with an Advisory Board

The current administrative configuration of the HYSC pilot project consists of the Office for Youth Services contracting with a community group in Waianae to do the day-to-day running of the corps. Stanley Inkyo, on staff with the OYS is responsible for monitoring the the pilot project's performance, and with preparing the report to the next legislature. The fate of the project hinges largely on abilities of the Waianae community group and Inkyo's forthcoming assessment. Presuming a favorable result, the program may be expanded to other communities on Oahu, or go state-wide. If the program goes state-wide, the arrangement will likely be modified to allow a special HYSC unit within OYS to either distribute contracts to community groups and state agencies, or administer HYSC projects directly. The program directorship here becomes a crucial variable for the reasons largely outlined in the previous chapter, and which are especially apparent in Hawai'i. In particular, the program director must tread that fine line of maintaining good relations with key community elites without compromising the integrity of the corps' mission.

The experience of the more successful mainland youth corps suggests that whether directly administered by the OYS, or delegated to a special unit, the HYSC would be best run with a single program director with an advisory board. This is the consensus view of those executive staff administrators who participated in the corps governance workshop at the 1990 NASCC conference. They observed that corps which feature a board of governors are prone to more internal administrative conflicts and ill-conceived projects. This was underscored by the experience of the Wisconsin Conservation Corps where the board of governors had executive powers, and a membership made up of diverse regional interests. The symbolic virtues of such a board did not translate into effective program implementation as illustrated in an episode that had taken place a few years earlier. The board, in a effort to integrate and unify the corps participants, pushed for a state-wide corps

conference which ended in fiasco. Numerous logistical breakdowns coupled with poor planning in the area of promoting social interactions between the corps members of the various regions made the state-wide corps get-together an ordeal for all involved.[20]

The middle alternative to a single program director who, might come to be politically isolated over time, and a board of governors or directors, whose individual agendas might impede the expeditious running of the corps, is an advisory board, or a board of trustees. This board may be made up of a combination of public sector, private sector, regional, ethnic, participant, former-participant, rural, and urban representatives who advise, and "trust" the program director on the running of corps. Their impact would be largely symbolic in the sense that their function is primarily to display elite support for the corps among a large range of communities without their actually being involved in the day-to-day management of the organization. The trustee's influence would largely be confined to annual or semi-annual meetings where broad goals would be presented and approved. In the event of a challenge to the corps in funding, they could be enlisted to lobby, testify, or otherwise support corps interests. This arrangement has proved to be workable for the majority of other state service corps and has also been used with good effect for a number of established service organizations in Hawai'i as well.[21]

Allow Service to Extend Beyond One Year, and Promote Part-time Service

The final recommendation is two-pronged, but united at its root. At the root lies HYSC's relationship with time. The conventional concept of fixed terms of service and of full-time service is an increasingly archaic artifact of industrial-era thinking that imposes needless rigidity in the structure of many organizations, particularly youth service.

In allowing the option of extending terms of service to exceed one year, the intent is to retain crew leaders who have had much training invested in them by the corps. Training is a major recurring expense by the corps, and especially in the training of crew leaders, who

must be expert enough to train other participants in the use of equipment and procedures. Even simple tools like shovels can injure if improperly used, and conservation corps members must work in often dangerous work settings which supervised practice can make less dangerous . Socially-oriented service often involves a multitude of specific legal and administrative procedures that must be followed by all involved personnel in order to limit liabilities. In both instances training may take a significant amount of staff time and increase expenses significantly.

In corps which contract with various government agencies for service, crew leaders are often drawn from the ranks of the contracting departments as part of the arrangement. These crew leaders are often rotated back into their other regular duties after the project they supervise is completed. While cost-effective in the sense that these corps can draw directly upon a pool of skilled personnel at minimal cost to all involved, the turnover of crew leaders is still disruptive. The crew leader's abilities to work with participants effectively can vary considerably from individual to individual. In addition, the corps participants do not accrue credible leadership expertise when supervisory personnel are being regularly imported. An extended service term for those qualified participants who want to become crew leaders can more effectively link the crew to the project tasks by demonstrating that the tasks are a learning experience and not just labor.

The recommendation of allowing part-time service for participants is, essentially, a recognition of the irrelevance of industrial-era work blocks applied to non-industrial settings. It is also a pragmatic solution to the obvious problem of recruiting youth willing to devote themselves full-time to any endeavor which yields small material incentives and deferred benefits. Youth are generally loathe to trade too much time for long-term rewards, no matter how attractive they might seem to corps administrators. Middle-class youth are particularly disinclined to lock themselves into a full-time corps commitment given the rich range of possibilities so recently been opened to them starting with their enhanced mobility.

This is not to suggest fixed blocks of say, 20-hour work weeks is the alternative. The key is flexibility in the application of any schedule of service. For instance, conservation corps often take on projects which entail intensive and extended periods of work in remote locations or under tight completion timetables. Participants in these projects might work twelve-hour days for periods up to several weeks. In emergency situations, they might be in the field overnight, or on twenty-four hour call. In these circumstances, part-time service would appear unfeasible, but for the fact that these situations are anomalous. Most service activities can easily be done on a part-time basis, or with two daily shifts.[22] Still, some formula for accommodating intensive work periods must be built into the system of determining the terms of service. Otherwise there is a possibility for slacking at just the time when services are most needed. Service in the social fields, while more amenable to block scheduling for a part-time routine, should also not be indiscriminately set up with a rigid assumption that an exact year in a corps would suffice as a satisfactory cycle of service. In order to be meaningful as a shared experience, it must have consistent features including time spent in actual service activities.

A suggested target number for determining a service term is 1,000 hours. If divided into even units, this breaks down to twenty hours per week completed on the fiftieth week. The 1,000-hour solution has the benefit of allowing an accepted, simple and rational standard for determining equivalencies of service over time, space and kind. Individual participants would be able to split their service up for school, summer work, or other endeavors, and reenter to complete as the corps might permit. They might also transfer to other corps or other projects within a single corps with their prior service hours kept intact. The 1,000-hour completion target would also work as a basis for attaining the transition into the upper echelons of corps leadership. Finally, the accounting system that would be based upon service hours would make for more meaningful cost-benefit formulations that would help indicate the value of the corps, or at least the economic value of its projects.[23]

This recommendation, if implemented, would place HYSC in empathy with a new understanding of the next generation's relationship to work. As mentioned earlier in the section, the reproduction of industrial standards of time for determining productivity is nearing its end. New work-time configurations are now in place reflecting the demands of the service sector and other influences such as the globalization of communications and transportation have pointed to its demise. Use of accrued hour scheduling can provide an invaluable model of effectiveness and flexibility that can inspire other organizations and help tutor youth into post-industrial time management. This is not to say that the concept of an accrued-hour schedule of personnel turnover is novel since it has been in wide use in grosser forms in many organizational settings. The accounting of participant hours would not necessarily be ponderous since basic database software makes the process much easier to set up and manage. The result is a subtle, yet powerful tool which points to new ways to organize and budget tasks, cut down on attrition (a perennial corps issue), and rationalize scheduled personnel turnover.

Conclusion

The recommendations listed above are the outcome of years of study of the issue informed greatly by the corps movements developed on the mainland. The experiences of these corps are instructive as models for the HYSC, but, as the recommendations themselves attest, they are not embraced uncritically. While the recommendations are hardly comprehensive, they do help to organize a setup and operations vision which is politically and socially feasible and timely. It seems certain that each one of the points outlined in the recommendations will have to be confronted in the course of HYSC's institutionalization. It is better to cultivate an awareness of them now than to commit what it certain to become considerable resources on the faith of a good idea.

This is not to suggest that these recommendations alone will act as a formula for HYSC's success. There are three more conglomerate variables which are crucial to it's attaining viability. These three variables are HYSC's, scale, costs, and its institutional relationships, particularly with the legislature and the governor. Since these variables were identified and discussed at some length in the third chapter regarding corps generally, the comments here will dwell upon the specifics of their application in Hawai'i.

The matter of scale is largely dependent upon the complex interactions of popular program acceptance; conditioned by ongoing global, national, and local economic and historical processes; and by whatever competing rites of passage emerge over time. In this sense, scale is subject to, what are in essence, market forces in the tradition of liberal democracy. Present and short-term (ten-year) projections indicate a high level of public (read - baby boomer) concern with the quality of life for youth. Hawai'i state government has responded to this concern by creating an Office for Youth Services, and funding a number of youth-related programs including the HYSC pilot project. Presuming the pilot project goes state-wide in the 1991 legislative session, the popular acceptance criteria would have been symbolically met. The principal indicator of HYSC's initial scale, however, is pegged to the level of funding coming from Congress for youth corps. The 1991 Congressional appropriation is $20,000,000 to service and conservation corps to be distributed to state and local applicant agencies under a 50/50 match formula. If all states were to compete for the funds and the monies awarded along relative population-lines, Hawai'i would receive approximately 1 percent of the total available, or $200,000. The state would match this amount to yield a base budget of $400,000. If these were the only funds available, the state would have to set the stipend to participants at no more than 150 percent above the poverty level, the limit specified by the Congress.[24] This stipulation might be an inhibiting factor in Hawai'i where the cost of living is high. However, the impact would not be too great given the state's very low wage structure. The

Congressionally mandated limitations would translate to an annual full-time stipend of about $10,000.[25] If the recommended option of featuring a half-time corps were put into effect, and if administrative costs were held to 15 percent of the total budget, the HYSC would only be able to support 72 participants annually. While a good starting number, it hardly constitutes the kind of social transformation entity that advocates have envisioned. If a fee-for-service arrangement were put into effect, the scale of the corps could grow dramatically. If the state chose to offer tuition waivers or modest scholarships to corps completers, this would also draw in substantial numbers of recruits.

The narrative and recommendations offered in this chapter are not intended to be presented as a advocacy document, but rather, suggest a preferred scenario for the development of youth service in Hawaii, if such a service were to go forward. It presumes a future for youth service in Hawaii based upon the evidence. This evidence includes the larger historical processes that are determining its emergence, mission, and eventual scale; as well as the emergence of a pilot program sanctioned by the state. Trusting that this evidence lies quite outside this work itself; that is, that it exists as fact, then the process of creating the HYSC, or something like it, would occur regardless of what is written here. At the same time it intends an impact as all scholarship is supposed to achieve. Portions of this chapter and others are being circulated among interested parties to the issue. Portions have been and will be published. Part of this is a narrative of the author's own efforts at creating it. Therefore, there is an element of at least giving aid and comfort to the concept, in possible violation of scientific aloofness. Such is the way in the study of the political. The final intent is not to try to determine the propriety or viability of youth service, but to recommend how it might be made good in all senses of the term. With that effort now done, it comes to a final chapter to complete the spiral back to the opening chapter's theme of the politics of life cycles, and how youth service might alter youth/non-youth relations.

Chapter 5 Notes

[1] It has been observed that most dissertations are autobiographical in nature. If this is the case, then this dissertation might be read as my own rite of passage into full-fledged scholarship. It also relieves me of the burden of self-consciousnessness about referring to my own actions on behalf of the issue. The more scientifically inclined might condemn this chapter for its lack of distance from the object of study. In response, I say that, as a political scientist, I believe their view to reflect the discipline's original sin. Indeed, the recognition of the admonition to stay objective is itself a barrier to the accurate understanding of the scholarly role in general and the role of the political scientist in particular. In another vein, the natural scienctist, which is still the prevailing model for social scientists might support the approach taken here as consistent with the experimental method.

[2] House of Representatives Fifteenth Legislature, 1989, State of Hawaii, H.B. NO. 1374, p. 3.

[3] State of Hawai'i, House of Representatives. A Resolution Requesting a Study of the Feasibility for a Hawaii Youth Service Corps. (H.C.R. 268 HD1) Fifteenth Legislature, first session, 1989, and State of Hawai'i, Senate. Senate Concurrent Resolution Requesting a Study on the Feasibility of a Youth Voluntary Service Program. (S.C.R. 155 SD1) Fifteenth Legislature, first session, 1989.

[4] S.C.R. NO. 155 S.D. 1 is presented in Appendix C.

[5] Among those attending were Tom Dinell from Catholic Charities, David Komori of the DLIR, Bruce Swartz of the Hawaii State Teachers Association, Jensen Uchida of the LRB, and Amalia Bueno of the State Voluntary Services Office.

[6] The first meeting of "Student Community Service Project" group was attended by Amalia Bueno of the State Volunteer Services, Calvin Eaton of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Nobu Yonamine then of the Office for Children and Youth, David Komori of DLIR, Pat Nakoba then of the State Department of Education, Elaine Tamashiro of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs, Kawika Yahiro of the Boys' Clubs, and Jimmy Hutcherson of the Honolulu Community Action Program.

[7] The school-based service study group led by Pat Nokuba of the State Department of Education apparently faltered or opted to wait for the Congressional action to pass. In either case, this group went dormant over the course of the 1990 legislative session.

[8] The selection was controversial since Nobu had moved into the district quite recently apparently with the intent to qualify for the selection under the law. However, the appointment confirmed that Nobu held expert knowledge of the state's inner workings and that this had been recognized at the highest levels of the government.

[9] The extent to which the materials helped to clear the way for adopting a youth corps pilot project in Hawaii is, speculative, but there was probably some effect. One Senator on the committee, Lehua Fernandez Salling, sent a letter acknowledging receipt of the materials and thanking me for the information.

[10] The precedents that come most quickly to mind are from a conversation with Larry Lim, former Honolulu stake youth leader for the Mormon Church, on July 29, 1990. He related how he organized two zoo cleanups which brought in between 300 to 350 youths between the ages of 12 and 18. The zoo officials were completely unprepared for the first turnout although they were told to expect that number. Mormon youths have also turned out in high numbers for other service activities such as hospital visits, and assisting in the local Special Olympics program. The precedents, however, indicate a long-cultivated attitude towards service instilled into these youth groups that do not carry over to youth in general, and, in fact, set them very much apart from the usual environment of alienation which is more the norm.

[11] The potential of recycling as both a high-profile community service and a lucrative avenue of revenue enhancement was demonstrated in the ad hoc development of recycling projects among a number of corps observed at the 1990 NASCC Conference.

[12] See Table 3.1.

and assisting in the local Special Olympics program. The precedents, however, indicate a long-cultivated attitude towards service instilled into these youth groups that do not carry over to youth in general, and, in fact, set them very much apart from the usual environment of alienation which is more the norm.

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[12] See Table 3.1.

[13] See chapter 2.

[14] Eberly, Donald, "National Needs and National Service", Current History, Vol. 55, NO. 324, (August, 1968), reprinted in Eberly, Donald, National Service, A Promise to Keep, 1988, p. 101.

[15] This is situation is acknowledged by the experts in the field, especially by Dr. Michael Manos, of the University of Hawaii Center for Youth Research, who proposed a Youth Development Project specifically to promote the teaching of social skills in Hawaii, as well as by the Hawaii State Legislature, which voted the funds specifically for the project which has been ongoing in selected public schools since 1984.

[16] University of Hawaii, Center for Youth Research, Youth Development Project 1st Annual Report, 1985.

[17] Three corps representatives present in an NASCC 1990 Conference workshop on corps governance agreed that social skills development was a primary activity practiced in their programs.

[18] Preliminary discussions with John Radcliff, President of UHPA, for support for service completers was begun in January, 1990. Albert Simone, the President of the University of Hawaii, is a member of the Coalition for National Service.

[19] The 1989 and 1990 NASCC conferences were made up of all corps personnel (with the exception of board members) with participants allocated one third of the conference space and time.

[20] 1990 NASCC conference workshop on Corps governance.

[21] The YMCA and the Hawaii Youth at Risk Programs have an unobtrusive advisory board structure with a strong director's office in charge of the routine administration.

[22] The two short-shift concept might be quite efficient for both conservation and social service settings. For instance, the work crews in trail clearing or firebreak work can be pushed hard to be relieved by fresh bodies. In the case of social service corps, two shifts in institutional settings like hospitals or day-care centers would lessen boredom and burnout.

[23] This is not to suggest that the projects will necessarily yield a net savings compared to if they were conventionally-done. The inefficiencies associated with training have been known to make some projects as costly or even more costly than if they were contracted out, or done in-house.

[24] Any non-federal monies contributed to the corps could be used to raise the stipend without effecting funding from the federal side.

[25] This 1990 projection is based upon the Office of Management and Budget's official poverty rate taken from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, Money Income and Poverty Status in the United States, 1989, (Series P-60, No. 168) p. 7.

Chapter 6
Conclusion: Towards an Administration of Maturity

Hawaii's Representative-elect Neil Abercrombie is calling for a compulsory service law so everyone from age 18 to 35 is called to duty. . . New support is coming from an unexpected source, conservative William F. Buckley. . .

Honolulu Advertiser
editorial, November 19, 1990

Those as hunts treasure must go alone, at night, and when they find it they have to leave a little of their blood behind them.

Related to Loren Eiseley by a black girl in Bimini, in Eiseley, The Night Country, p. 222.

Introduction

This concluding chapter will be a spiraling back to points raised in the first chapter, linking the politics of life cycles with the instituting of policies concerned with social integration and obligation. The sentiment towards introducing service as a new youth policy reflects society-wide transformations in demographics, socio-economic structure, technological change and exogenous factors. In combination, these aggregate trends, have added to the complexity of social relations at the individual-level, especially in fixing one's relationship with the state. While certainly no single policy prescription can encompass the nearly infinite diversity of paths to maturity, service has the clear capability of involving the otherwise uninvolved individual with the practices of the state. If the state can draw to it

substantial numbers of youth into service, it will have established a new means of determining maturity.

This work has been oriented primarily towards policy analysis, and has led to an uncovering of some associated issues that deserve treatment in other theses, especially in the areas of the espistimology of the politics of human development, and obligation. It endorses inquiry in those directions, but will refrain from entering into a discourse along those lines since it would almost certainly take another several hundred pages to treat fully. This chapter will instead first review the probable outcomes of the newly installed national youth service legislation. The second section will deal with an analysis of the alliance assembled to shape it over the coming decade. The third section will touch upon the problem of non-servers from a dialectical approach. The fourth section will consider the metaphor of the heroic journey and of the two-tiered rite of passage that may be the most viable means to inform any policy to dedicated to the promotion of adult citizenship.

Likely Outcomes of the National and Community Service Act of 1990

A contemporary national youth service policy formally commenced on October 24, 1990, when the House of Representatives voted to accept the conference committee report recommending passage of the National and Community Service Act of 1990. This had the effect of concluding Congressional debate on youth service for the 1990s, endowing it with symbolic sanction, but fiscally underpowered.[1] To focus strictly on the underappropriation to support youth service in the United States is inadequate for the endeavor, and would miss the symbolic significance of the action. For better or worse, Congress has taken on the role of determining the kind of youth service to emerge in the coming decade. The act sanctioned a national service commission with a board of twenty-one members, two-thirds of whom are members of Congress. Congress will thus be heavily involved in the coordination of a national youth service policy possibly just as economic conditions deteriorate, into depression and large-scale unemployment.[2] Provided that severe

economic dislocation does occur, federal involvement in a civilian youth service would probably result in a resurrection of the Civilian Conservation Corps approach to alleviate the dangerous social stresses that would attend it.[3] If a large-scale economic crisis does not occur, youth corps would probably level off to only about 10,000 to 20,000 participants nationwide.[4] A third scenario suggests a more gradual economic decline reminiscent of post-war Britain. This would have the effect of producing a class-gap in the United States which would induce a sustained growth of corps along the socioeconomic lines as they are presently configured.[5]

An overarching theme of political-economic and class determinism is implicit in the contemporary discussion of national youth service policy. The present attitude of the youth corps movement continues to be fixed on low-SES youth, tutoring them in the values of a positive self-image, disciplined work ethic and educational credentialing.[6] This over-identification with low-SES youth is of great concern as the class structure continues to grow more rigid, and youth service programs begin to appear increasingly as the exclusive domains of refuge for the marginal. Environmental and social service may provide an avenue for underclass youth into the middle class much as military service had done earlier, but this presumes a conventional economic structure that can accommodate them. This potential is most likely to be realized under the conditions of meaningful post-secondary educational incentives being offered, and continuing rises in the cost of higher education. These conditions will probably drive increasing numbers of middle-class youth into service in order for them to meet college expenses.

The Emerging Alliance

The primary influences on the future configurations of youth service are political-economic in nature. The state is necessarily highly involved in both shaping and meeting the expectations of youth. Overt subsidies; such as job training, educational grants and

loans, and even military service may non longer be available due to increasingly formidable budgetary constraints. If economic conditions broadly decline over the next decade, youth service might flourish as the state seeks a more productive (sic non-militarist) solution to meeting those expectations that persist in the tradition of the American dream. There would necessarily emerge a coalition of institutional and popular forces that would support its establishment in the classic tradition of American pluralism. These social and institutional players can be anticipated as can their projected design for youth service which would be an amalgamation of their respective interests. These players include political leaders, administrators of institutions of higher learning, the more thoughtfully inclined peace activists, low-SES groups (especially women), corporate elites, the media intelligentsia, service administrators, and former service participants. These groups would be the most interested and influential in the key elements of the form and direction of youth service. Non-participants would form the antithetical elements in the emerging dialectic of youth service policy.

The interest of political leaders in youth service should be, by now, self-evident. Having been informed of the issue through constituents, experts, and probable personal experience with their own offspring, they have already responded at the local, state and national levels with tentative measures supporting youth service. Their certification of service is thus reactive and functions more as a sounding board, amplifying and articulating the sentiments of the other associated groups.

Administrations of post-secondary institutions, from the voc-tech-ed schools to the elite universities, would welcome the formal institutionalization of youth service for several reasons. First, many of the elite college heads are philosophically allied to the concept, and have publicly worked to promote it. More pragmatically, they see merit in a public policy that provides funding for the pursuit of post-secondary education. Programs of youth service offering educational incentives would keep enrollment levels high without lowering

standards, or forcing the recruitment of more foreign students.[7] Many voc-tech-ed institutions have already benefited from education funds distributed to state and local corps participants. With the scaling down of the GI Bill and related military-subsidized education programs, a civilian service which features higher education incentives would help offset the expected decline in enrollments. Another attribute of the post-service student not lost upon academic administrators and faculty, is that they would be more mature and ready to learn than one entering directly from high school. The opportunity to impart a quality undergraduate education instead of having to engage in extensive remedial work would have great appeal both faculty and administration in any educational institution. These motivational factors suggest a close relationship between youth service programs and higher education with higher education welcoming the association.

Civilian youth service as an alternative to military service, which was the original vision of William James, may have come full circle. Those seeking to promote a demilitarized society must confront the social welfare function that the armed forces provide its recruits. It is again a matter of political economics sustaining military institutions long after credible external threats to the U.S. are available. This point is elaborated upon in Moskos, 1986 and by Ebony magazine which has consistently listed the military as a promising career route for blacks.[8] Reducing American military force levels might have the ironic effect of creating a greater domestic security threat than since the Civil War. Thus, while the more doctrinaire activists might view youth service with suspicion for its having any connection with the federal government, it would probably win support from most peace groups.[9]

As the effects of fiscal crisis in the public sector become more acute, and economic conditions send more households into the margins of the lower-middle class, or impoverishment, the sentiment for youth service might turn into mobilization on its behalf. This is already being cultivated by corporately sponsored appeals to service, as well as by the new Points of Light Foundation. The Foundation, for all of its present calculated

emphasis on pure voluntarist sentiments, might provide inspiration for non-aliented, middle class youth to enter into service if circumstances preclude other options for them. Success would depend upon transforming the perception of voluntarism from an activity best engaged in by the financially secure, into activities that might also yield monetary benefits.

The corporate elites would embrace the movement as it would act to sustain the system against more radical alternatives, by instilling an integrative work ethic that youth would carry with them into adulthood. Many elites could be expected to place their own sons and daughters into service activities consistent with the legitimizing practices of the privileged historically to social leadership. Environmental or social service could easily become the 1990s equivalent to military stints, or a term in the Peace Corps to be used as an investment to enhanced status and power.

There is left the issue of the role of service in marking the rite of passage for females. Traditionally, the feminine rite of passage has been an entirely different ceremony associated with the first mense, or in more recent times, the marriage ceremony itself.[10] Service may actually have a bridging effect between the genders in that it provides a common means for the genders to make their claims to adult citizenship through much more effectively than schooling has done. Service, much like traditional apprenticeships, better displays the talents and capabilities of individuals as they would be required to perform in the civic world than does academic performance. Female youth may actually obtain an advantage by being better able to express values of diligence, patience, and receptivity to the needs of others that are the essential characteristics of service. In a society that appears to be manifesting an increased receptivity to feminist influences, service may express those values in a positive way. For this reason, feminist activists might come to support youth service, and in so doing, introduce a more non-militarist strain to the mixture of available service programs.

The groups noted above, may seem an unlikely combination for a coalition, yet they all share a common stake in a national identity invested in too heavily to disregard in the pursuit of their respective agendas. Americans, as a whole, are not very keen on sustaining the national drift of the post-Vietnam era which was symptomatic of a national-level identity crisis. Youth service, if fully developed at the national level, would likely have a strong relationship with the next generation of policies supporting social re-integration. Social re-integration, in this case, would extend to the full range of class, ethnic and gender divisions that youth service would mediate within its membership. The apparently successful use of national youth service in ethnically and developmentally diverse societies such as Malaysia and Nigeria points to a similar application in the U.S. as well. An elite led, mass-media orchestrated sentiment towards national integration might be the final and best alliance for the establishment of youth service.

The Problem of Non-Servers

Youth service programs, while likely to grow significantly over the next ten years, are also highly unlikely to capture large portions of youth, particularly the more acutely alienated such as immigrants and the fore-runners mentioned in the first chapter. These subgroups will be left to negotiate their own terms for association with the larger civic community. Groups predisposed against organized service would also be joined by the service leavers who would also have to legitimize their claims to adult status through other means. The combined total of non-participants and early leavers would constitute a majority of youth even under conditions most conducive to the growth of service programs over the 1990s. This means that youth service will be more of an option than a cultural norm as the "baby boomerang", the children of the baby-boomers, come into the process. The result could be a period of popular rejection among first-phase youth of that generation. This could lead to the perception of failure by the more idealistic members of

the alliance, who might then seek substantial programmatic compromises, or even dismantlement.

Just how much of a problem this is is a matter for conjecture at this point. On the one hand, the rejection or unavailability of the service path to adult status by a majority of youth would seem to indicate a failure of the movement. On the other hand, the dearth of any other public rites of passage would make even a limited acceptance of the service option, a limited success. Some mechanism for reintegration would have to be invented either by policy makers or by youth themselves by approximately the turn of the next century. What this mechanism would be, other than service, is difficult to presently imagine. The alternative would possibly be in the direction of disintegrative movements. There could emerge cults of scale, or secret societies much along the patterns of pre-Republican China. Ethno-religious, or regionally-based autonomy movements might also arise as seen in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Such disintegrative tendencies would obviously not be in the interests of the state which also holds the authority to order as one of its fundamental constituent elements. The current apparatuses of the state, such as the schools, are continuing to be seen as performing integrative functions poorly, or in decline for other reasons, such as in the case of the military. The state is obliged to create, reconfigure or coopt new integrative institutions. Long-held ideological perceptions are now in collapse, and new technologies are inciting changes in social relationships from the family to the workplace. From this there is an emerging consensus in support of integrative policies from a broad spectrum of policy makers and opinion leaders, such as illustrated in the chapter's opening quotation. Their influence upon the vast majority of non-participants will be negligible in the short-term, but a culture that actively promotes social obligation can eventually induce youth into finding a convergence of adulthood with citizenship. This new understanding of meeting social obligations as means to liberate potential emerges as the baby boomers have come to

understand the costs of their own tardy passage into civic life. The results are sometimes remarkable, as with motorcycle gang members organizing Toys for Tots drives, or with ultra-liberal Congressman Neil Abercrombie and conservative archetype William Buckely both calling for compulsory service. While the rationalizations might differ markedly, growing necessity for involvement seems undeniable. This is particularly apparent in urbanized, information societies where organziation and articulation are the means to empowerment.

The Rite of Passage to Youth and the Rite of Passage to Adulthood

The creation of an alliance and its supporting role for youth service does not guarantee an acceptance of the policy among youth themselves, for in attaining triumph in Congress, it has risked doom at the lower-end of the adolescent/youth cohort (14 to 16 years). This is because of a fundamental contradiction regarding the role of government as a provider of security, and the necessity for risk and struggle to be present in the ceremony of passage to youth which is a necessary intermediate step in coming to adult status. In this adolescent-to-youth phase, guidance by authority is its very antithesis.

The state, besides being the arbiter of order, is also fully involved in the role of provider of security for the vulnerable, which is precisely the relationship with the state that the adolescent seeks to shed en-route to what they perceive to be adulthood.[11] The problem becomes a true paradox for the state. A case in point is the state of Hawaii's suit to stop the operation of an unlicensed wilderness school on the grounds that it is a danger to youth.[12] The Utah-based organization, Challenger V, engaged in a wilderness therapy program for troubled youth, apparently drawn from upper and upper-middle class.[13] The state of Hawaii moved against the program upon receiving information from Utah official about the organization's role in the heat-stroke death of a girl participant in a desert trek. The Challenger V program may well have been reckless in its treatment of participants, and

the state was certainly correct to be concerned over its operations. However, the point here is to underscore the fine issue of the state's function of limiting risk while undertaking programs that intend similar ends.[14] Outward Bound is similar in its approach, and has suffered participant casualties, but enjoys the tolerance of the state by meeting its criteria of official expertise.

The state, because of its primary function of providing public protection, particularly to those segments determined to be vulnerable, such as the young, is incapable of sponsoring programs that would feature risk as one of its principal elements. Yet traditionally, the transition to adulthood has always featured risk. This is well understood as required for achieving adulthood among the low-SES youth who have often embraced the risky practices of violent sport, or entered the underground economies as their rites of passage.

It appears that the element of voluntariness is a principal guiding criteria for determining the acceptability of a challenge within the context as a rite of passage to youth. Yet, as outlined in chapter two, voluntariness is more a state of mind than a known and fixed standard, ad hoc and circumstantial in nature.[15] Exposure to specific situations of risk, typical of pseudo-rites of passage, are the result of peer pressure, or similarly, performances of identity formation that are confirmed from the outside-in rather than from the inside-out. This holds true even for solitary adventures for they are not validated until related. This why running away is not a satisfactory rite of passage in and of itself. Somewhere, there must either by witnesses or confidants. In essence, the need for establishing a viable identity may be internally driven, but the specific ceremony through which the identity is established has to be validated from without.

A potential source of confusion in the administration of the transition to adulthood may arise in the failure to discern the difference between the rite of passage from adolescence into youth, and the rite of passage from youth to adulthood. In the former, the peer community has the greatest influence and act as the authorizing agents. This community

sets the standards for the performance of deeds that mark the departure into the world of youth. The transition to adulthood is, however, a larger and more public rite that recognizes true adulthood as the willingness to take on the day to day practices of responsibility. In the intermediate ceremony of transition to youth, the perception of risk is in an inverse relationship with that of authority. That is, the closer an activity is associated with the formal institutions of the adult world, the less valid it is to the adolescent aspiring to youth. Their problem is bound up with the issue of creating a distinct and unique identity in relation to the adult world. Adolescents passing into youth are thus suspicious of, and thus tend to reject authorized programmatic challenges as valid rites of passage for their generation. They instead favor various unauthorized challenges which may change from generation to generation, class to class, and from community to community. The common characteristics of the acts of transition to youth are acts declaring a rejection of the authorized life path and undertaking, what Joseph Campbell would call, the heroic journey. Recent transition to youth ceremonies have indeed been diverse, again reflecting class-determined tendencies. The heroic journey has included expressions in the forms of wanderings to exotic places, sports endeavors drug and sexual experimentation, religious conversion, or involvement in cults.

This is the difference between programs of youth service and the more ad hoc and spontaneous adventures that make up the passages from childhood to adolescence to youth. By definition, a rite of passage must be a public ceremony where there is challenge, and an attending element of risk. What is more, the rite must mark the passage from the small world of the parental family and school chums to the larger world of community and colleagues. In other words the post-industrial rite of passage marks a return from the heroic journey of youth and a reconciliation with at least some those values left behind at its start. In this sense it parallels the activities of the church-based youth outreach programs which so often manifest a ring around virtually every college and university campus in the

United States. What these organizations attempt to do through the mobilizing instrument of religious duty, the state attempts to do through the instrument of civic duty.

This emerging paradigm is a reproduction and amplification of the emphasis on duty and experience most fully developed among the middle aged, and which forms the basis for their claim to community leadership. This claim to authority is reflected in the resumes of virtually any community leader, often manifested in the form of their participation in military service, and in often vast memberships in community service organizations. Presuming a military cutback over the next few years, the opportunity for military service becomes less available, and probably less esteemed.[16] The display of civic virtue is much more likely to come in the form of non-military, civic service. This is already understood by the sons and daughters of elites who are advised of the connection between public success and public virtue within their socialization process.[17] This is the potential of programs of youth service have for fostering personal growth into community that belies the modest status it holds to date.

Conclusion

In the years of research and writing on the topic of passage to citizenship, there has been a constant effort made to identify alternatives to the policy device of service as such alternatives could be known. The alternatives have not been forthcoming under the conditions considered most probable for the coming decade. Of course, those conditions may change radically, as the events in Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union have recently demonstrated. Yet, it is exactly that uncertainty of future events that lends support to the thesis that there may emerge a popular sentiment for a formal passage into solidarity with a wider community or nation. The very flexibility of the concept of service is an attribute that supports its promotion. This naturally leaves open for debate the question of just what constitutes service and just how it would be operationalized. Undoubtedly the basic model

would reflect closely the preferences of state and the normative values of the society. The remarkable attribute, demonstrated by the research, is the opportunity for developing a wide variety of activities which could legitimately be called service. This attribute conforms with the clear trend towards diversity exhibited universally, and being cultivated principally through technological innovation. The breadth of this variety may soon become apparent with the passage of the National and Community Service Act of 1990, which created a board to determine which service organizations would be supported. In essence, any social service organization may apply for support which should yield a field of thousands of qualifying groups. Thus will be uncovered the "thousand points of light", though the range hues will confound the uniform and unitary implications of the original slogan. Much of what might otherwise be treated as unauthorized yet viable alternatives could then be officially accommodated. Abuses could arise out of catastrophic social disintegration, or totalitarian resurgence which would substitute slavery for service, but this possibility is more likely without youth service as with it.

This ten-year projection seems well-defined. Youth service, well-established in many states and localities, is expanding as funding allows. A national-level administrative structure has now been constructed to promote further expansion and to begin the process of its institutionalization. While the establishment of a universal youth service appears remote, a significant advance along the lines of the state and local corps models is close to actuality. It can expect further support as a remedy to almost certain public sector retrenchment, especially as a vehicle for mobilizing environmental repair and sustaining the provision of community-level social services. The demographic, economic and political influences are all compatible with this assessment.

The process leading to what may later become the administration of maturity is thus underway. It is important to note here at the completion of this dissertation, that this movement, is dialectical, and driven, to a considerable extent, as a reaction to the

disintegrative forces that became more pronounced over the course of the last two decades. No doubt, this movement will eventually undergo a quantum-transformation into a conservative artifact of what a new generation will see as this generation's old order. This should be expected and even welcomed as necessary in its time. The point here is that the youth service movement as it takes shape in the 1990s is an instrument which may effect fairly immediate benefits upon real and current conditions of crisis and malaise. To attack its potential as a proto-fascist agency is to ignore the temporal condition that attends the enterprise of life itself. It is akin to declining to engage in parenthood because the offspring would be doomed to eventually age and die. The examination of youth service here has been consistently anticipitory, but limited to its generative phase. An eventual decline in viability is to be expected. At which point in time its continued operation can no longer be tolerated for whatever reason is a political question that expresses an essential ingredient in the comprehension of the politics of life cycles. That is best left for evaluation in its time.

Chapter 6 Notes

[1] The National and Community Service Act, now Public Law 101-610, November 16, 1990 provides for $56 million for fiscal year 1991, $95 million for 1992, and $105 million for 1993..

[2] The futurist community has largely agreed that a large-scale economic downturn is likely in the next year or so, especially in the United States which is now the world's largest debtor nation and continuing to under-react to the multitude of policies and events that have placed it in this condition.

[3] The possible government-sponsored remilitarization of American youth appears unlikely given the greater relative expense of such an undertaking compared to the costs of maintaining a civilian social, or conservation service.

[4] The 10,000 figure is the 1989 number according to the Coalition for National Service in its survey of full-time servers. See, National Service Secretariat, "Full-Time Youth Service Enrollment Climbs to 10,000", National Service Newsletter, No. 57, August, 1990, p. 2. A Points of Light Foundation effort and the appropriations for state and local youth service made through the National and Community Service Act would be unlikely to more than double these figures at their current funding levels.

[5] This scenario is suggested by the research results of the W.T. Grant Foundation Commission's study of non-college youth under the direction of Dr. Samuel Halperin. See, The William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship, The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America, 1988, and The Forgotten Half: Pathways to Success for America's Youth and Young Families, 1988.

[6] Virtually all youth corps offer educational blocks for securing a GED, with 78 percent of them requiring GED study, or high school attendance. (see National Service Newsletter, op. cit.). A notable exception is a private-sector effort in Boston that targets college students, and Campus Compact, and the College Outreach Opportunity League, college centered organizations described in Chapter 2.

[7] Institutions of higher education are currently caught in an enrollment squeeze which is part of the passing of the baby boomers. Many elite institutions are especially vulnerable to this, as well as to the general effects of higher costs. This has led to their adopting more aggressive recruiting efforts, such as promotional spots in the mass media that give the appearance of commercialization.

[8] Ebony, October 1986 listed military officer at 4th in their list of the 25 most promising careers for blacks.

[9] The Hawaii Council of Churches, and members of the Hawaii Peace Institute have promoted youth service. See, "Civic Service in Hawaii." Hawaii Council of Churches News & Comments, Kailua, HI: Hawaii Council of Churches, September, 1989.

[10] The association of marriage with the rite of passage into the role of wife and mother explains the relatively higher emphasis women have historically placed upon the ceremony itself which has usually been constructed around the bride.

[11] Ironically, where the state has tolerated what amounts to a ritualistic sacrifice of the young in military service, it would not be so willing for social and environmental defense.

[12] "State files suit to stop youth therapy outings", Honolulu Advertiser, December 6, 1990, p. A-12.

[13] The cost of attending a 64-day wilderness survival program was reported to be $16,000.

[14] In 1989, a total of three youth service corps members died. One drowned swimming after completing a corps task, one died in a motorcycle accident, and one was a shooting victim during a robbery attempt. Of the three deaths, only the drawing incident could be linked (and linked tenuously) to a corps activity. The three deaths out of a corps population of some twenty thousand falls well within statistical bounds of mortality for the age group. This underlines the care given by corps administrators to protect participants from extraordinary risk. Reported at the NASCC Conference, September, 8, 1990.

[15] The practices of consumerism supports this contention as it essentially operates from this premise.

[16] The Congresional Budget Office projects a $14.2 billion cut in defense appropriations in fiscal years 1992-1993 and an additional $61 billion projected for fiscal years 1994-1997. Figures cited in remarks by the associate director of the military conversion conference held in Washington, D.C. and broadcast on CSPAN February 20, 1991.

[17] This is a message unintentionally delivered. yet delivered forcefully by William F. Buckley in, Gratitude, where he invokes the concept of distributive justice, a species of justice that discerns special allowances for the aristocratic, designated so by whatever means was popular at the time. Buckley notes that distributive justice had been sanctioned in this country by the Founding Fathers themselves when they gave voting rights exclusively to white males of property, continuing up to the present-day practice of the veteran's preference, and apparently to the white-collar criminal as well. See, Buckely, William, F., Gratitude: Reflections on What We Owe Our Country, New York, Random House, 1990, pp. 63-70.

APPENDIX A
FACTOR ANALYSIS OF THE YOUTH SERVICE SURVEY
FINAL STATISTICS

VARIABLE	COMMUNALITY	*	FACTOR	EIGENVALUE	PCT OF VAR	CUM PCT
		*				
VTYCC	.36236	*	1	2.19980	11.0	11.0
FLCC	.16254	*	2	1.90674	9.5	20.5
ATEAM	.98181	*	3	1.29726	6.5	27.0
MARINCC	.56364	*	4	1.10223	5.5	32.5
CITYVOLC	.30480	*	5	.79495	4.0	36.5
YRDC	.65167	*	6	.75203	3.8	40.3
MICCC	.50135	*	7	.67296	3.4	43.6
WASC	.41005	*				
WICC	.30831	*				
WACC	.46294	*				
CACC	.23145	*				
PHILIYSC	.57041	*				
LEGACY	.66428	*				
PACC	.43305	*				
NYSCC	.33880	*				
MIYC	.49636	*				
PARKS	.45625	*				
MNCC	.25706	*				
NWYC	.20965	*				
VSS	.35919	*				

Varimax Rotation 1 For Extraction 1 In Analysis 1 - Kaiser Normalization.
Varimax Converged In 22 Iterations.

ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX:

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5
VTYCC	.04246	.56274	.09147	.06274	-.05934
FLCC	-.15639	-.00562	-.02063	.21129	.10009
ATEAM	.01062	.02681	.95326	-.03139	-.26388
MARINCC	.08471	.04430	-.25091	-.30974	-.18617
CITYVOLC	.16329	-.36338	-.14200	.23571	-.23814
YRDC	-.09993	-.09194	.02522	.75960	-.21250
MICCC	-.14525	-.02970	.07076	-.12227	-.01859
WASC	-.12802	-.44723	.13277	.25156	-.15270
WICC	-.15294	.00287	.03563	-.43803	.14215
WACC	-.58305	.20028	.11872	.06069	.21065
CACC	-.25826	-.04168	.04185	-.16118	.02009
PHILIYSC	.66980	-.00958	.10745	.21543	.20062
LEGACY	.73011	.01656	.15384	-.19156	-.03832
PACC	-.02235	-.05502	-.17580	-.15098	.61003
NYSCC	-.06346	.24753	-.03077	-.10001	.51190
MIYC	-.29011	-.55669	-.15719	-.07751	-.18469
PARKS	.51626	.22043	-.22439	-.01292	-.23113
MNCC	-.20108	.35738	-.12902	-.12948	.18314
NWYC	-.12316	.36376	-.17302	-.03108	-.05104
VSS	.17415	.13239	-.14173	-.04004	-.11861

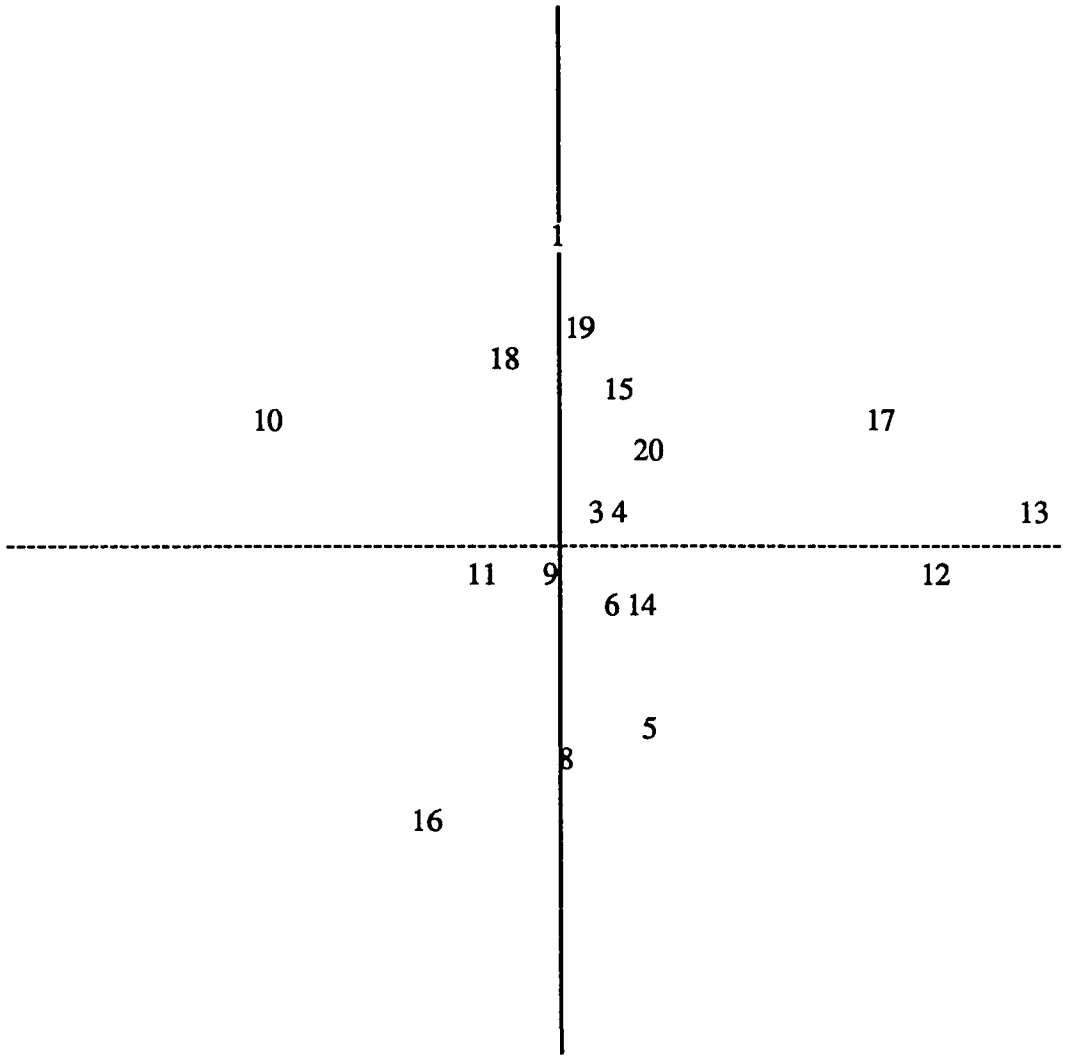
	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7
VTYCC	-.13526	.09879
FLCC	.14116	.25108
ATEAM	-.00143	.04061
MARINCC	.60076	-.00560
CITYVOLC	.03396	.11185
YRDC	-.00638	-.10199
MICCC	.02206	.67718
WASC	-.21405	-.20880
WICC	.25398	-.08403
WACC	.05844	-.13160
CACC	.17932	-.32050
PHILIYSC	.13046	-.08043
LEGACY	-.22047	-.14319
PACC	.03685	.04813
NYSCC	.00174	-.02260
MIYC	-.02126	.19239
PARKS	-.07676	-.17694
MNCC	.13899	.05138
NWYC	-.13173	-.10633
VSS	-.52456	-.02031

FACTOR TRANSFORMATION MATRIX:

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5
FACTOR 1	-.80716	.10980	-.14143	-.27154	.36493
FACTOR 2	.44769	.62062	-.21069	-.45651	.38133
FACTOR 3	-.21240	.53324	.76964	.13626	-.01371
FACTOR 4	.18615	-.32227	.51819	-.61417	-.14700
FACTOR 5	.02889	.18932	-.13522	-.08961	-.21110
FACTOR 6	.17586	-.36102	.23128	.16205	.80670
FACTOR 7	.19117	.21999	.05444	.53647	.06546

	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7
FACTOR 1	.29771	.14458
FACTOR 2	.05638	-.11410
FACTOR 3	-.23588	-.06164
FACTOR 4	.40020	.18437
FACTOR 5	-.31179	.89176
FACTOR 6	-.23366	.23157
FACTOR 7	.73524	.28183

HORIZONTAL FACTOR 1 VERTICAL FACTOR 2



SYMBOL	VARIABLE	COORDINATES	SYMBOL	VARIABLE	COORDINATES
1	VTYCC	(.04246, .56274)	2	FLCC	(-.15639, -.00562)
3	ATEAM	(.01062, .02681)	4	MARINCC	(.08471, .04430)
5	CITYVOLC	(.16329, -.36338)	6	YRDC	(-.09993, -.09194)
7	MICCC	(-.14525, -.02970)	8	WASC	(-.12802, -.44723)
9	WICC	(-.15294, .00287)	10	WACC	(-.58305, .20028)
11	CACC	(-.25826, -.04168)	12	PHILIYSC	(.66980, -.00958)
13	LEGACY	(.73011, .01656)	14	PACC	(-.02235, -.05502)
15	NYSCC	(-.06346, .24753)	16	MIYC	(-.29011, -.55669)
17	PARKS	(.51626, .22043)	18	MNCC	(-.20108, .35738)
19	NWYC	(-.12316, .36376)	20	VSS	(.17415, .13239)

FACTOR SCORE COEFFICIENT MATRIX:

	FACTOR 1	FACTOR 2	FACTOR 3	FACTOR 4	FACTOR 5
VTYCC	1.28430	-.23761	2.51975	.17301	-.72603
FLCC	1.48290	-.60577	3.10763	.22788	-.74662
ATEAM	1.47555	-.56480	4.08380	.02790	-1.01935
MARINCC	1.28421	-.44810	2.40770	-.04344	-.88384
CITYVOLC	1.82200	-.85188	3.60161	.23699	-1.01298
YRDC	1.40798	-.56034	2.91453	.71012	-.85858
MICCC	1.55800	-.62572	3.25159	.12932	-.84083
WASC	1.62441	-.91413	3.45922	.19429	-.91000
WICC	1.39173	-.61378	2.93839	-.01893	-.69761
WACC	1.26326	-.48903	3.20723	.19346	-.68889
CACC	1.92190	-.85145	4.16413	.13422	-1.07316
PHILIYSC	1.78800	-.63536	3.18804	.35104	-.54538
LEGACY	2.21967	-.81512	3.76119	.00596	-.95590
PACC	1.26670	-.59355	2.62288	.08956	-.31031
NYSCC	1.43462	-.52238	3.03436	.11263	-.52509
MIYC	2.25929	-1.27428	4.86115	.10389	-1.37219
PARKS	1.64227	-.47135	3.12684	.12229	-.99135
MNCC	1.09204	-.32095	2.36662	.08538	-.58634
NWYC	1.28371	-.39163	2.78081	.09500	-.78793
VSS	1.73040	-.63234	3.54681	.11651	-.99747

	FACTOR 6	FACTOR 7
VTYCC	.16293	.43969
FLCC	.38245	.56133
ATEAM	.41186	.49334
MARINCC	.72781	.32084
CITYVOLC	.40494	.59323
YRDC	.39101	.35129
MICCC	.31502	.98827
WASC	.20286	.31516
WICC	.39053	.34173
WACC	.33977	.31161
CACC	.48357	.38958
PHILIYSC	.50835	.44909
LEGACY	.19033	.42422
PACC	.25957	.39454
NYSCC	.27117	.40618
MIYC	.42480	.79217
PARKS	.32179	.37782
MNCC	.28805	.36546
NWYC	.21674	.34109
VSS	.05731	.52807

Appendix B

THE SENATE
FIFTEENTH LEGISLATURE, 1989
STATE OF HAWAII

S.C.R. NO. 155 S.D 1

SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

REQUESTING A STUDY ON THE FEASIBILITY OF A YOUTH VOLUNTARY SERVICE PROGRAM.

WHEREAS, the ability of Hawaii's youth to contribute to the solution of important issues in the State is generally underestimated; and

WHEREAS, Hawaii's youth can harness their determination, drive, and ability to aid the State in many areas of concern, such as conserving and maintaining our natural resources, or aiding the capabilities of persons of low income to improve the conditions of their lives; and

WHEREAS, these abilities have been demonstrated in the California Conservation Corps, which is operated by that State, and throughout the nation by the work of youths and others ages eighteen or older through the federal VISTA and Peace Corps programs; and

WHEREAS, the California Conservation Corps is a volunteer program in which young men and women engage in projects that preserve, maintain, and enhance environmentally important lands and waters; accomplish useful and needed public works projects in urban and rural areas; assist in emergency operations, including fire prevention and suppression; contribute to the conservation of energy; and contribute to making public facilities accessible to disabled persons; and

WHEREAS, volunteers are selected for participation in the Corps on the basis of their motivation for hard work, personal development, and public service; and

WHEREAS, the California Legislature has found that participation of California's youth in the Corps is beneficial to the youth by providing them with educational and work opportunities, as well as furthering their understanding and appreciation of natural resources, learning basic and fundamental work ethics, and learning the value of a day's work for a day's wages; and

WHEREAS, the VISTA program, although not just for young men and women, is another volunteer program that seeks to do good in the community, as well as providing the volunteers with experience, skills, and the satisfaction that comes from true achievement; and

WHEREAS, Hawaii's youth could also gain these tangible and intangible benefits from a similar program in Hawaii, while also aiding the State and its residents by improving the environment, helping the poor, and providing other appropriate services; now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate of the Fifteenth Legislature of the State of Hawaii, Regular Session of 1989, the House of Representatives concurring, that the Legislative Reference Bureau is requested to study the feasibility of establishing a pilot program for volunteer youth services similar to the California Conservation Corps or the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) program; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Legislative Reference Bureau make recommendations concerning the appropriate agency to administer the pilot program; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Legislative Reference Bureau report findings and recommendations to the Legislature no later than twenty days before the convening of the Regular Session of 1990; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a certified copy of this Concurrent Resolution be transmitted to the Director of the Legislative Reference Bureau.

Appendix C

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
FIFTEENTH LEGISLATURE, 1989
STATE OF HAWAII

H.C.R. NO. 268 H.D. 1

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

REQUESTING A STUDY ON THE FEASIBILITY OF A YOUTH VOLUNTARY SERVICE PROGRAM.

WHEREAS, the ability of Hawaii's youth to contribute to the solution of important issues in the State is generally underestimated; and

WHEREAS, Hawaii's youth can harness their determination, drive, and ability to aid the State in many areas of concern, such as conserving and maintaining our natural resources, or aiding the capabilities of persons of low income to improve the conditions of their lives; and

WHEREAS, these abilities have been demonstrated in the California Conservation Corps, which is operated by that State, and throughout the nation by the work of youths and others ages eighteen or older through the federal VISTA and Peace Corps programs; and

WHEREAS, the California Conservation Corps is a volunteer program in which young men and women engage in projects that preserve, maintain, and enhance environmentally important lands and waters; accomplish useful and needed public works projects in urban and rural areas; assist in emergency operations, including fire prevention and suppression; contribute to the conservation of energy; and contribute to making public facilities accessible to disabled persons; and

WHEREAS, volunteers are selected for participation in the Corps on the basis of their motivation for hard work, personal development, and public service; and

WHEREAS, the California legislature has found that participation of California's youth in the Corps is beneficial to the youth by providing them with educational and work opportunities, as well as furthering their understanding and appreciation of natural resources, learning basic and fundamental work ethics, and learning the value of a day's work for a day's wages; and

WHEREAS, the VISTA program, although not just for young men and women, is another volunteer program that both seeks to do good in the community, as well as providing the volunteers with experience, skills, and the satisfaction that comes from true achievement; and

WHEREAS, Hawaii's youth could also gain these tangible and intangible benefits from a similar program in Hawaii, while also aiding the State and its residents by improving the environment, helping the poor, and providing other appropriate services; now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of the Fifteenth Legislature of the State of Hawaii, Regular Session of 1989, the Senate concurring, that the Department of Labor and Industrial Relations is requested to study the feasibility of establishing a pilot program for volunteer youth services similar to the California Conservation Corps or the Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA) program; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Department of Labor and Industrial Relations make recommendations concerning the appropriate agency to administer the pilot program; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Department of Labor and Industrial Relations report findings and recommendations to the Legislature no later than twenty days before the convening of the Regular Session of 1990; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a certified copy of this Resolution be transmitted to the Director of the Department of Labor and Industrial Relations.

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