
The Implications of National Service for Corrections

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April 1982

CRSO Working Paper #260
Paper Prepared for presentation at
the University of Chicago Conference
in Honor of Morris Janowitz
May 14-15, 1982

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NATIONAL SERVICE FOR CORRECTIONS

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March 21, 1982

I

National Service is an idea that will not be put to rest. The image of young people realizing their own potential by busying themselves in behalf of the nation has reappeared throughout the twentieth century, or at least since it was suggested by William James in his 1910 essay "The Moral Equivalent of War."¹ It achieved partial realization in the Civilian Conservation Corps during the Depression, and was seen again with the creation of the Peace Corps under President Kennedy. National Service surfaced again in the mid 1960's, this time in response to criticisms of the inequities of Vietnam-era conscription.² Proponents like Morris Janowitz vigorously argued that if all young Americans were required to serve their country for a short time in a military or civilian capacity, not only would the nation meet its military manpower needs, but it would do so in a way that would provide multiple benefits to young people and to the country.³ Whereas the draft necessarily created resentment on the part of the minority who were chosen to serve, National Service, he argued, would universalize and therefore legitimate the duty to serve. And National Service would be superior to an all-volunteer force because it would strengthen citizenship norms as well as provide an effective definition of military service.

Perhaps if the draft had continued a few more years, National Service would have achieved greater political support. This is possible, because in addition to those who favored National Service as the best approach to recruiting mili-

tary manpower, there was another constituency that saw National Service as an answer to a host of youth problems--unemployment, delinquency, drug abuse and alienation generally, and as a national strategy for assisting the transition from school to work by providing counseling, training, and job experience.⁴

Whether the two proponent groups would have been able to develop a broad based national coalition in the late 1960's and early 1970's is a matter for conjecture. President Nixon clearly preferred an all-volunteer armed forces (AVF); the national (Gates) commission which he appointed to study the matter, ratified and provided intellectual legitimacy for his position. As for National Service, the Gates Commission rejected the idea on the ground that:

Above all, mandatory National Service is coercive. Such a system of universal conscription would require all those eligible to serve within a specified period of time. If insufficient numbers proved willing to enlist in the military or volunteer for other onerous types of government service, some would be required to serve in these less desirable capacities. In essence, mandatory National Service requires forced labor. Although motivated by a genuine interest in the nation's welfare, advocates of mandatory National Service are suggesting a compulsory system which is more consistent with a totalitarian than a democratic heritage. If the service that youth would render is important and valuable enough to merit public support, it can and should be financed through general taxation.⁵

With the end of the Vietnam War and the institutionalization of the AVF one might have expected National Service once again to hibernate. This has not happened because of persistent and well documented problems in the AVF. Almost from the beginning the AVF failed to meet many of the goals projected

by the Gates Commission. In the early years, recruiting shortfalls created widespread doubts about the nation's ability to attract enough personnel by means of economic incentives. In fact, had the Pentagon not consistently reduced its force levels throughout the 1970's, the all-volunteer force would surely have failed.⁶ The Gates Commission's predictions concerning the quality of personnel who could be recruited for an all-volunteer also proved incorrect. As Morris Janowitz and Charles Moskos have shown, recruits are less educated, reliable, and socially representative than their predecessors in the pre-Vietnam period.⁷ Not surprisingly, the combat readiness of the AVF has been persistently questioned at home and abroad.

The future prognosis hardly inspires optimism. The capacity to maintain (or increase) force levels, in the face of a shrinking youth cohort, is problematic.⁸ Thus, the return of a peacetime draft within the next decade must be regarded as highly likely, unless, of course, there is some other alternative, like National Service.

National Service has been kept alive in Congress and in the writings and advocacy of various intellectuals and activists. In 1977, the Senate Subcommittee on Manpower and Personnel of the Armed Services Committee released a comprehensive study, authored by Professor William King, entitled "Achieving America's Goals: National Service or the All-Volunteer Force." After reviewing the difficulties with the AVF, the report concluded that some form of National Service is desirable and feasible.

Any of the wide variety of national service programs on which the nation might embark would serve to address some of the basic informational and diagnostic needs of American youth as well as to alleviate some of the present and potential problems of the AVF. A broad-scale program of national service could address and alleviate a wide-range of such needs and problems, this enabling the nation to more effectively pursue its national goals.⁹

Three National Service bills have been introduced into recent sessions of Congress.¹⁰ Two of them, presented by Congressmen McCloskey and Cavanaugh, provide for comprehensive national service programs. Senator Tsongas and ten co-sponsors have introduced a bill to establish a national commission "to examine the need and the desirability and feasibility of establishing a comprehensive national service program to meet a broad range of national and local needs." Hearings were held in 1979 and 1980.

Meanwhile, advocates of social programs for youth have also taken up the National Service banner. Most notable is the work of the Committee for the Study of National Service, which released its report, Youth and the Needs of the Nation in February, 1979.¹¹ That Report sounded a ringing endorsement for a large-scale voluntary National Service System. And later in 1979, a Washington conference sponsored by the same group attracted two-hundred fifty participants who reached an overwhelming consensus that voluntary National Service is necessary, desirable and feasible.¹²

This hardly suggests that National Service is on the verge of enactment. No doubt the idea is philosophically, politically and fiscally abhorrent to the Regan administration. (Of course, so too, once upon a time was draft registration!) But times and administrations change. The challenge of recruiting military manpower will not go away; if anything, it will intensify. Nor are youth unemployment, delinquency, drug abuse and illegitimacy abating. To be sure, National Service has its logic.

Most of the writing, debate and testimony on National Service has taken place at a rather abstract and philosophical level, e.g., what are the reciprocal rights and obligations of the citizen and the state in a democracy? Is National Service forced labor or a right and obligation of citizenship? Without in any way derogating these issues, this paper asks whether, assuming National Service is desirable in principle, it is feasible? Could a large scale National Service program actually be implemented? What would young people do? How would they be integrated into new and existing programs. What impact would they have on the agencies in which they serve?

II

My intent is to explore the implications of National Service for the institution I know best--the American prison. Both Donald Eberley and Morris Janowitz have included working in corrections in their National Service plans.¹³ So has Congressman McCloskey in the rather elaborate program he has

offered for enactment into law. This is not surprising. The United States continues to require a more effective and more humane system of law enforcement.

Corrections is a particularly appropriate agency for National Service participants; it is highly labor intensive and has a long tradition of accepting and even seeking volunteers.¹⁴ Whether due to a romanticization of criminals or religious sentiments about raising the fallen, prisons have always had ample numbers (some would say an excess) of idealistic volunteers. Volunteer programs on drug and alcohol abuse, community service, career counseling, and religious instruction are commonplace in prisons and jails. For example, the famous PACE program at Chicago's Cook County Jail allows several dozen volunteers to tutor and counsel prisoners several nights per week. In New York, in addition to other volunteers, VISTA workers tutor approximately one thousand prisoners per year.¹⁵ Many state correctional systems have designated volunteer services co-ordinators at the central office and institutional levels.

A National Service program, of course, would constitute more than an expansion of existing volunteer programs. For one thing, National Service volunteers would be younger and have fewer skills than traditional volunteers. For another thing, most volunteer programs consume no more than a few hours per week; National Service presumably would be an eight hour per day assignment.

Let me suggest, as a point of departure, that corrections could absorb 50,000 National Service participants, roughly 2.5%

of the total 18-year-old cohort and roughly equivalent to 20% of all correctional personnel currently serving in corrections.¹⁶ How could these young men and women be deployed?

Although some versions of National Service might make it possible to enter National Service after college, it is far more likely that participation will be expected immediately after high school, or in the case of those who do not complete high school, at age seventeen or eighteen. Young people overwhelmingly will enter National Service without any particular skills relevant to corrections, except perhaps for a limited number who can serve as office clerks, typists, and educational assistants.

This is not necessarily disadvantageous for corrections where the greatest manpower deficiency is in the uniformed ranks. All penal facilities are short handed, and at some, industrial, recreational and social service programs must regularly be cancelled because of insufficient supervision. The use of National Service personnel as guards could mean more programming, better service delivery, and reduced violence. That would be quite a contribution.

The age and experience mix of the prison staff would be substantially altered if one-fifth of all positions were filled by young National Service participants. This also would have its advantages, especially for those prisons where turnover is low. Presently, there is considerable variation in turnover rates at different correctional facilities. In New York, for example, a prison like Attica may have an annual turnover rate of 5%, while Green Haven's annual turnover far exceeds 100%.

It is interesting to compare corrections to the armed forces, which explicitly strives to maintain an overall force with a mean age under twenty-five. To do so even in periods of recruitment difficulties, the military limits re-enlistment opportunities to approximately 10-15% of those completing their initial enlistment contract. Rotating National Service personnel through prisons on one year tours of duty would ensure a similarly large percentage of staff turnover, and might also reduce the personal fatigue and cynicism of the permanent staff.

But is it realistic to believe that seventeen and eighteen year olds can serve successfully as guards? I believe it is, although only experience will tell. The role of a guard is not one that requires much formal academic or vocational training.¹⁷ On the other hand, it is not a role that anyone can assume. Stress is high; danger is constant. The demands of the job push some guards toward collusion with the prisoners and others toward brutality.¹⁸ Another contribution of National Service would be to focus attention on the critical need for sound training programs. It is inconceivable that a National Service program would permit young men and women to assume front line correctional duties without any formal training, the current reality in a good many states. But even with good training, we can expect and must plan for a considerable number of drop-outs.

In addition to supplying more bodies, National Service personnel will contribute youthful enthusiasm and idealism to organizations all too often marked by distrust, hostility,

cynicism, and the familiar "burn out syndrome."¹⁸ This is certainly true of those who today carry out volunteer work in corrections.¹⁹

As all too many administrators can attest, "people work" can be extremely exhausting. Countless individuals enter juvenile and adult corrections with the express intention of "helping" and "working with the inmates," only to lose their idealism to the "bitter realities" and demands of the prison system. National Service personnel could counteract this cynicism. Their overall impact might be to keep a feeling of "mission" alive in corrections in the face of widespread cynicism about rehabilitation and loss of public support for corrections programs. Realization of National Service's potential to inject corrections with idealism vitally depends on whether National Service is voluntary or compulsory. Thus, it is worth considering how a National Service prototype, like the McCloskey bill, would actually operate.

III

McCloskey's proposal requires all 17 year old males and females to register, upon pain of criminal penalty, with a National Service System.²⁰ Each registrant must either "volunteer" for two years of active military service, six years of reserve duty, or one year of civilian service; or else choose not to volunteer. Those who do not volunteer will be vulnerable to a draft lottery for six years. Draftees (presumably drawn without regard to gender) must serve two years in the

military. Although McCloskey labels his proposal "voluntary," it is unmistakably a form of compulsory National Service which uses the threat of conscription to induce volunteers for alternative civilian service.

McCloskey's proposal envisions federal administration, with a national director, state headquarters, and local placement centers in each county or comparable political subdivision. A National Board, chaired by the National Director, will regularly compile, on a nationwide basis, listings of National Service jobs, and distribute these lists to local placement centers. This will provide information on available positions throughout the country. However, the proposal requires that those who elect civilian service locate their own positions.

Two aspects of McCloskey's proposal, its compulsory nature and its failure to accept responsibility for actually placing registrants in civilian positions, have particular significance for corrections. For corrections to reap maximum benefit from National Service, it is extremely important that young people view the program as an opportunity to serve the country and not as coercion or punishment. If the latter conception prevails, a high degree of recalcitrance, hostility, and indifference might characterize those who "choose" corrections only to avoid the draft. Furthermore, a voluntary system has a great many advantages in its own right. Over the long term a voluntary National Service system could reinvigorate the concept of citizenship, harness idealism, and create support for the idea of serving others and one's country.²¹ To encourage norms of service and the inclination to volunteer,

successful completion of National Service could be established as a prerequisite for later employment by federal, state, or local government. Alternatively, successful National Service experience could, like veteran's status, constitute a preference in competition for civil service positions. Institutions of higher education could also encourage National Service participation through admission policies.²²

Our present lack of knowledge about how to establish and administer a universal National Service system that would have to provide useful and meaningful work to two million people per year also supports voluntary over compulsory National Service.²³ Instead of establishing the entire system at once, as McCloskey proposes, a more modest step-by-step approach is preferable. During the 1980's, the system could target meaningful service opportunities for experimentation.²⁴ Corrections is fertile ground for such experimentation due to its manpower needs, relatively few skill prerequisites, and its ability to attract idealistic volunteers.

Requiring a registrant to find his or her own placement also reduces the potential benefits for agencies like corrections. By failing to provide a nationwide employment service, the McCloskey proposal encourages young people to limit their search to their local area, thus reducing the opportunity for nationwide diversity. Little benefit would accrue to corrections if National Service personnel working in the prisons were sons and daughters or neighbors of prison staff members. To encourage diversity there should be a nationally-coordinated system of registration, testing,

counseling, and job referral. Such a system would not only avoid the problems attendant to the unpopular and bizarre localism of the old selective service system, but would also create a better fit between individual strengths and weaknesses and positions across the country.

Further, it is not particularly desirable for registrants themselves to serve in their home communities. This would limit the potential of national service to provide a broadening experience. Like military service, Peace Corps, and VISTA, National Service should provide a chance to travel, broaden one's horizons, and mix with other social groups. A truly voluntary and nationwide National Service system, therefore, holds many benefits for corrections.

IV

A properly organized and administered National Service, with a nationwide focus, could take advantage of the diverse pool of young men and women from all economic and cultural strata. Prisons, like the armed forces and police, have a unique role in democratic society in that they implement society's most severe punishments--incarceration and execution. It is not disingenuous to suggest that these punishments be administered democratically, with all social segments participating. Today, capital punishment and the punitive regimen of maximum security incarceration are implemented by a highly unrepresentative social group--poorly educated, white, rural males who happen to live in the economically depressed areas where prisons exist.²⁵

If a broader cross section of the American population imposed punishment, both the public and prisoners themselves might perceive it as more legitimate, and prison reform might be easier to accomplish. Greater diversity within the prison community would also stimulate discussion between members of different socio-economic classes. Prisoners would benefit from contact with a continuously rotating cross section of American youth, including the college bound. National Service participants would gain an understanding of crime, criminality, and the predicament of the American underclass. They would also benefit from interacting with one another and with the permanent cadre of prison guards.

National Service personnel would also alter the guard force's racial and sex mix. Few blacks or Hispanics are residents of the rural locales in which most prisons are located. Efforts to attract individual minority group members to work and live in towns like Attica continue to be unsuccessful. A National Service system would locate, house, and provide a peer group for young minority full-time personnel who would not otherwise seek employment in corrections.

It is possible, of course, that National Service could be instituted "for men only," particularly if it were linked to conscription. However, if only young men have to serve their country, the norm of service and national service itself will be undermined. And those who oppose equal rights for women would have another arrow in their quiver. Therefore, an additional argument for voluntary National Service is that it could be equally available to young men and women, while a

compulsory system would probably not include many women, if for no other reason than because it would be unconstitutional to force anyone into National Service except through the expedient of a draft exemption.²⁶ If women were not vulnerable to the draft, there would be no way to require them to serve in a civilian capacity.

If women do participate, how will they be deployed in the prisons where the overwhelming majority of inmates are males? Over the last decade, spurred by the women's movement and the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Title VII), women all over the country have demanded equal employment opportunities in prisons and jails.²⁷ Some prison systems have acceded to these demands and voluntarily integrated their guard forces. The majority, however, have resisted this development, and sometimes male prisoners have protested the invasion of their privacy by women. There have been dozens of lawsuits and even one Supreme Court opinion which, unfortunately, was not definitive. Thus, the current situation is unclear. Women can be found in uniform in many men's prisons, but not in equal numbers and their future is clouded.

My studies convince me that women can serve constructively and successfully in men's prisons, and that selective work assignment can protect prisoner privacy. Female National Service volunteers should have an opportunity to serve and contribute to corrections along with their male counterparts. If they are permitted to do so, National Service will have contributed to the drive to establish equal employment opportunity for women.

The influx into corrections of National Service personnel from a nationwide or regionwide population base would also break down the excessive homogeneity and parochialism that characterizes most penal facilities' guard forces. Many National Service personnel will be disturbed by what they see; they will not accept things as they are, and will ask hard questions and demand cogent explanations. More importantly, National Service volunteers will not easily identify or sympathize with the staff subculture; they would constitute an institutionalized watch-dog that the permanent cadre could not trust to maintain the veil of secrecy and pact of silence that often prevents the public from obtaining an accurate picture of what is happening behind the walls. Brutalities and excessive force may occur less frequently; vulgar racial epithets may decrease.

National Service could constitute a strong link between prisons and the rest of society. The decisive factor for penal institutions in the last several decades was the proliferation ties with the larger society, particularly, but not exclusively, with federal courts and the federal government.²⁸ From autonomous isolated institutions, prisons moved closer to society's center. This trend, however, may have reached a limit by the mid-1970's. In the 1980's, the challenge may be to keep the prisons from reverting to the isolated autonomy of the pre-World War II period. National Service, through its participants (and their families) and administrators, would be a very strong institutional link tying prisons to the national government and the larger society.

National Service also would provide corrections with an unparalleled opportunity to broaden its recruitment base for career staff. Despite the challenges and importance of its mission, and what seems to be rapid advancement for the bright and ambitious, corrections is not successful in competing for talent, particularly at the entry level. Prison staff overwhelmingly are recruited from the ranks of the unemployed and marginally employed.²⁹ Few college graduates enter the field through the ranks. Some of the National Service personnel who serve in the prisons will respond to the challenges and remain or return after their schooling is completed.

For the vast majority of National Service participants, prison service will constitute but a short career break. For many, the experience will be profoundly moving, enriching their later education and personal development. If this is true, then corrections will benefit from the emergence of a constituency for prison reform. National Service could provide a first-hand prison experience for tens and hundreds of thousands of citizens who in all probability, would otherwise never come into contact with prisons. Over time these prison "veterans" might have a substantial impact on correctional politics.

IV

What problems might National Service cause for the prisons? First, there is cost. Who is going to pay for a twenty percent increase in the size of the correctional force? If state funding is required, will the legislature give corrections the money it needs to hire national service participants

and to build dormitories for them? Perhaps the federal government will pick up the tab, if the present "new federalism" tide ebbs."³⁰ Federal funding presumably would eliminate the fiscal concerns of the state legislatures and corrections agencies, but not necessarily of public employee unions.

Employees in at least two-thirds of state correctional agencies have a formal collective bargaining relationship with their employers.³¹ In some states these guard unions are very strong indeed. It is unthinkable that they would agree to a program, that under any conceivable interpretation, could have the effect of replacing or substituting National Service participants for regular employers. And even if both sides could agree that National Service participants could only augment the full-time guard force, there would surely be controversy over wages and other terms of employment. The unions might object to paying National Service participants less than the prevailing wage because of the potentially depressing effect on their own wages. But to pay these young people regular wages would make the program prohibitively expensive, undermine its "service" rationale, and subject it to sharp criticism by the adult unemployed and low wage earners. Finally, union leaders will clearly appreciate that the availability of National Service workers to run the prisons in the event of a strike will decrease their bargaining leverage. These objections could pose a serious political "impediment" to establishing National Service and must be anticipated and resolved by National Service planners.

A second, whole complex of issues revolves around personnel management. What control will prison officials have over their national service participants? Initially, will they have to accept any young man or woman who wants to work in the prison, or at least anyone who is certified as "qualified" by the national service bureaucracy? Suppose prison officials want to continue to adhere to their entrance requirements and examinations?

Once prison officials accept a national service participant for work are they bound to keep him or her employed? Suppose the young man or woman does not come to work on time? Or shows up high on drugs? Or is observed fraternizing with the prisoners? Or simply fails to carry out duties and responsibilities to the satisfaction of the high ranking officers in the guard corps? Ultimately, will prison officials have the authority to hire and "fire" national service participants? If history is any guide, a federally funded and administered program will restrict the correctional administrators' disciplinary options more than a state funded program, but how much more? (It is worth pondering what will become of national service participants who are fired).

A third set of problems, which to many might seem most important, deals with the capacity of national service participants to serve successfully in the prisons. Will they be able to handle it? Isn't it too dangerous? Aren't the cons too street wise? I believe that many young people, if properly motivated and trained, could serve successfully although many will not be up to the challenge of exerting authority over

older, hardened convicts. We must expect failures and drop outs. Yet this is no different than the current situation. Prisons typically are unable to exercise much selectivity in recruitment. In some places, it is unfortunately true that any warm body can become a prison guard. A high percentage of recruits does not last six months; and fewer still make it beyond a year. Thus, there is no reason to assume that National Service participants will be any less likely to adapt; indeed, the reverse is more likely. (The former Director of the Texas Department of Corrections reports that for a number of years the TDC hired as many as two hundred college students as guards during the summer; no problems were reported).

As far as danger, it cannot be gainsaid that prisons are dangerous places and that inevitably some national service personnel will be injured in individual or collective conflicts. Of course, even peacetime military service even has its dangers; so does the Peace Corps. If the nation can draft eighteen year olds into the armed forces, it can surely offer them opportunities for alternative service in law enforcement and corrections. Many other problems, of course, can be envisioned. Some may be readily solvable, others not solvable at all. This, ultimately, supports the notion of experimenting with National Service on a step-by-step basis. However, under any version of National Service, I assume that correctional officials could terminate their participation if problems proved insurmountable.

V

For National Service to be thoughtfully evaluated, it will be necessary for its proponents to present more fully elaborated plans explaining how such a program will be administered and how it will affect participating agencies. The McCloskey proposal is a good beginning. It allows us to focus attention on certain key issues: interrelation with military service, role of women, exemptions, funding, machinery for job placement, discipline and appropriate service categories. By examining each of these in some depth we will be able to amend the prototype and more clearly assess the feasibility of even the most promising version of National Service.

This exercise has other value as well. In the case of prisons, it focuses attention on the legitimacy of punishment in a democratic society. Is it not the case that punishment remains too isolated from the societal mainstream thereby undermining both its legitimacy and its effectiveness? The National Service debate can usefully stimulate those of us involved in institutional analysis to consider the sociological implications of various kinds of seemingly mundane personnel reforms, thereby enriching our work.

FOOTNOTES

1. William James, "The Moral Equivalent of War" in Memories and Studies 267-296 by William James, New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

If now--and this is my idea--there were, instead of military conscription a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against Nature, the injustice would tend to be evened out, and numerous other goods to the commonwealth would follow. (p. 290)

2. As early as 1966, a major conference on the draft held at the University of Chicago, included a session on the National Service, chaired by Wayne Booth. Papers explicitly addressing National Service were delivered by Morris Janowitz, Terrence Cullinan, Margaret Mead, and Donald Eberly. For a report of the conference see Sol Tax, ed. THE DRAFT, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
3. For a sampling of Professor Janowitz' work in this area, see Morris Janowitz & Charles Moskos, Making the All-Volunteer Army Work, THE BULLETIN 7 (June, 1980); Janowitz, The Citizen Soldier and National Service, AIR UNIV. R. 2 (19); Janowitz, National Service: A Third Alternative?, 73 TEACHERS COLLEGE RECORD 13 (1971); Janowitz, The Logic of National Service, in THE DRAFT, Sol Tax, editor, Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1967.
4. For example, Margaret Mead stated:

Universal registration and evolution would also serve to find the very extensive members of highly talented young people whose capacities are hidden by

lack of education, medical care, or social experience, or by membership in deprived ethnic and racial groups

Universal national service would provide an opportunity for young adults to establish an identity and a sense of self-respect and responsibility as individuals before making career choices or establishing homes. At present a very large number go from dependency on their parents into careers that have been chosen for them, or use early marriage as a device to reach pseudo-adult status.

Mead, "A National Service System as a Solution to a variety of National Problems," in Sol Tax, *THE DRAFT*, 99-109.

5. The Report of the President's Commission on An All-Volunteer Force, Washington, D.C.: Gov't Printing Office, 1970, p. 175.
6. See Morris Janowitz & Charles Moskos, *Five Years of the All-Volunteer Force: 1973-78*, supra n. 3; Note, *The All-Volunteer Force, Conscription, and Other Alternatives*, 7 J. OF LEGIS. 125 (1980).
7. Id. at 180-81.
8. "All four services met or exceeded their recruiting goals for FY '81. But in FY '83 the limits on non-graduates and low-scoring enlistees will become more stringent and the number of recruits needed will increase from 367,000 (FY '81) to 381,000. Together with the continuing shrinkage in the number of males reaching enlistment age each year, this portends 'an extremely challenging task for recruiters in FY '83 and beyond' [Secretary of Defense] Casper Weinberger told Congress in his report." Congressional Quarterly, *Weekly Report*, Vol. 40, no. 7, February 13, 1982, p. 252.

9. William King identified five different types of National Service ranging from "purely voluntary" (our current policy), to "compulsory," a system which would assign all young people to a variety of civilian and military positions based upon national needs and priorities. See King, Achieving America's Goals: National Service or the All Volunteer Armed Force? 57 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1977).
10. See National Service Legislation: Hearings on H.R. 2206, H.R. 3603, and H. Con. Res. 271 Before the Military Personnel Subcomm. of the House Comm. on Armed Services, 96th Cong., 2d Sess. 2 (1979) (bill sponsored by McCloskey, Bingham, and others to "establish a National Service System") [hereinafter cited as 1979 Hearings]; Id. at 46 (bill by Cavanaugh to "establish a Public Service System"). Rep. Bingham also introduced an earlier bill in the second session of the 91st Congress; "a bill [H.R. 18025] to create a new National Service Agency to fill military manpower requirements, to create a voluntary civilian service as an alternative to military service, and for other purposes."

Congressional proponents of National Service have reintroduced legislation in the first Session of the 97th Congress designed to stimulate discussion of National Service. Sponsored by Senators Tsongas, Cranston, Pell, and Levin, S. 1052 proposes "to establish a select commission to examine the issues associated with voluntary service." For a report of hearings held on this bill in

- the 96th Congress, see Presidential Commission on National Service and National Commission on Volunteerism: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Child and Human Development of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, 96th Cong., 2d Sess. (1980).
11. Committee for the Study of National Service, YOUTH AND THE NEEDS OF THE NATION, Washington, D.C.: The Potomac Institute, 1979. See also, National Commission on Youth, Transition from Youth to Adulthood: A Bridge Too Far, Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1980. ("The proposed National Youth Service would guarantee to all young men and women the opportunity to engage a period (at least 1 year) of fulltime or parttime community service, or service on environmental projects").
 12. National Youth Service: What's at Stake?, Report of a Conference Sponsored by the Committee for the Study of National Service, Washington, D.C.: The Potomac Institute, 1980.
 13. Janowitz, "The Logic of National Service," in Sol Tax, THE DRAFT, supra n. 3, at 99. Donald Eberley, "A National Service Pilot Project," Teachers College Record, vol. 73, no. 1 (September, 1971).
 14. See I. SCHWARTZ, D. JENSON, M. MAHONEY, VOLUNTEERS IN JUVENILE JUSTICE (1977). VOLUNTEERS IN COURT: COLLECTED PAPERS (I. Scheier ed. 1971); Jack Parker & John LeCour, "Common Sense in Correctional Volunteerism in the Institution", FED. PROB. Vol. 42, no. 2 (1978); Louis Harris, "Volunteers Look at Corrections," Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, 1969.

15. See EXECUTIVE ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON SENTENCING, CRIME AND PUNISHMENT IN NEW YORK: AN INQUIRY INTO SENTENCING AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM 74 (1979). For a journalistic account of the rôle of VISTA volunteers in a Tennessee prison, see Eileen Dribin, "VISTAS Help Make 'Model' Prison Work; Vista Volunteer, vol. 6, no. 9, pp. 4-11 (June, 1971)
16. According to the Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics, United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, 1980, there were 273,556 correctional employees at the federal, state and local level as of October, 1978, p. 21. James B. Jacobs and Harold Retsky, "Prison Guard" 4 Urban Life ____ (1975).
17. See Gresham Sykes, "The Corruption of Authority and Rehabilitation," 34 Social Forces 257-262 (1957).
18. See JAMES B. JACOBS & NORMA CROTTY, GUARD UNIONS AND THE FUTURE OF PRISONS, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations Press, 1979 at 1.
19. The Louis Harris study, commissioned by the Joint Commission on Correctional Manpower and Training, supra n. 14, found that:

In order of decreasing importance, there are three groups of reasons why an individual might become a volunteer: A desire to help others; A recognition of the need for volunteers and a sense of obligation; Anticipated personal benefits. (p. 11)
20. McCloskey's bill was most recently introduced in the first session of the 97th Congress. It is entitled "a bill [H.R. 1730] to establish a National Service System under

which young people of the United States shall have the choice of either entering voluntary military or civilian service or being subject to induction into military service by random selection."

21. It will be argued, of course, that without the threat of the draft there would be too few volunteers for military service. In a report to the 96th Congress, President Carter took the position that voluntary National Service would be detrimental to the All-Volunteer armed forces. The report stated, "any program that would compete for the same pool of qualified individuals as the military must be viewed as deleterious in its impact on the morale and discipline as well as on the force levels of the Armed forces as currently staffed." See PRESIDENTIAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SELECTIVE SERVICE REFORM, 96th Cong., 2d Sess. 42 (1980).

Supporters of voluntary National Service, including military sociologist Morris Janowitz, believe, however, that even a voluntary National Service system would bolster military recruiting. See The All-Volunteer Armed Force: Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Manpower and Personnel of the Senate Comm. on Armed Services, 95th Cong., 1st Sess. 29 (1977) (prepared statement of Morris Janowitz). They argue that the increase in civic responsibility and volunteerism resulting from National Service will increase the number of youths who choose to volunteer for military duty. See 1980 Hearings, supra note 10, at 92 (excerpts from Youth and the Needs of the

Nation; "a growing expectation of service should improve the climate for volunteering, and thus aid the armed forces in attracting young people without having to offer ever higher compensation and benefits."). Furthermore, Congress could use economic incentives and post-service benefits to increase the military option's attractiveness.

See Charles Moskos, "Making the All-Volunteer Force Work: A National Service Approach", 60 FOREIGN AFFAIRS 17, 27 (1981) (proposing increased educational benefits to bolster recruitment).

22. National Service could be rewarded by federal educational assistance. Indeed, the Potomac Institute recommended that educational and employment benefits along the lines of the G.I. Bill of Rights and the Peace Corps readjustment allowance accrue to National Service participants. See 1980 Hearings, supra note 10 at 91 (excerpts from Youth and the Needs of the Nation).
23. See, e.g., 1980 Hearings, supra note 10 at 169 (statement of Lewis Crampton; "a large, comprehensive national service program will inevitably give rise to the creation of millions of meaningless, make-work jobs.").
24. Experimental programs are already underway. In 1973, ACTION initiated a program in Seattle, Wash., involving 18-25 year olds working in community service for a stipend of \$50 per week plus complete medical coverage and other fringe benefits. Preliminary reports revealed that volunteers were providing services worth \$7,000 per year,

compared with an annual service cost of only \$4,000 per volunteer. See 1980 Hearings, supra note at 50.

Similarly, ACTION developed a youth program in Syracuse, New York, providing neighborhood revitalization services, emergency home repairs, recreation supervision, and evening and home crisis day care. Id. at 50-51.

25. The dysfunctions of this staffing pattern are sharply presented in ATTICA: THE OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE NEW YORK STATE SPECIAL COMMISSION ON ATTICA 24 (New York: Bantam Books, 1972).
26. The only published constitutional analysis of National Service of which I am aware is Charles Block, "Constitutional Problems in Compulsory National Service," 13 Yale L. Rep. 19-21 (1967).
27. See James B. Jacobs, "The Sexual Integration of the Prison Guard Force; A Few Comments on *Dothard v. Rawlinson*," 10 Toledo Law Review 389 (1979).
28. See James B. Jacobs, Stateville: The Penitentiary in Mass Society, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
29. Little data exist on the socio-economic background of prison guards. For a study of one guard-force, however, see J. B. Jacobs, "What Prison Guards Think: A Profile of the Illinois Force," 24 CRIME AND DELINQUENCY 185 (1978).
30. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that McCloskey's National Service proposal would add between \$9.4 and \$13.1 billion to the national budget for fiscal years 1982-86. Slackman, "Costs of the National Service Act (H.R. 2206): A Technical Analysis; Congressional Budget Office, 1980.

This study does not take into account, however, the costs of high youth unemployment or underutilization of talent, nor the savings in public assistance and unemployment insurance, and the increases in national tax base and GNP that would occur under a National Service program. Furthermore, National Service represents an inexpensive method of meeting national civic needs such as cleaning up the environment, bolstering beleaguered schools, assisting the elderly and handicapped, and augmenting human services agencies like corrections and mental health.

Union opposition to National Service may surface during congressional debate and again, if National Service passes, when various state agencies apply for certification as National Service sponsors. Specifically, unions will argue that low paid National Service volunteers will displace regular workers and that volunteers, through their capacity to act as a strike-breaking force, will weaken unions' economic power.

31. See Jacobs and Crotty, Guard Unions and the Future of the Prisons, supra n. 18.

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