

HARD WORK, LOW PAY, MISERABLE CONDITIONS:
THE CALIFORNIA CONSERVATION CORPS
AND THE YOUNG ADULT TRANSITION

HUMBOLDT STATE UNIVERSITY

By

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ABSTRACT

HARD WORK, LOW PAY, MISERABLE CONDITIONS: THE CALIFORNIA CONSERVATION CORPS AND THE YOUNG ADULT TRANSITION

Daniel John Dempsey

At the time when young adults are receptive to making successful transitions from secondary education into the adult world of productive employment, I argue significant benefits can accrue to those taking jobs in public service conservation work (PSCW) programs. Via a one-year commitment to entry-level PSCW, programs such as the state of California's Conservation Corps (CCC) facilitate significant gains in self-worth and professional growth for this under-skilled and underserved age cohort. PSCW programs have the capacity to instill in the nascent worker appreciation for the values and rewards of professional service while establishing an understanding of and a commitment to academic advance, environmentalism, and the causative efforts that support and strengthen communities.

This study's objectives were to measure and evaluate long-term (i.e. longitudinal) employment trends, pursuit of a formal degree, and growth in personal commitment to environmental stewardship and community wellness by entry-level participants who successfully completed the requisite, one-year tenure to qualify as a graduate of the CCC. The conclusions themselves are drawn from a CCC-funded, online survey posted to the agency's alumni population from spring 2010 through summer of 2011. My research

presents growth results in these categories by California Conservation Corps (CCC) members from after five to more than twenty-five years post-program graduation date.

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INTRODUCTION

Why PSCW Programs Have Become an Important Component of the Pathway to Success for Young Adults

Extant, peer-reviewed literature is rich with research supporting the value of mentoring young adults through contemporary vocational programs during this stage of their development. Nevertheless, little in-depth study has considered the role PSCW programs provide in bridging the gap between youthful employment and the more dedicated, adult world of work. As such, my research demonstrates how laboring within and commitment to the natural environment is an equally important and effective foundation upon which young adults can build opportunities enabling success in their future aspirations.

This research advances the idea that mentoring young adults through the entry-level, employment tasks of natural resources management establishes a footing upon which they can attain practical skills enabling them to critically consider how their choices and actions affect wider-ranging social, political, economic and environmental concerns as they age. I advocate young adults working and learning simultaneously through PSCW programs as an equally important and worthwhile investment for the well-being of the broader U.S. as a whole.

Rapid changes in the world of work brought about by twentieth century industrialism and the resultant movement of labor from farms to factories left unaffected only the most remote cultures (Domash et al 2010). In relatively wealthy post-industrial societies, today's young adults have seen job opportunities offered their post-depression-

era parents and grandparents disappear. This is directly related to the loss of the United States' competitive advantage in traditional industries and the absorption of local businesses by trans-national corporations, hiring the cheapest labor wherever it can be found through the apparatus of globalization (Pathways to Prosperity 2011).

Where throughout the first half of the 20th century America's armed services provided a veritable clearinghouse for young adult transitions by focusing on the value and importance of self-discipline, fitness, preparedness and respect for others, many of today's young adults look for options to military enlistment (Mariscal 2011). Using a similarly regimented structure, service and conservation corps have been recruiting the nation's wealth of entry-level, able-bodied labor for conservation and infrastructure improvements for more than three decades. Regardless the particular vehicle of historic employment escape valves, young adults of the early 21st century decry the lack of employment opportunities in the modern economy and consider it contingent upon elected representatives and state services to educate, train and otherwise prepare them with the personal and professional skills they will need to secure their success in the adult, employment market (Pathways to Prosperity 2011).

As the world has become more sophisticated, so life in general has become more complex. The transition into adulthood, long a period fraught with pitfalls, often brings about ill-fated consequences for the unguided and unprepared. These young adults—without the support of familial finances and social networks, or the innate talent, drive and persistence to create opportunity and upward mobility for themselves in the world of

work—are up against entrenched interests that seem to consider them as little more than emerging material consumers or units of fodder for the status quo’s military objectives. Among them is the marginalized population of young adults labeled "The Forgotten Half;" the largest group among the 55 percent of people ages 16 to 29 without a job (Kaiser Family Foundation/NPR). Branded as a youth cohort within the William T. Grant Foundation’s 1988 report, this dilemma has been building for years with the authors’ initial warning that the population’s predicament would leave them in a "massive bind" denying them full participation in society (<http://www.aypf.org/pressreleases/pr18.htm>). Yet even the Grant Foundation study’s prescience did not foresee the wasteland of drug and alcohol addiction, unintended pregnancy and unaccountable social woes related to the chronic under- and unemployment that marginalizes today's Forgotten Half. In the paper’s literature review, I explain how governments around the globe have been struggling to find or create meaningful work experiences for their young adult age cohort throughout the final decades of the twentieth century.

Initially a more manageable problem for wealthy, industrialized countries, the exponential growth of the human population has frustrated government officials and program administrators in search of mechanisms that enable their young adult population to maneuver clear of the litany of unique problems they face. Meanwhile, the State of California’s Conservation Corps has been offering young-adult men and women—with little or no prior work experience—regular and gainful employment in public service conservation work (PSCW) projects since the organization’s inception in 1976. From its

beginning, the agency attracted individuals from America's diverse economic, educational and sociocultural backgrounds. Numerous public works agencies responsible for the preservation and maintenance of California's generous bounty of natural and historical resources, as well as the general public, have gained inestimable value from the 65-million-hours logged by corps member labor to date (<http://www.ccc.ca.gov/Pages/default.aspx>).

But this which has been argued by social progressives and program proponents as a proverbial "win-win" for the individual, the public and the state, has not gone uncontested by detractors in the circles of private business and budget-conscious political interests. Their claim is that state-run, young adult employment programs take jobs from competing parties such as for-profit companies and licensed, state contractors who directly contribute to needed tax revenues. Legislators supporting this perception regularly dispute the benefits versus costs value related to training, supervising, housing, insuring, and providing numerous basic employment needs for young adult workers at public expense as a justification for the results generated. Thus, agencies such as the CCC are continually beleaguered by private contractors and budget hawks demanding validation for their fiscal survival.

In reality, the longitudinal research completed to understand and justify to what degree such programs benefit the entry-level laborer and the far-reaching advantages gained by society has just begun. On the other hand, studies of the short-term benefits are consigned to expense versus labor-cost effectiveness—a capitalist paradigm of dwindling

perspective. Among certain parties, this is an important and measurable, fiscal exemplar. Juxtaposed progressive paradigms, this is a decidedly short-sighted view. Why? Much of the individual growth that occurs over a one-year, PSCW tenure brings rewards in the form of productive citizenship well beyond contemporary, quantitative metrics.

In the 2008 Executive Report Summary, CCC Director David Muraki presents the objectives and the problems such a dilemma faces regarding the agency:

“The CCC is an action-oriented direct service program that lies at the juncture of four policy areas: the environment, education, workforce development, and community service. These areas converge into the CCC’s dual mission: developing young adults while restoring and enhancing the environment. The environmental context is key as the CCC offers an alternative pathway to productive citizenship, integrating academic learning, career technical (vocational) training, and service” (Corps member Development Program: Strategic Plan 2008-2010:8).

He goes on to state that:

“Development and implementation of the CCC’s performance measurement system fell victim to budget cuts. Due to staff reductions, ongoing data collection and reporting are now inconsistent. In addition, the Department relies on an outdated database system created in 1989” (Corps member Development Program: Strategic Plan 2008-2010:18).

My personal and academic interest sparked this research. As a CCC alumnus in the capacity of entry level crew member from 1980 to 1982, and later as a crew supervisor from 2003 to 2005, I witnessed a majority of my colleagues and subordinates respectively, blossom through the physical labor and consistent performance demands required of them by the program. Furthermore, generated through their own conversations between fellow corps members and staff, these young adults reexamined their biases in sexism, racism and classism and developed a more open-minded, inclusive

and productive perspective of the society in which they were increasingly involved. In fact, reading the survey's closing personal comments section by former corps members, it becomes obvious that the year of PSCW deeply influenced personal and social commitments well beyond the individual's time of service.

Now years later, I continue to communicate with former CCC colleagues and acquaintances discussing the advances we have made in employment and education, as well as our ongoing commitments to the wellness of the global environment and community since program departure. As the alumni cohort has grown and the program's longevity endures, it is a testament that despite hard work, low pay and miserable conditions, the California Conservation Corps and related PSCW programs continue to positively affect and influence the decisions and choices made by the thousands of corps members that have graduated over the past three decades.

PROGRAM & HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

How the Civilian Conservation Corps Established PSCW as a Viable Option to Young-Adult Employment Concerns

On July 7th, 1976, then California Governor Jerry Brown signed into legislation the creation of the California Conservation Corps, implementing his vision of, "... a department marketed specifically to the state's young people as 'a combination Jesuit seminary, Israeli kibbutz, and Marine Corps boot camp'"(http://www.freebase.com/view/en/california_conservation_corps). Brown's efforts were inspired, but by no means novel. The newly-elected, governor borrowed ideas from his predecessor, Ronald Reagan, who had created the California Ecology Corps five years earlier as an "alternative service" for conscientious objectors during the Vietnam War. Even then, Reagan's "E Corps" was preceded four decades earlier by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Civilian Conservation Corps—one of the Roosevelt administration's "New Deal" social programs—hiring millions of young, unemployed men throughout the worst years of the Great Depression.

The Civilian Conservation Corps became one of the most popular New Deal programs of the day among the general public, providing jobs for a total of 3 million young men from families on government relief (<http://www.ccclegacy.org/index.htm>). The Corps' model as a public works program is well documented and considered by both historians and economists to have been an unqualified success. During the program's existence, volunteers planted some three billion trees to initiate reforestation of America's primeval woodlands; constructed more than 800 parklands nationwide—

bolstering the emerging State and National Parks systems; developed wild land forest fire fighting methods and tactics; established a network of thousands of miles of public roadways; and built structures across the national landscape which are now of inestimable historical value (<http://www.archives.gov/research/guide-fed-records/groups/035.html>).

By 1942, with the United States well on its way to economic recovery after a decade of debilitating financial fallout brought on by the Great Depression, the US Congress ceased funding the Civilian Conservation Corps. The organization's extant operations shifted to military support for the country's growing involvement in the WWII campaign effort. Of more consequence is that during its ten-year history, Roosevelt's CCC set the standard for what would become subsequent state and federal public service conservation work programs. Equal in significance to the extensive project work completed by this seminal organization, the Civilian Conservation Corps—in one form or another—became the template for numerous contemporary programs with similar objectives to hire otherwise low- to no-skilled youth with a broader holistic intent to serve the individual, the community, and the natural environment. With its exception as a male-only workforce, Roosevelt's CCC and Brown's CCC share numerous similarities beyond the sole focus of economic relief for the laborer and—in extension—his or her family.

Today's California Conservation Corps is the largest, longest-continuously-running, young-adult employment agency in the history of public service conservation work programs (<http://www.ccc.ca.gov/Pages/default.aspx>). The "Cs," as the agency is

familiarly called, is now well into its fourth decade of service to the state of California. Whether in times of emergency or relative calm, the program's entry-level laborer—the corps member—has worked not only to protect and conserve California's natural environment and cultural heritage, but also has engaged in similar projects across the United States and around the world.

As the 1970s were a watershed decade for the American environmental movement, it should come as no surprise that the Golden State, with its noted penchant for proactive governance, launched the work program providing young-adult men and women with opportunities to gain the needed knowledge, skills and abilities for employment in the natural resources management professions. To date, nearly one-hundred-and-fifteen-thousand CCC corps members have been involved in numerous conservation projects in five countries on five different continents.

In spite of the program's self-defined notoriety for "hard work, low pay and miserable conditions," the Cs continues to engage this age cohort in emergency relief work such as wild land fire suppression, flood management, noxious agricultural-pest infestation removal and disease management, and post-event clean-up and mitigation support. Additionally, CCC crews are put to work every day in back country trail construction and erosion control efforts, reforestation and wild fisheries recovery through tree planting and watershed rehabilitation respectively, as well as numerous public works construction and maintenance projects from highways to parks. Corps members have been participants in like-minded, international work-exchange "sister" programs in the

countries of Canada, Australia, Russia, England and Mexico, aiding in efforts from the preservation of endangered species to the removal and eradication of invasive plants.

Since 2004, 113 corps programs providing employment for some 23,000 individuals operating in 41 states and the District of Columbia have been created across the United States (<http://www.corpsnetwork.org/>). As with Roosevelt's legendary public relief organization from the 1930s and California's current young-adult employment program, today's conservation corps have earned credible reputations for giving young men and women a chance to affect positive changes in themselves, their families, their communities and the natural environment.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Societies' Struggles with the Young Adult Transition

The overarching societal problems resulting from young-adult un- and underemployment are topics well-researched by both sociopolitical theorists and economists. Deep, yet categorically narrow, studies have parsed volumes of data compiled by governments and private research groups alike to assemble statistics modeling trends to design practical intervention programs. Such investigations address the global problem of creating meaningful work and employment opportunities—or their lack thereof—for young adults. Interestingly, the topic itself has only become a matter of modern concern since the post-World War II era. But since then, it has refocused with increasing urgency as employment conditions have created social upheaval in the form of the “Arab Spring” and the U.S. “Occupy...” movements. According to Musacchio, “The regime in Egypt broke down because of the perception that there was no social mobility and opportunity for the young” (<http://www.economist.com/debate/days/view/802/CommentKey:1227375>). Of greater threat is the demographic youth bulge trending in contemporary, sub-Saharan and central Asian nations. These present an even more knotted collection of concerns for state governments and their cadre of associated social scientists (Domash et al 2010).

Looking for answers to the problems young-adult populations confront, *Youth Without Work – Three Countries Approach the Problem* (Williams et al. 1982) is an in-depth offering by the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

Studying young-adult employment concerns in developed realms over the past five decades, the OECD's research teams' comprehensive assessment relates the troubling questions surrounding the topic. The Organization's initial research out of the 1970s continues its application to the sweeping demographic changes occurring in modern core, semi-periphery, and periphery culture realms. At their onset, the OECD foreshadowed the findings of the earlier mentioned Grant Foundation's publication echoing the growing chorus of young-adult aggravations at diminishing employment opportunities. Stating that adult, unemployment research began as far back as the first decades of the twentieth century, young adult employment trends did not become a concern for social scientists and economists until the 1970s. Even then, with birth rates declining in developed countries due to the phenomenon of the Demographic Transition—resulting in the increase of middle class, young adults going to college—the conditions for the cohort have nevertheless steadily worsened in regards to available employment. Furthermore, as declining economic conditions began to emerge around the globe, young adults have suffered more than any other age cohort (Williams and others 1981).

Here in America, the United States' Bureau of Labor Statistic's National Longitudinal Surveys (NLS) began asking a battery of questions as far back as 1966, focusing on the multitude of decisions made by young adult men and women as they began their transition into adulthood and employment. Four groups of men and women made up the NLSs' original cohorts first interviewed in the mid-to-late 1960s. These cohorts were selected because each faced important labor market decisions which were of

special concern to policy makers. Respondents in the mature women's and young women's cohorts continue to be interviewed on a biennial basis. Both men's cohorts have been retired (<http://www.bls.gov/nls/nlsorig.htm>). The BLS's work over the decades has contributed to hundreds of research efforts with an equal number of hypothetical queries.

Dr. Joseph A. Raelin has established himself as an international authority in work-based learning and collaborative leadership development. A prolific writer, Raelin has published over 100 articles in leading management journals and authored numerous books on the subject of employment (<http://www.northeastern.edu/poe/about/raelin.htm>). In *Building A Career – The Effect of Initial Job Experiences and Related Work Attitudes on Later Employment*, he focuses on research designed to inform policymakers, "... on the long term effects of work experiences acquired through such programs as public service employment" (Raelin 1980:vii).

From his review of the youth career literature including the NLS's data, Dr. Raelin outlines three principal classifications into which the studies fall: (1) studies which trace the sociological and economic precursors of early and later work experience; (2) psychological studies which detail specific predictors of job attitudes, such as job involvement and job satisfaction, the latter of which for example has recognized links to later work experiences; and (3) studies which begin to explore the significance of early career attitudes and experiences in terms of subsequent employment (Raelin 1980). Sample data for construction of his book's chapters are drawn from the National Longitudinal Studies' four cohorts of the US civilian population of elder men and women

(ages 45 to 59 and 30 to 44 respectively) and young men and women (ages 14 to 24 for both genders). More than 5,000 individuals were surveyed during the data collection process.

Building a Career... has extensive, relevant data to the inquiry at hand. Raelin's findings call for quality, first employment experiences for young adults so that these may cast the die for future pursuits. His research considers hundreds of variables treating such respondent characteristics as educational experience, work history, and social, psychological, and economic background as sources for investigative overlay determining how to engage young adults early on so they become productive citizens (Raelin 1980). Unfortunately, a review of either positive or negative impacts—utilizing PSCW as an initial, adult employment opportunity—is not present to any extent in his literature. Consequently, I examine the most current academic research applicable to the individual perspectives of employment, educational advance, environmentalism and community involvement and where they potentially intersect with PSCW programs.

Employability & Educational Advance: How Training and Learning Transform Young Adult Energy into Social Value

Employability

As stated above, data results relating employment and educational advances—through the lens of PSCW program involvement—are still in their formative years of investigation. Young adult un- and under- employment, school-to-work transitions and the prearranged life course, on the other hand, have been topics of considerable analysis

among sociologists in First-world (a.k.a. “Core”) countries since before the 1960s (Loughlin and Barling 1999). Unintentionally, academic investigation in the interests of young adult employment and educational advances became divided between the camps of psychology and sociology. Fortunately, the exchanges between the two schools of explorative research have, since the late 20th century, generated a collaborative field of study known as the “life course trajectory” (Loughlin and Barling 1999:218).

This sequence of progression is defined by an attention to “role transitions” which occur during school leaving, initial employment, migration, marriage, and fertility (Loughlin and Barling 1999). Indeed, the young adult life course trajectory has become an immense resource base for academicians investigating the cohort’s behavioral and psychological trends from a holistic and inclusive perspective (Loughlin and Barling 1999).

Although the root question regarding how society interprets and addresses young-adult employment needs is no easy task, it is when the diverse components of gender, race/ethnicity, socioeconomics, and the situational geopolitics of individual youth cohorts are added that complexities arise. Incorporating, 1) quality work and 2) mentoring as standard practices during this period the individual's growth, answers are becoming clearer over time as growing commonalities are being found among progressive nation states (Pathways to Prosperity 2011).

Examining relationships between employment quality and young people’s work-related attitudes and behavior, contributing authors to *Young Workers: Varieties of Experience* (Loughlin and Barling 1999) suggest that teens are more susceptible to

developing either positive or negative perceptions of the meaning of employment from the early work environment in which they labor. In *Young Workers...*, Loughlin and Barling (1999) state clearly that the quality of young adult employment is at least as important—if not more so—as the quantity of hours worked. Their research indicates that young adults engaging in “high quality” employment obtain beneficial effects to their occupational development. Conversely, the same research shows that those young adults involved in “low quality” jobs develop cynicism toward the world of work, and, perhaps more importantly, these outcomes are likely to be exaggerated further down the road.

One then has to ask, what constitutes high quality employment? Loughlin and Barling (1999) list six working conditions that effect mental and physical health aspects applicable to all age groups with the exception of the category of job security. Yet the authors go on to state that even this last consideration has become equally important as many young adults who cannot afford university enrollment fees and related costs are in fact looking to go directly into a career right out of secondary education. These individuals then—a measurable percentage of the whole including the college bound—create enough of an impact on overall research results within their age cohort that, “More research is necessary before career security factors should be considered as unimportant to youth” (Loughlin and Barling 1999:24).

The text's overall group of contributing authors determined that ongoing research finds three “critical psychological states” are required in order for employees of any age to experience ongoing motivation and satisfaction on the job. They include: 1) a feeling

of personal responsibility for one's work, 2) experiencing one's work as meaningful, and 3) having knowledge of the results of one's performance (Loughlin and Barling 1999:26). Their list for young adult workers includes an additional three dimensions; opportunities for: 1) learning, 2) exercising initiative or autonomy, and 3) social interaction. "The quality of young people's employment may have serious implications not only for young workers, but also for society. We should be concerned about what young people are learning about the world of work, and about the effects of this learning on subsequent occupational and personal development" (Loughlin and Barling 1999:31).

Research directly analyzing the importance of quality young adult employment through PSCW is examined in Abt Associates Incorporated's document, *Serving Country and Community: A Longitudinal Study of Service in AmeriCorps* (Jastrzab et al 2004). Their efforts are considerable, incorporating a nationally representative sample of more than 2,000 AmeriCorps members from over 100 AmeriCorps State and National programs and three (of five) AmeriCorps National Civilian Community Corps (NCCC) regional sites. Additionally, the Abt study includes 2,000 non-members in a control group. It must be noted that environmental conservation work is only one offering of AmeriCorps' employment options for young adults. This contrasts with the CCC, as their corps members are nearly all dedicated to environmental restoration and mitigation projects.

Abt's authors emphasize that across the board, the AmeriCorps program consistently influenced participants' employment futures (Jastrzab et al 2004).

Furthermore, results point to the fact that young adults in AmeriCorps' State and National programs regularly chose careers in the public service sector post-program commitment. This was notably not the case with the study's control group contingent. And, although the NCCC participation did not necessarily influence job selection, the AmeriCorps NCCC members regularly experienced statistically noteworthy growth in their work abilities over the control population (Jastrzab et al 2004). A longitudinal survey of career choices and advancements made post-program tenure (such as mine) was not carried out. Thus, without the necessary data, interpreting long-term, qualitative or quantitative results is speculative at best.

Educational Advance

Considering the subject of educational advance post-service from young-adult PSCW settings, one encounters an even greater dearth of background literature. The same Abt Associates 2004 publication of the AmeriCorps program draws the closest, comparative research conclusions I could find. The following highlights the relevant findings according to Jastrzab and her contributing authors...

“AmeriCorps members enrolled in the 1999–2000 program year were a well-educated group of men and women. Almost 93 percent of all AmeriCorps members had at least a high school diploma or GED, and over 30 percent had earned a bachelor’s degree or higher.” (Jastrzab et al 2004:37).

Moreover, they note the program’s impacts on the surveyed individuals regarding educational objectives...

“When asked about their future education plans, State and National members in particular noted that their AmeriCorps experience had played an influential role.

Most reported that the educational awards were either “very important” (60 percent) or “important” (11 percent) in continuing their education. Similarly, over two-thirds indicated that as a result of their AmeriCorps experience they were in fact more likely to continue with their education” (Jastrzab et al 2004:37).

Yet again, focused research in the field of young adult employment and its long term effect on participants’ educational advance—related to public service conservation work—is essentially nonexistent. With this in mind, be aware that entry-level AmeriCorps members, although from the same age cohort and essentially the same gender and ethnic makeup as CCC corps members, are an adjacent comparison at best. Abt's research is a good start in the right direction. As such, it is brought up again in the following section on environmentalism and community involvement. But to consider their work as a parallel-study resource would be overemphasizing comparative relevance since the majority of CCC members are not “a well-educated group of men and women,” and in fact, are best categorized within the population of those individuals counted among the Forgotten Half. In my supervisory role with the Cs, anywhere from one-third to one-half of a fifteen-person crew was enrolled in the agency’s charter school program.¹ Those corps members with college credits were a rare exception.

¹ See page 55 of the document’s Data and Analysis chapter for more regarding charter school program specifics.

Environmentalism & Community Involvement
Can PSCW Train Today's Young Adults To Be Tomorrow's Natural Resources'
Advocates And Civic Activists?

Environmentalism

In 1985, "... the nation's first 24 Corps directors banded together to secure an advocate at the Federal level and a central clearinghouse of information on how to start and run 'best practice'-based corps" (<http://www.corpsnetwork.org/>). The National Association of Service and Conservation Corps (NASCC), commonly known as The Corps Network, is America's organization advocating the social importance of service and conservation corps in the United States. The Corps Network currently encompasses 143 urban and rural programs operating in 44 states and the District of Columbia. The programs—under their respective directing organizations—enroll 29,000 young men and women annually who in turn mobilize 227,000 community volunteers generating 21.3 million hours of community service (<http://www.corpsnetwork.org/>).

Yet in spite of more than two-and-a-half decades since the founding of the NASCC, longitudinal data relating the long-term values PSCW employment programs pass on to their graduates is only beginning. In August, 1996 and eight years prior to completing the above cited *Serving Country and Community...*, Abt Associates, Inc. in conjunction with Brandeis University's Center for Human Resources published the peer-reviewed article, *Evaluation of National and Community Service Programs—Impacts of Service: Final Report of the Evaluation of American Conservation and Youth Service Corps*. This seminal report analyzed three fields of inquiry: 1) Cost-Benefit Analysis, 2)

Community Impacts, and 3) Participant Impacts. Subcategories within the three areas include, 1) methodology, 2) epistemology and 3) a summary of the principal findings. Abt's results aligned with the *National and Community Service Conservation Corps'* (NASCC) mantra of progressive objectives falling into the following three fields of primary investigation: 1) renewing the ethic of civic responsibility in the united states; 2) encouraging citizens, regardless of age or income, to engage in service, and 3) involving youth in programs that benefit the nation and improve their own lives (Jastrzab et al 1996).

In view of cost/benefit analysis, the authors state, "The value of program output is difficult to determine...because the output does not have a simple market price" (Jastrzab et al 1996:5). If analyzing the cost to benefit ratio is vital to understanding a program's success, should not one ask, what kinds of "output" must be measured to equate a "simple market price"? Indeed, I argue that the idea of a simple market price is in itself an oversimplification of a PSCW program's value. As such, it is inadequate to calculate ramified and long-term influences. A determinate assessment of dedication to community wellness was equally difficult to pin down with the authors stating, "The concept of community impacts is a broad one, and not easily measured in a limited study, particularly given the wide range of types of services provided by corps included in this evaluation" (Jastrzab et al 1996:8). Lastly, regarding beneficial effects on the individual participant, which have significant application to the content of my research, Abt stated that individuals experienced constructive outcomes. Considering Abt's evaluations of

other disadvantaged youth programs "yielded at best mixed results," this is a significant but equally vague finding (Jastrzab et al 1996:16).

It is important to note that Abt Associates' research results incorporate a broader sampling of agencies (a total of eight) than mine. Regrettably, the primary focus on the programs' fiscal efficacies in the communities for whom the agencies served does not examine participant introspections. To their credit, Abt's authors make the following qualification regarding their study outcomes...

"It is important to remember that the cost-benefit analysis is able to include only a limited set of fairly short-term benefits. Long-term benefits to participants and to society not measured in this analysis may be significant. Benefits to participants may continue to improve the quality of their lives in ways that extend beyond the scope of the study period" (*Youth Corps: Promising Strategies for Young People and Their Communities* Jastrzab et al 1997:22).

I reemphasize that only longitudinal data can realistically begin to measure and confirm definitive impacts and values imparted to the participant post PSCW service. Abt's work accomplished valuable objectives. Their findings are—and continue to be—important connections to the project at hand. In fact, discourse, concerning the beneficial impacts of PSCW programs on the corps member, is present in the Abt document. Yet, the focus of that consideration is, "...based on a follow-up period covering approximately 15 months after enrollment" (Jastrzab et al 1996:ii). How service and conservation programs such as the CCC's have influenced members several years after their departure from the program is the purpose of my inquiry. Quantitative, economic benefits—directly measured by monetary value metrics—are not a component of my report.

A more closely related research publication of PSCW impacts on youth is authored by Robert W. Marans et al. *Youth and the Environment: An Evaluation of the 1971 Youth Conservation Corps* (Marans, Driver and Scott 1972) details their evaluation of 2200 Youth Conservation Corps (YCC) corps members' responses collected over the 1971 program season and outlines the benefits accrued to the individual in the areas of: 1) environmental concern and knowledge, 2) social attitudes and relations, 3) recreational and work skills, and 4) selected dimensions of self-concept. These four categories provide a more analogous scaffolding upon which the reader might construct a more closely comparative application to my survey questions.

Beginning with the basic concern and knowledge of the environment (#1); Marans acknowledges that the majority of the YCC participants surveyed selected to participate in the program on the basis of personal interest. The individual's enthusiasm for the outdoors initially caused researchers to assume that the group under study would enter the program with a comparatively high level of ecological and biospheric systems understanding. This was not the case. Differences in program test score outcomes between entrance and exit exams' results showed only minor advances in this area of learning (Marans et al 1972). *Youth and the Environment...* reports that, "...there was a significant increase (19%) during this period in the number of corps members who said their understanding of natural resource management and planning was above average" (Marans et al 1972:VIII-3). But the authors go on to state that the results of the environmental education component were influenced by objectives sought by the

programs' managers (Marans et al 1972). Thus, it was argued by the researchers that, even if these youth had an inherent nature/nurture value for the well-being of the natural environment, a growth in understanding the difference between the theoretical versus the pragmatic realities—of caring for compared to working in natural environments, respectively—was actually what took place.

Marans' survey of "Social Attitudes" (#2) considered the corps member's desire to create or influence equality and social justice within his or her community. Corps members were willing from the start of the program, "...to accept persons of different races and ethnic backgrounds." Yet only "slight increases" were noted among ethnic Whites and Latinos, and no measurable increase occurred among Black and Native American youth (Marans et al 1972:VIII-4). Marans' team notes that "generally positive results" were a product of "friendly and open relations" supported by supervisory staff promoting interpersonal relationships between ethnicities as the season advanced (Marans et al 1972). Thus, the employment-training setting, actively facilitated by senior members—where not only the acceptance but the desired inclusion of diversity was encouraged—appears to be an outcome gained by corps members through supervisory mentoring. Even though a positive effect toward community concerns was measurably advanced, no further research was conducted investigating whether or not the program's influence had an impact on all individuals' commitment to community wellness beyond the season of study.

“Work and Recreational Skills” (#3) also were observed as positive changes among the corps members. “Whereas most corps members entered camp with moderate levels of experience using a wide range of tools, the portion who said they felt very skilled in using tools increased substantially” (Marans et al 1972:VIII-4). Again, the authors note a statistically measurable increase—in each youth’s confidence and effectiveness with hands-on tool use—evolved due to their day-to-day participation in the YCC program. How this increased skill level advanced their employability afterward was left unexamined.

Lastly, regarding the impression of “self-concept” or “self-image” (#4), Marans et al (1972) state that the average corps member came into the program, “...with a fairly high appraisal” of his or her individual value and skills. As I have often found relative to the Forgotten Half, these were not the findings of the research conclusions drawn from the CCC survey data collected and analyzed for this report. On the contrary, many participants in the open-ended comment section of the CCC survey stated that they felt both their program entrance skill sets as well as their value to society were of little significance in the workplace, not to mention the communities from which they left and considered themselves members of upon entrance into the CCC. *Youth and the Environment* concludes,

“...our findings have shown that the responses of the corps members, for the most part, were very favorable: they liked their experience and felt it was worthwhile; they worked in and learned something about the environment; they earned money while confronting new people and situations; and they developed social, recreational and work skills which can be applied throughout the remainder of their lives” (Marans et al 1972:VIII-4).

Alas, whether or not these skills were applied later in life and to what extent remains unknown.

In *Young Adults at Work: What They Want, What They Get, and How to Keep Them*, Dr. Georgia T. Chao and Dr. Philip D. Gardner make no mention of young adult engagement in public service conservation work. According to the authors, those job characteristics most desirable to young adults are enumerated in the table below.

Table 1. From *Young Adults at Work: What They Want, What They Get, and How to Keep Them* (<http://ceri.msu.edu/publications/pdf/yadultswk3-26-09.pdf>) (2011)

Rank Order	Job Characteristic
1	Interesting work
2	Good benefits (e.g., health insurance)
3	Job security
4	Chances for promotion
5	Opportunity to learn new skills
6	Geographical location
7	Annual vacations of a week or more
8	High income
9	Flexibility in work hours
10	Regular hours – no nights/week-ends
11	Being able to work independently
12	Limited job stress
13	Travel opportunities
14	Prestigious company
15	Limited overtime

The reader should notice the absence of any suggestion considering the value of outdoor work in the natural environment. In spite of personal observation that young adults are eager to find employment opportunities in such settings, and that such field work builds

formative personal and professional character into the future, current research by established social scientists does not even mention such a connection.

In spite of the vacuum, there is a source for future investigation. YouthGo.gov is the associated website for the *Youth in the Great Outdoors Initiative*. *The Initiative*TM is a program developed within and administrated from the offices of the US Department of the Interior since current Secretary of the Interior, Ken Salazar, revamped the program in 2009. The organization's focus is on connecting young adults with field agencies to, "Empower our youth to be the next generation of conservation leaders by:

- Employing thousands of youth to protect and restore our environment, and revitalize our communities,
- Educating millions of youth about our lands, waters, wildlife, culture, and heritage,
- Engaging youth from all backgrounds and all walks of life"
(<http://youthgo.gov/about> 2011).

YouthGo's website currently displays over 168 profiles of individuals who have moved through one or more internships in such fields as hydrology, watershed management, fisheries, forestry, archaeology, physical, geological and biological science research, and cultural and heritage site management and restoration. These are young adults moving through their college years working seasonally or high school graduates looking for opportunities to work in the natural and cultural resources conservation professions. As such, the *YouthGo* program is of relevance because of its built-in assumption that these internships will generate a sense of environmental stewardship/ethic that surely will affect participants well into their adulthood. *Youth in the Great*

Outdoors is destined to become a research data gold mine for participatory action researchers and related survey data in the future.

Looking through the site's links redirecting to sister and/or funding agencies, Abt. Associates Inc. and the National Association of Service Conservation Corps once again came to the fore. As previously stated, Abt's work analyzing cost to benefits for participants and communities, as well as the agencies served is quantitatively comprehensive. But, their list of qualitative outcomes on corps members, including:

- Civic, social and personal development
- Current and planned involvement in community service
- Current or planned involvement in other service (VISTA, the military)
- Voting behavior
- Education and training plans and achievements
- Employment and earnings
- Involvement with risk behavior
- Educational aspirations and expectations
- Work performance (Jastrzab et al 2004)

simply does not investigate how conservation corps members have engaged their job-learned, environmental convictions into the second, third, fourth and even fifth decade of adulthood.

Community Involvement

Turning lastly then to community awareness and involvement, lengthy research accounts deliberate the consideration of young adults as the inheritors of society. In fact, *Commonweal*, illuminated in de Tocqueville's 1835 publication, *Democracy in America* is a term dating back to 14th century England. De Tocqueville observed that "In democratic countries, knowledge of how to combine is the mother of all other forms of

knowledge; on its progress depends that of all others" (<http://business.highbeam.com/137812/article-1G1-63541799/trained-democracy-differing-effects-voluntary-and-involuntary>). The author himself continues to be cited for his keen observation of and sensitivity to the essence of commonweal: advancing the public good, the general welfare, and the needs of the community over those of the individual (Eberly and Sherraden 1990).

In *The Moral Equivalent of War: A Study of non-Military Service in Nine Nations*, Donald Eberly, Michael Sherraden and their contributing authors review the volunteer effort and ethic of nine nation states: Canada, China, Costa Rica, Indonesia, Israel, Mexico, Nigeria, the United States and former West Germany in the late 20th century. The text ponders deeply the premise of William James's 1910 essay of the same name. James's work came out of an era when military campaigns for modern world dominance were the primary social vehicle for uniting and igniting the passions of any one individual nation state's population. Obviously, such campaigns very much involved the participation of young adults.

As a visionary, James posited the following proposal, "If now, 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" (<http://www.notnews.org/s-o-s/citizenship-a-call-to-service/> 2011). As a social pundit of his day, James did not include women in his treatise. Neither does his use of the term

“nature” define anything more romantic than the age-gone-by assumption that natural resources were either to be harnessed or consumed solely for their value in the advance of human material wealth. In their 1990 publication, Eberly and Sherraden advocate James’s work as an idea whose time has come.

“The most economically convincing function of national service is its ability to mobilize young people (and other volunteers) to carry out national and local missions otherwise left without sufficient funding...The beauty of national service . . . is its ability to serve two or more functions simultaneously; it allows us to advance one goal (add to the market; “do more”) while at the same time, serving other purposes (improving the character of individuals enrolled in the service projects)” (Eberly et al 1990:Forward-x).

Of the populations studied, Israeli and West German young adults reflected the highest sense of involvement in community volunteer efforts. Although Israel’s military service is mandatory for young adults, most of the country’s young people did not view it as such (Eberly et al 1990). “The desire to serve is strong and is expressed in numerous forms of non-military service as well” (Eberly et al 1990:168). In West Germany, all young men have been required to serve in some community volunteer capacity since the late 19th century (*Volunteering in the European Union Country Report Germany*. <http://ec.europa.eu/citizenship/eyv2011/doc/National%20report%20DE.pdf> 2011). Powerfully relevant to the study at hand, the situation did not change after WWII, except non-military service, for obvious reasons, became an even more respected alternative among youth.

Alas, as longitudinal measurements were not the focus of Eberly and Sherraden’s work, their exploration does little to precisely calculate the long term effects community service volunteerism has had on young adults within the countries under review. What is

salient is the authors' commentary on a "distinct contrast" found within the United States compared to all other countries (with the exception of Canada)... "Indeed, as a culture, the United States is so individualistic that responsibility to the community or society is sometimes interpreted as a subversive idea" (Eberly et al 1990:169).

In contrast, Jastrzab et al.'s work in their 2004 Abt piece discusses the most recent comments on the value of—if not PSCW per se—at least the effects of public service work in general on young adults. Considering civic engagement is a "key priority" for the AmeriCorps programs' directive, Abt lists the following involvements by corps members as "particularly strong" and resulting in "statistically significant positive impacts" during participation:

- connection to community,
- knowledge about problems facing their community,
- participation in community-based activities, and
- personal growth through service (Jastrzab et al 2004).

To be sure, their quantitative values are more significant as the authors go on to state that comparative group scores displayed little change over time (Jastrzab et al 2004). In fact of the four components of my research, participation in civic engagement displayed one of the greatest components of individual growth in development from entry to exit in connection to, knowledge of, and participation in community affairs (Jastrzab et al 2004).

Almost invariably coming from personal backgrounds of impoverished home lives with ineffectual role models, identifying the rapid development of willingness to work toward community solutions by corps members is a significant benchmark for reflection. Considering that as a group, members of the Forgotten Half are a surging

population of frustrated young adults with numerous, immediate personal needs of their own, they nevertheless sensed the deeper value in developing and promoting a support group that they could both care for and be cared for by. Of all the insights the foundational literature may illuminate for the novice researcher in the categories under review, it is this final classification—with all the others being difficult to place an actual value on—that makes it the most hopeful to discover. As well, contrary to Eberly and Sherraden's findings of, the 'distinct contrast' found within the United States and Canada compared to the other countries under consideration, it is a pleasant surprise to find that in fact, North America's Forgotten Half appear to excel in this area of the young adult transition.

Summary

Two essentially separate literature resource tracks form the foundation of my exploration into employability, educational advance, environmentalism and community involvement related to a stint in PSCW during the young adult transition. The first and clearest category is the literature concerning success in employment, education and community involvement through the lens of environmental conservation work as the independent variable. The Corps Network, through its cooperative research efforts with Abt Associates Incorporated, is—and will continue to be—an invaluable source of investigative data. Together, these agencies are generating the most contemporary data

collection under this focus. Otherwise, this area of inquiry suffers a considerable deficiency in reliable research.

The second area of inquiry is the massive work completed by authors and agencies using the young-adult cohort as the controlling variable within the divisions occurring between the fields of psychology and sociology. Here the two fields have completed volumes of exploration into socioeconomic conditions, race, gender, place, the nature versus nurture realities of the individual, and how these apply to enabling a successful transition during the life stage period under review. In both fields, considering the effects laboring in the natural environment have on young adults is essentially a new analysis of theoretical examination. The qualitatively significant benefits and dynamics such programs impart to society have become just as important as the quantitative economic values since the youth population has accelerated to the point of expressing itself as a biological “J” curve over the last six decades. It is this gap that my effort attempts to address.

METHODOLOGY

To begin considering the classification of the young adult cohort and its relevancy to PSCW employment and related topics, I address the confusion of defining the population itself. As straight forward as this question appeared at the beginning, Barling and Kelloway (1999) inform us in *Young Workers Varieties of Experience*, this is hardly the case. First, “young people are not a homogenous group,” and second, “employment is not a homogenous experience” (Barling and Kelloway 1999:5).

Gender, as a demographic component, is easy enough to qualify. Age, according to the literature review’s contributing authors is less so. For the sake of the project at hand, I bracket the cohort as those men and women falling into the category of between eighteen (18) and twenty-five (25) years old, as these are the age parameters for the CCC.

Ethnicity and socioeconomic status also have become increasingly problematic identifiers for researchers as demographers have attempted to be more inclusive while simultaneously more exacting for census data purposes. Regarding ethnicity, individuals are now given the option to choose as many distinct identities into which they feel they belong. This method was followed in my work. All the same, considerable effort was undertaken to create individual group identities in order to aid in the totals of a given ethnic group of overall survey takers.

Questions involving the socioeconomic background of the same respondents were not included. An argument has been made that socioeconomics are quite probably the most significant indicator of who becomes a corps member, and why. I concur with this notion, and in recognition of its importance, I cite author and economist, Jeffrey D. Sachs from in his latest opus, *The Price of Civilization* where he states, “Each part of the anti-poverty effort supports all the others” (Sachs p. 247 2012). This is no truer than in job creation through public service conservation work programs. Unfortunately, at the time of the survey’s construction, the builders (including myself) took for granted that the majority of corps members were coming from economically marginalized families as we have all had lengthy, first-hand knowledge of the corps member population. Nevertheless, it is agreed that this is a variable that should be addressed in future research.

The Survey Questions

Respondent Demographics

The survey was a 42-question, on line document originally drafted by the author and edited by CCC personnel. Our intent was to serve simultaneously the purposes of academic research and the agency’s desire to gain insight into the CCC’s overall efficacy

regarding program impacts on graduate corps members' success, post program.² The survey's questions were broken into the following five (5) categories:

- 1) Demographics
- 2) Employment
- 3) Education
- 4) Environment
- 5) Community

A final, open-ended commentary box was made available for those individuals wanting to include a statement of personal reflection regarding their experience in the program.

In April, 2010 the CCC published the survey questionnaire via *Constant contact.com*, an online marketing and social media website available to public and private users. By July, 2011, 417 individuals had taken the survey. As per the site's administrative, information features, 343 respondents had completed the questionnaire in its entirety. On July 29th, 2011, I concluded tallying the results of the initial 417 responses. The overall total of complete, incomplete, anonymous and contact respondents continues to grow as the survey has not yet been closed officially by CCC personnel.

I parsed the survey's responses through the site provider's filtering functions first utilizing the category of *gender*. The gender results were applied to each of the following *age* categories:

- 1) 45 to 60;
- 2) 35 to 44.
- 3) 25 to 34;

² Involved CCC staff fashioned some of their questions after the Abt. Inc. surveys. The reader is justified in his or her concern that the agency may have potentially skewed the survey to shine a more favorable light on the organization's overall efficacy. To the best of my discernment, this does not appear to be the case.

These *gender* and *age* filtered combinations were then applied individually to the following *ethnic* categories:

- 1) Caucasian/White
- 2) Latino
- 3) African American
- 4) Native American
- 5) Pacific Islander
- 6) Decline to State
- 7) Other

These initial filtering procedures yielded a list of the individuals that fit into their respective *gender*, *age*, and *ethnicity* categories. For example, the *male/age 45 to 60/white* category resulted in a list of 139 respondents. This effectively gave an overall picture of the basic demographics of the entire survey respondent population. Totals rendered from the original 417 individual survey takers were tabulated using *Microsoft's 7® 2010 Excel* program and formatted into a *Microsoft Word* table. Responses were rechecked for their respective filterings, tallied, and then totaled to generate the associated bar graph displayed as figure 2a in the following Results and Analysis chapter.

Not all *gender/age/ethnicity* categories with their associated question(s) yielded exacting numerical responses. This is due to the fact that, as previously stated, not all of the 417 survey takers completed the questionnaire in its entirety. Additionally, further issues arose in that individuals were able to choose more than one ethnic background as is also previously explained.

For example, the data sets for white males and females (235 respondents aggregated and more than half the overall total), far outnumber those of the other

individual, ethnically-filtered categories combined. Initially, the only way to specify an individual's ethnic selection was to open each individual's survey response sheet one at a time. This initiated a domino effect of restrictions in that exhaustive tables would have to be constructed in order to insure each individual was counted only once. At a total count of 417 respondents, this method became overly burdensome for the time and resources I could devote to ferreting out each respondent's answers and adding the results to a list. Indeed, after repeated attempts to analyze and categorize each individual according to the independent variables outlined above, the effort was abandoned in favor of the website's constrained filtering options with a tacit acceptance of the unavoidable discrepancies this would create.

These caveats are brought to the reader's attention in an effort to clarify the overwhelming response numbers of white survey takers compared to the other ethnic groups, and the difference between the numerical values displayed in those findings between my graphs and those generated by the *Constancontact.com* website. Consider that the next largest respondent category after Caucasian/white is that of Latinos with 87 gender combined respondents and some 21% of the overall total. These (along with the other ethnic selection choice options) would have to be checked (and rechecked) against each of the other ethnic response choices in order to determine whether or not the individual had in fact chosen only one ethnic heritage.

I brought up the topic of these limitations to the attention of a *Constantcontact.com* technical assistant. She agreed that the use of more than three filters

at one time would be advantageous to assembling outcomes for dependent and independent variable queries. The tech assistant said she would pass the information on to senior team members as a suggestion for improving the site's functionality. Nevertheless, their current programming structure was the best available.

Of the survey's 42 questions, I selected 20 questions beyond the basic demographics of age, gender and ethnicity for further analyses. Relating the advances in employability, education, environmentalism, and community involvement (an acronym for which from here forward is referred to as EEE&C), these twenty questions flesh out the categorical responses of dependent variables for my hypothesis. The questions left uninvestigated were tailored toward the CCC's work skills and scholarship use interests in which I was not currently interested.

For my purpose, the first group of three (3) questions was an attempt to determine the respondent's unique demographic related specifically to...

- 1) the individual's age at the time of joining the CCC,
- 2) the length of time the individual remained in the program,
- 3) the amount of time passed since leaving the program.

It was my intent that in having this information I could place each individual into the previously constructed gender/age/ethnicity groupings. But due to the fact that only three filters could be applied at once, this was beyond the program's software capabilities. Furthermore, the limitations of the three-filter option left me without the ability to choose a dependent variable and align it with the survey-respondent's answers regarding the combined basic and unique demographics.

The next best option was to break down the total respondents into the groups that had the largest population totals. Obtaining these allowed me to determine that one, Caucasians, Latinos, African Americans and Native Americans were the four numerically significant ethnic groups, respectively, and two, to these I could apply the *gender* filter and an EEE&C dependent variable for a quantifiable result. Thus, this method allowed for a combination of the two, primary independent variables (gender and ethnicity) to align with the list of selected dependent variables (EEE&C). In the end, although the component of age had to be abandoned, this was the only manageable way to construct, analyze and display the results visually through the charts found in the Results and Analysis chapter following. And, as the age categories for survey respondents are dominated by 25 to 34 year olds (16%), 35 to 44 year olds (28%), and those 45 to 60 years old or older (40%), I considered these results an acceptable representation of the whole.

Independent Variables

The first combination of questions asked the tallied *ethnic/gender* groups was a series of four (4) questions regarding employment conditions and status prior to and post-CCC service:

- 1) What was your main reason for joining the CCC?
- 2) What was your job status after leaving the CCC?
- 3) In what ways, and to what degree, did the CCC help you choose a career?
- 4) Are you currently employed?

Next, the groups were asked a series of three (3) questions regarding educational levels and pursuits, post-service:

- 1) Has your level of education increased since leaving the CCC?
- 2) Have you enrolled in a college or university since leaving the CCC?
- 3) What influence did the CCC have in helping you further your educational goals?

Four (4) environmental questions queried the groups for the related sub-section responses:

- 1) Before joining the CCC, how would you describe your personal level of involvement in environmental issues and concerns?
- 2) How influential was the CCC in raising your awareness of environmental issues and concerns?
- 3) To what degree (if any) did you contribute to protecting California's environment?
- 4) Since leaving the CCC, how would you describe your personal level of involvement with environmental issues and concerns?

Each group of respondents was then asked a series of five (5) questions regarding community involvement:

- 1) Before joining the CCC, my level of community involvement would best be described as...select one of the following (see the Results and Analysis chapter for available responses)
- 2) Did your stay in the CCC raise your awareness of the importance of community involvement?
- 3) Did your stay in the CCC influence your current involvement in community service?
- 4) If yes, to what degree did the CCC influence your current involvement?
- 5) Since leaving the CCC, have you been involved in your community?

Lastly, the open-ended comment box was titled and drafted as follows:

Personal Reflection: Looking back on your days in the Corps, what kind of impact did the CCC have on the person you are today?

As stated, it was impossible to avoid tallying those individuals twice who chose more than one ethnic origin. With that said, it could be argued that my results show partiality for the Caucasian/white, ethnic group. In the end, the results are entirely a component of the available software filtering process as explained, and further clarification regarding these complications is explained in the chapter's summary.

Concerns of Legitimacy

Finally, there is the valid concern that the rendered survey results bring into question the legitimacy of any one individual respondent as an actual, former corps member. Early in the publication of the survey, I expressed this concern to Ms. Susanne Levitsky, assistant to the Director, and lead contact from the CCC for my investigation. Her response was that the individuals who took the survey were all members of the CCC's growing alumni registry which has been administered and maintained at the agency's headquarters in Sacramento, California. According to Ms. Levitsky, a list serve has been assembled over the past decade through professional, casual, and word-of-mouth contacts by the extant, CCC administrative staff since it began its efforts to create the data base. Her email response from Monday, August 30, 2010 states the following:

“In regard to the survey takers, they are from our alumni registry, a totally voluntary database. We've had this database for 10-12 years. People have to voluntarily enter their contact information - i.e., we started from zero records and did not borrow any list. If they don't update their e-mail addresses, obviously we can't reach them. We promoted the registry by press release when it first started, but more recent contacts come by people surfing the Web and finding the CCC site, then the alumni registry” (email correspondence with Levitsky, 2010).

Lastly, reviewing the subsequent quantitative graphs, the predominance of *45 to 60 year old, white males* is yet one more cause to raise concern of the project's findings. Coincidentally, the values in my charts closely align with those from the only "*attrition rates and population by sex & ethnicity*" statistics tabulated by the CCC in 1980 and made available to me from the agency by request.

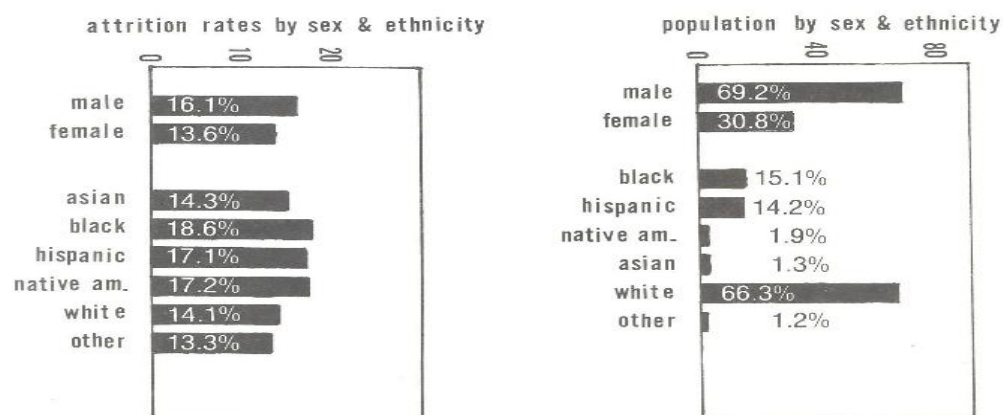


Figure 1a. CCC Attrition Rates and Population by Sex & Ethnicity 1980

It would be tempting to argue that those replying to the survey were the *age, gender* and *ethnic* cohort who were in the program during the time the 1980 data were assembled. Is it purely coincidental, or is it entirely through fitness, persistence and "good luck" that this historical cohort now has access to and the ability to use modern computing technology so as to take part in the survey? This is especially suspect because since the mid-80s, the corps member ranks have become increasingly populated by ethnic, non-whites.

Recall from the introductory chapter that the agency is in dire need of updating its corps member records. I acknowledge and agree with the inherent rule of peer-reviewed,

scientific research defining what qualifies as a legitimate, representative sample size and content (Babbie 2007:10). Indeed, interviewing each and every respondent in a follow-up fashion would bring iron-clad credibility to my results. It also would involve a cumbersome, money- and time-consuming effort beyond my current resources. As such, I can only offer the suggestion that individuals answering the survey were those who have maintained their ties with the CCC; continue to care about the on-going efforts of the agency, and have access to modern communication technology to keep up with current events. In short, the resulting survey data along with the results and analysis they generated are based entirely on the methods as outlined above and the motivations cited in the introduction.

RESULTS & ANALYSIS

The focus of my investigation attempts to answer exactly what the indicators are that display advancements in *employment and educational goals, participation in environmental activism, and involvement in community concerns* by young adults beyond their CCC experience. The most immediate answers are found in the personal testimonials made by corps members-cum survey takers presented from here forward in the italicized quotes. These first-person narratives imply that public service conservation work gives young adults a keystone upon which to build hopeful, future objectives. However, in combination with the tabulated survey results, I argue that in contributing to a greater cause—through the challenges of PSCW—the corps member begins to grasp the connection between social awareness and social responsibility. Out of this insight, the young adult begins to organize and measure the effort needed to bring about the positive outcome of her or his personal and professional, future goals.

The following graphs' values in every category—employability, educational advance, environmentalism and community involvement (EEE&C)—display incremental growth in appreciation for and exercise of the individual's latent, positive values from soon after the time of entry into the program, regardless their current life station, age, gender or ethnicity. This recognition of the market value of increased work skills and education, with an appreciation for the worth of environmental resources and community wellness are possibly the first recognition of the responsibilities and rewards to be had in adulthood among young adults.

“It was the first path in my journey to success. My experiences and learning lessons molded the person I am today.”

“The CCC impacted my life greatly. I was adrift in my life, and the CCC gave me the tools I needed to channel my life, and helped me become a more productive member in society.”

“The CCC was my first opportunity to grow up, do my own thing and be myself. I found I was capable of more than I ever imagined.”

(Subsection I) Survey Population:
Selection through Simple Demographic Characteristics

In advance of the forthcoming quantitative graphs, know that most young adults join the CCC sometime during their 18th year of age.³ The majority of corps members are in fact between the ages of 18 and 20 (the survey tallying 281 individuals or 67.3% of the inclusive age parameters of between 18 to 25 year olds). Slightly more than four-in-ten (43.6%) of the total population remained in the corps for at least a year. In other words, approximately half of the individuals joining the program stay to attain graduation. Of these, 29% stayed two years or more. Furthermore, one third of these found the satisfaction and challenge the program provided valuable enough to pursue one of the select specialist positions available to the corps member through promotion.

“Before I became a corps member for the CCC in San Luis Obispo, I had no direction in life. Thanks to the CCC, I got direction in my life and a great understanding of what team work really means. [I] was a kid with nothing and no plans. Then to become a specailized leader. A life-changing experience. Thank you to every one.”

The charts below displaying *total* and *percentage* values are the relevant quantitative measurements applied to the remainder of the Results and Analysis

³ Refer to *Constantcontact.com* survey results in Appendix A.

questions. I remind the reader from the Methodology chapter, that because individuals were able to make more than one selection in the categories of “*ethnicity and gender*” including, “*decline to state, other or choose all that apply,*” or, that they may not have completed the survey in its entirety, there are discrepancies in total values between the *Constantcontact.com* graphs in Appendix A, and those generated by myself and displayed in this chapter. As stated, this was a restriction created by the software’s filtering limitations. This difference in the outcomes is shown in figures 2a and 2b below.

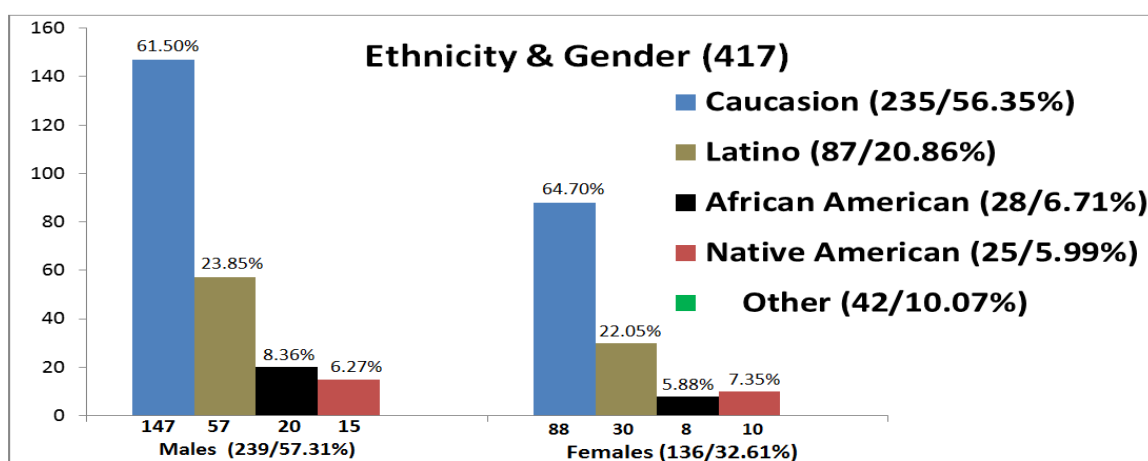


Figure 2a. Ethnicity & Gender of All Survey Takers. Percentages at the top of the bars are for the respective gender group. Percentages in the parentheses are of the entire ethnic group.

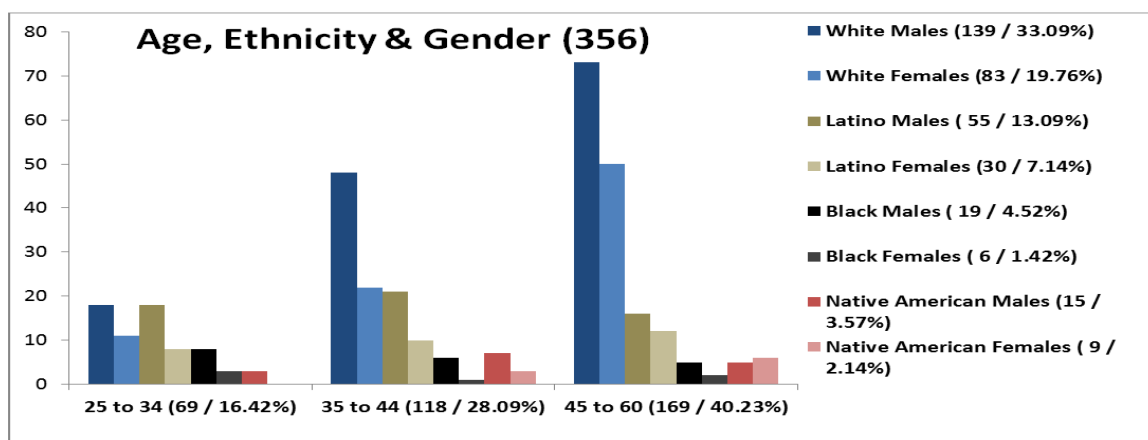


Figure 2b. Age, Ethnicity & Gender of Numerically Significant Survey Respondents

The category of “*Other*” in figure 2a includes ethnic groups considered not to be numerically significant among the overall results. Additionally, some individuals either intentionally chose not to make specific ethnic/gender choices or opted-out by selecting, “*no response*” or “*decline to state,*” respectively. This left the three (3) age group categories 25 to 34, 35 to 44, and 45 to 60 making up the tabulated 356 individuals and 84% of the total survey respondents used to investigate the results and flesh out my graphs. The combined total of these groups is the numerically significant population. As such, these age groups display the relevant ethnic and gender findings applied to the survey’s dependent variables (i.e. *EEE&C*). Quite simply, although “Totals” in most of the *Constantcontact.com* histograms read 417 respondents, I applied the dependent variable questions (following) utilizing the numerically significant total of 356.

(Subsection II) Employment & Employability:
From First-Job Laborers to Career Adults

According to a Pew Research Center study released in early 2012, “Just 54 percent of Americans ages 18 to 24 currently have jobs” (http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/02/09/employment-rate-young-adults_n_1264241.html). The Center’s findings also state that this percentage is the lowest employment rate for the age cohort since government tracking efforts began in 1948. The fact that many young adults are desperately seeking an opportunity to improve their life situation through gainful employment speaks volumes about the difficulties of the young-adult transition. Furthermore, adjacent social research of the cohort indicates that advances toward

marriage, home buying, and deciding whether or not and when to have children hinge upon the attainment of financial security via a relatively well-paying and secure job. Wanting to improve one's life situation is admittedly open to interpretation. Yet the numerical findings seen in figure 2a indicate that one-out-of-four (25.5%) of the surveyed individuals chose this as the strongest reason to take employment with the CCC.

Consider that many of my CCC colleagues and subordinates, respectively, lamented that they had come from home lives that demanded a dedicated break from that existence for their well-being.

"It took me from a hostile environment at home to an atmosphere of friends and career building."

Ironically or perhaps understandably, many of those same individuals had difficulties adjusting to the CCC's working and living directives causing their early termination from the program. To the agency's credit, the program enables initial washouts a one-time pass to return as "second-chancers." Thus, the opportunity to improve one's life situation—especially where the individual is afforded a "second chance" in order to understand and appreciate the level of maturity and responsibility it takes to become a responsible adult—is no small offering for members of the Forgotten Half. Additionally, I advocate in favor of the CCC's alternative to military service as previously discussed, as this gives these individuals a respected convention to employment free of the potential physical and psychological debilities related to combat injury or post-traumatic stress.

"I joined the CCC after serving 3 years with the U.S. Army. Being a soldier didn't prepare me for life. The CCC got me into Firefighting. Now I am a 15 year career fire Captain."

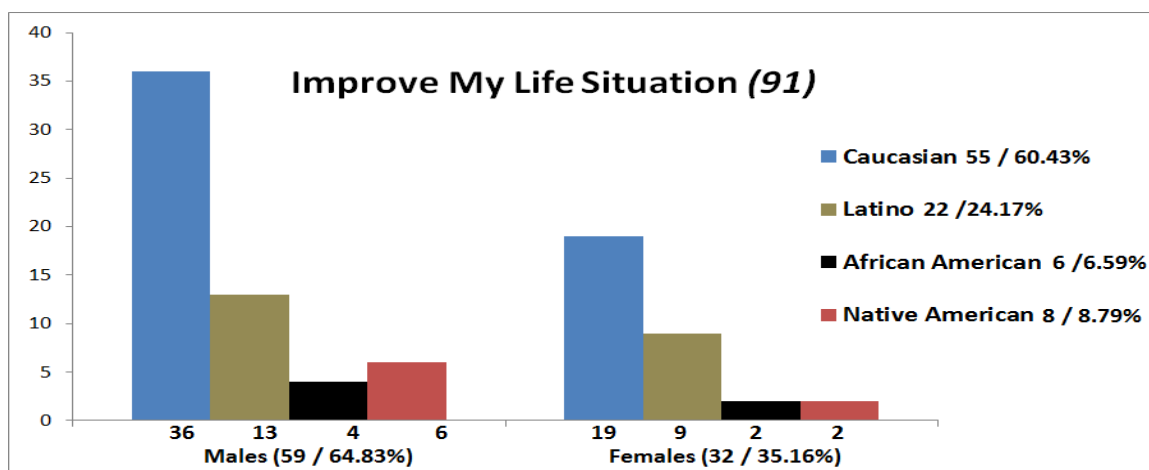


Figure 3a. Improve My Life Situation

Figures 3b and 3c are displayed back to back as they consider an interesting juxtaposition regarding the other primary reasons for pursuing a job with the Cs. The straight-forward option of simply needing a job because the individual was out of work, totals 17%, while the designation of interest in outdoor work totals 35%; a two-to-one difference in favor of those desiring to work outdoors as opposed to those solely taking whatever job presented itself in the time of need. I consider this an argument clarifying that the Forgotten Half are little different from their more affluent and socially connected counterparts, except that they simply have not had the good fortune to be children of watchful parents involved in their best interests. Thus, the findings indicate that the Forgotten Half's frustrations with employability are not so much a component of an inability to succeed on the same level as their more affluent peers given the chance, as they are familial and socially inflicted stigmas. Furthermore, this buttresses the argument of low socioeconomic origins.

“I had no direction or adult guidance. The CCC was everything to me. Poverty was everyday and a home, with a roof and pay at the end of the month is all that mattered at the time. Afterwards I felt ready to take my place in society and be a person my family could finally respect.”

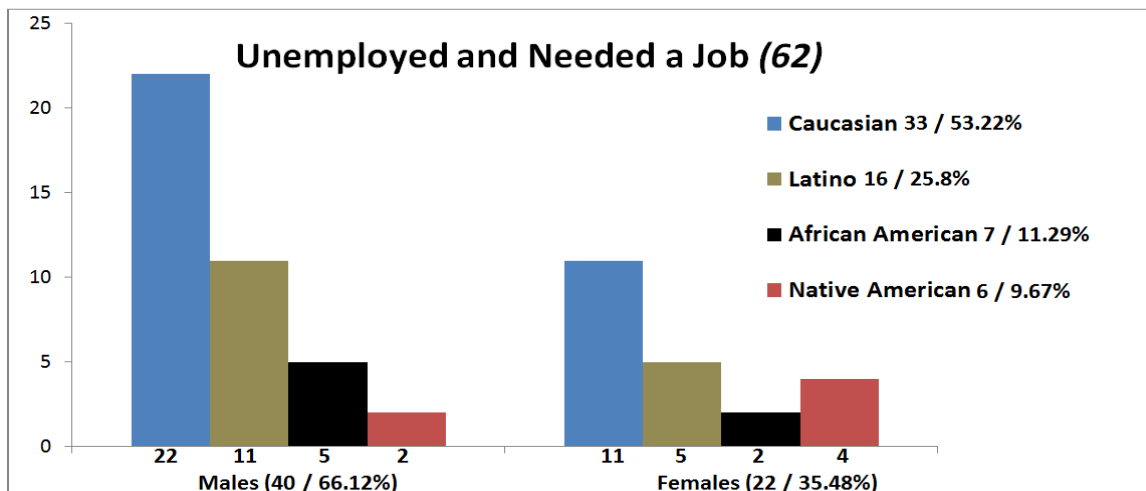


Figure 3b. Unemployed and Needed a Job

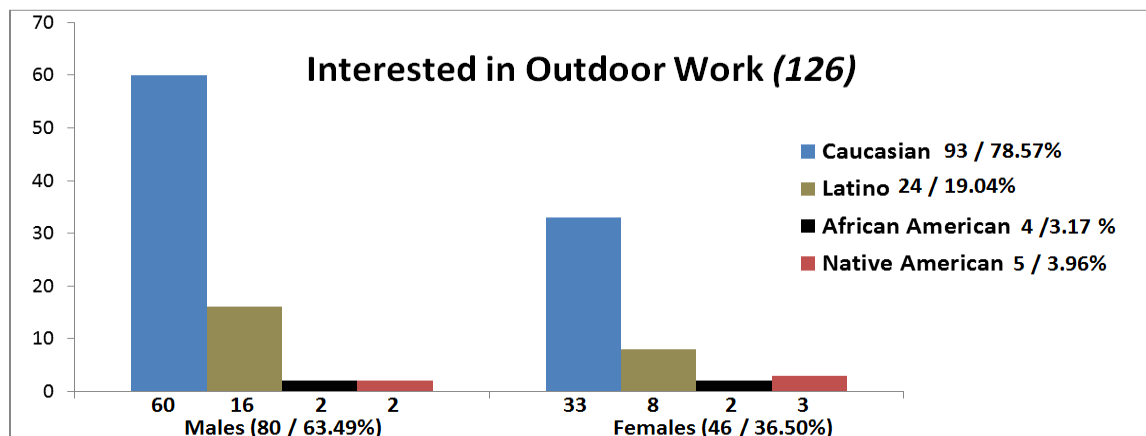


Figure 3c. Interested in Outdoor Work

“OK,” responds the skeptic in acquiescence to the above considerations. But when the CCC experience is over, how do former corps members fare in the general job market? Figure 3d relates that overall, more than 60% of survey-takers were “employed

immediately after leaving the CCC.” In my research, I could find no statistics measuring comparative values for individuals not considered members of the Forgotten Half. This is probably because the data has never been gathered to make a comparison between the two socioeconomic classes. Nevertheless, it seems remarkable that these young adult, first-job-holders moved on to their next occupational venture at such a high rate. I believe then that the CCC prepares graduates to the level of expectations which future employers’ desire as per references in the literature review. As well, with the agency’s reputation for hard work, low pay and miserable conditions, employers—familiar with the program and its graduates’ work ethic—are already aware that here are potential employees vetted through a previous employer with a proven track record.

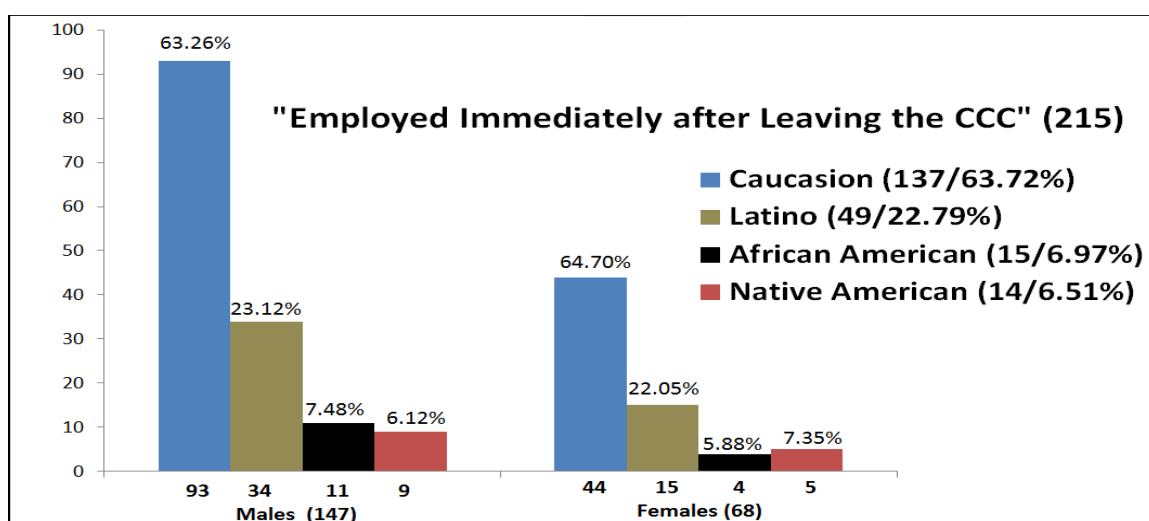


Figure 3d. Employed Immediately after Leaving the CCC

Next, I ask the reader to accept that many first-job employers simply bid farewell and good luck to their former employee(s) as they move forward in the world of work. But with six-out-of-ten graduates beginning a new job immediately after their CCC

tenure, I consider the question concerning whether and to what degree the agency assisted the individual with her or his looming employment options. In figure 3e, we see that more than 53% of survey respondents stated the Cs helped them “*a lot*” in not only finding a job, but also in deciding on a potential career. Understand that in this regard, with many of its regular work contracts associated, resource management agencies and project sponsors, the CCC is a highly effective springboard for individuals looking to move into employment positions with these adjacent civil service organizations. Even if the individual is not particularly keen on continuing labor in the outdoor setting, the knowledge, skills and familiarity with the neighboring agency’s functions, operations, and even tools gives the C’s graduate a “leg-up” in the hiring pool of these institutions. For the Forgotten Half, this is as valuable as knowing someone “in the business;” a link in the much needed social and employment network needed for these individuals to advance their socioeconomic standing.

Lastly in the subsection of employment and employability, I reason that whether or not the respondent was “currently employed” at the time of the survey is important to the hypothesis because of the value such findings infer to the overall, longitudinal dimension of the study. In this case, is it numerically significant that nearly 87% of former corps members-cum-survey-respondents (figure 3f) were currently employed full time in the traditional sense of the term? As the largest age cohort of respondents falls into the 45-to-60 years old or older age category, I posit that the answer is yes. Yet such a distinction cuts at least two ways.

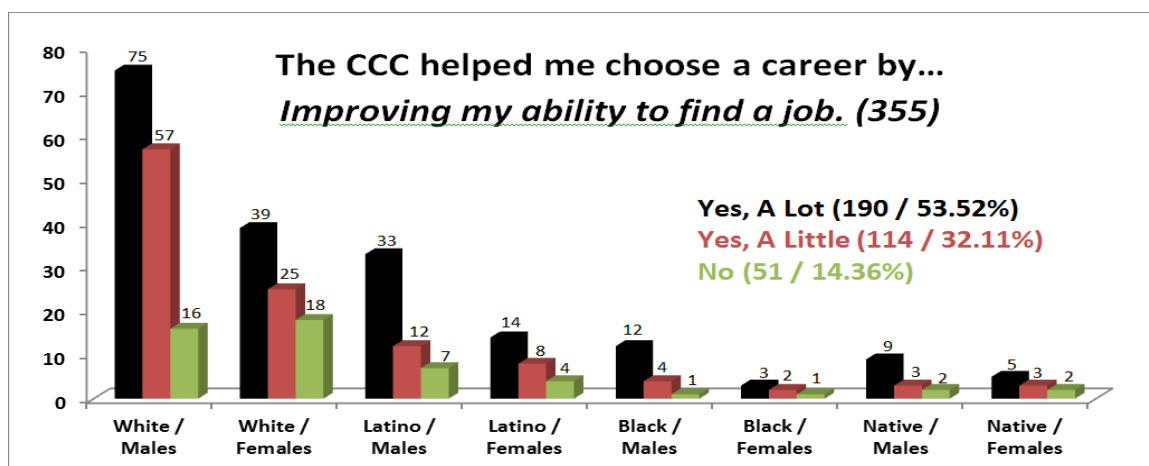


Figure 3e. The CCC Helped Me Choose a Career by... Improving My Ability to Find a Job

Currently, US employment law allows individuals to retire as early as age 55. Yet 313 of the 356 respondents were still working at the time of the survey. Since the oldest age cohort numerically dominates the survey's demographic, one might argue that former CCC graduates experienced positive, first-time, on-the-job work training and social skills that have remained valuable to both the employee and the employer in the contemporary, economic downturn. Conversely, one might suggest that perhaps CCC alums are in the unenviable position of having to work into their later years because they did not attain such valuable skills. Presently to venture an answer is at best, speculative, and beyond my research focus.

In a final attempt to explain and provide insight and clarity concerning the gender and ethnic survey difficulties noted in the selection of usable data, notice that the values in figures 3a through 3f relate back to the opening, overall utilized, demographic total of 356 individuals.

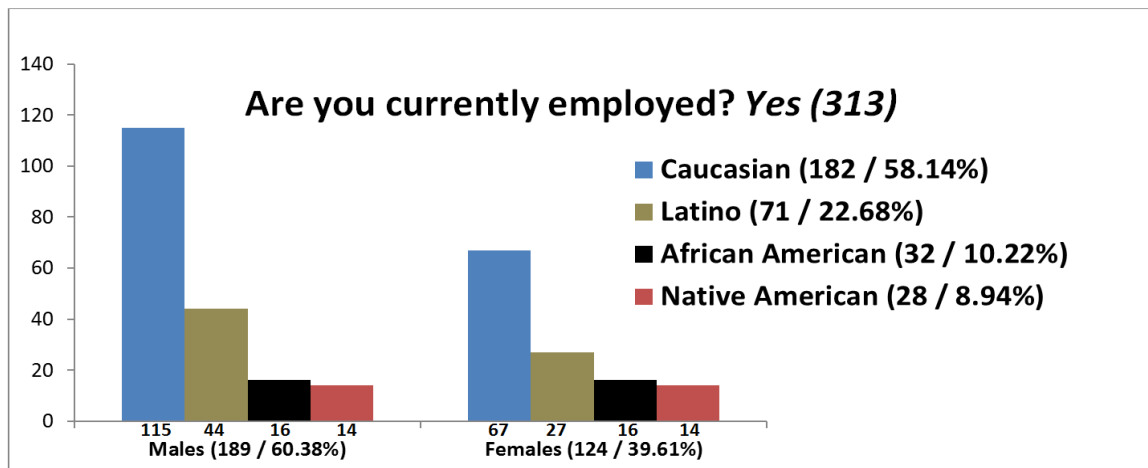


Figure 3f. Are You Currently Employed?

Additionally, the comparatively large value(s) totaled by the Caucasian ethnicity is simply a reflection of the fact that the majority of survey takers chose this ethnic heritage, and arguably, the fact that white, males continue to dominate the ranks of working adults. With the exception of Latino respondents, it is telling that six-of-ten former corps members, regardless their ethnicity, secured a job immediately upon departure from the program. The gender category, on the other hand, indicates that more men found immediate employment (64%) than women (53%) after leaving the Cs.

Significant from the perspective of comparative, ethnic percentages, the reason(s) behind the disparities are at present uninvestigated as this was **not** a component of the thesis. Yet, as with all of the dependent variable queries that have been applied and displayed in the chapter's histograms, the values related to differences in ethnicity are fertile ground for supplementary research.

"It was the right thing at the right time for me. It helped me gain experience in many areas and it gave me the experience I needed to be able to work for the State for over 20 years now."

“The CCC has had a major impact on my life. Prior to joining the CCC, I had no direction in life. After completing the program I left with job skills that were valuable to me in obtaining and maintaining employment.”

“The best job experience in my life—bar none!!!”

(Subsection III) Education:
Life Long Learning and Advances Post-Service

That college graduates have greater earnings potential than their non-collegiate counterparts is common knowledge (Longley 2011). The pressing concern is the widening wage-gap disparities between early high-school leavers, those who achieve the long-standing, minimum academic standard of high school graduation and those attaining four year degrees or better at the post-secondary level.

In 1992, with the enactment of the State of California’s *Charter Schools Act*, the CCC required corps members to engage in between ten and thirty hours-a-week of classroom education beyond their forty-hour work week. The amount of study is dependent upon the individual’s attained level of education at the time of hiring. As an incentive, CCC graduates can earn significant financial awards through the agency’s scholarship programs. That emphasis on increasing the corps member’s level of education in order to compete in the workforce continues to be an important goal of the agency as seen in figure 3a below. Nearly 72% of survey-takers went on to advance their academic levels post-service. If attainment of at least high school equivalency was unimportant to the agency’s objectives and commitment to corps members, one has to wonder what the graph’s values might otherwise read.

The promotion of female empowerment through education also has become an indicator of a progressive society. “Female graduates greatly outnumber male graduates. Overall they account for 58% of graduates within OECD member states in 2009, the most recent year for which data are available, up from 54% in 2000” (Economist.com 2011). Figure 4a’s values indicate this objective for young women is just as important to the CCC’s agenda as is serving the corps member population at large. More than 77% of female corps members along with 82% of males have continued their educational advancement post-service.

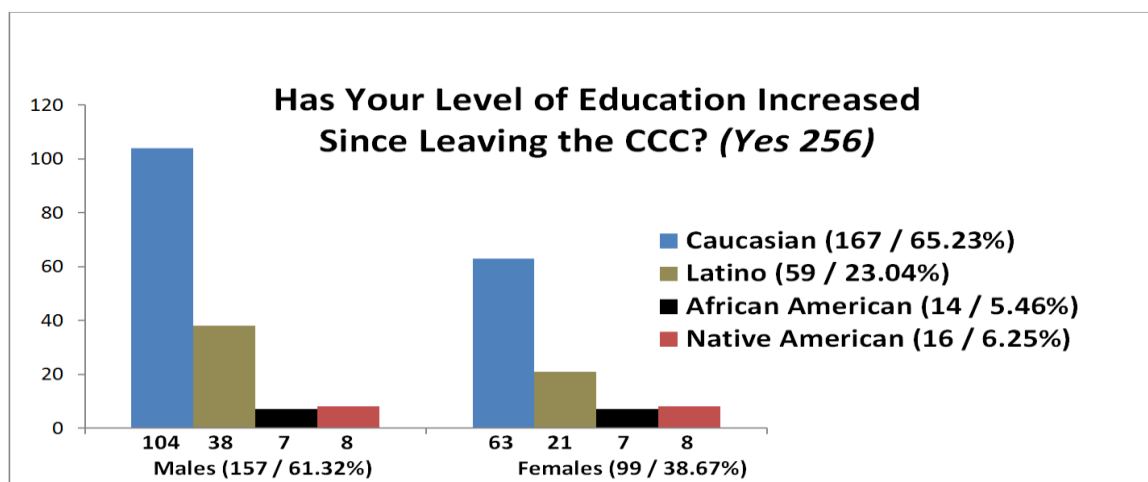


Figure 4a. Has Your Level of Education Increased since Leaving the CCC?

“The CCC gave me the skills I needed to start a career in the fire service when this field was not one that employed many women. I gained the confidence and skills to do the job, even when others doubted my ability based on my gender.”

“The CCC gave me skills that are not usually taught to women. I got a job with the City of Escondido at a lake. I worked there for 10 years and then moved on to the City of San Diego as a Lake Ranger, working there for several years part time while I raised my kids. I finally got on full time as Assistant Reservoir Keeper for the City of San Diego.”

That slightly more than fifty-percent (50%) of corps members—for any number of reasons—determined that college or university studies were important enough for them to enroll in an institution of higher learning, lends credibility to the argument that the agency is fruitful as an organization facilitating young-adult transitional success.⁴ As well, whether a “major” or “minor” influence, six-of-ten (60%) respondents indicated that the CCC helped further their educational goals, while three-of-ten (30%) declared that the program was a “Major Influence” in their decision to advance their academic skills and knowledge post-program tenure (Figure 3b). Once again, the breakdown of gender and ethnicity percentage values is available for further investigation. With more time and resources, such comparative outcomes will only add to the CCC’s data base and resultant ability to enable and advance the program’s goals and objectives.

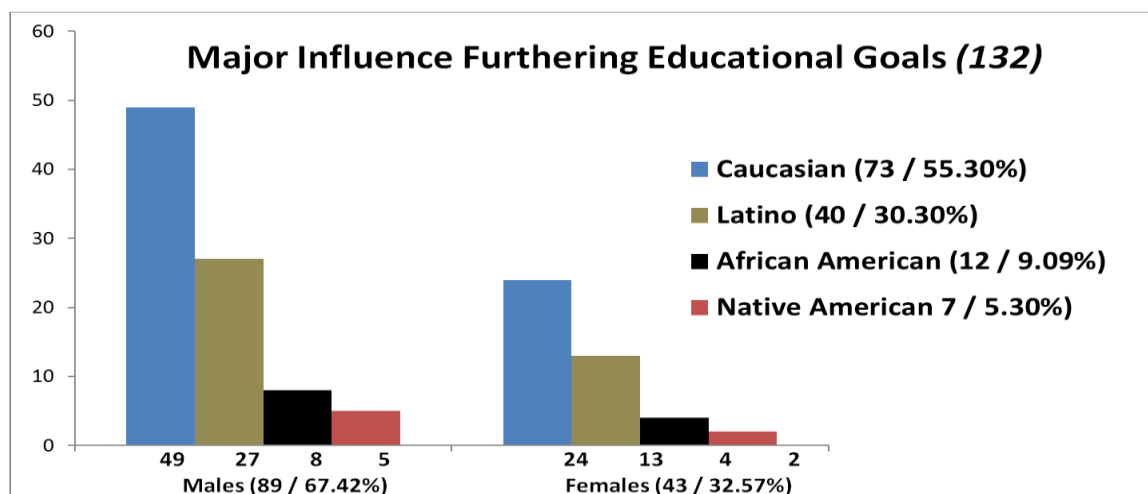


Figure 4b. Major Influence Furthering Educational

“I worked 10 seasons on the Inyo with the USFS working up through the ranks from a trail crew laborer to a foreman, and finally to a project supervisor on Mt. Whitney. I now live in Nova Scotia, and work as an

⁴ Please see the *Constantcontact.com* survey in Appendix A.

Energy Advisor for Sustainable Housing. Both of these enjoyable careers have been direct results of my education in the CCC.”

“[I was in] the CCC at Humboldt Fire Center (in camp crew for fish rearing ponds) – Then grade time on the Salmon Restoration Program. Thus when I began my educational studies in Fisheries, I already had field experience from the CCC to complement my academic studies.”

“Initially, I joined the CCC to begin learning about wildlife and natural resource conservation. Instead, I learned more about being organized and the importance of a strong work ethic. The CCC also helped motivate me to go back to school and get my bachelor's degree. Being a corps member was a valuable, helpful and memorable experience!”

(Subsection IV) Environmentalism:

Does Working in the Natural Environment Impart Environmental Values?

Recalling Marans’ findings in *Youth and the Environment... (1972)*, and

considering that the largest reason for choosing employment by potential corps members numerically was “a desire to work in the outdoors,” one is tempted to reason that the survey’s findings should reflect a predisposition for environmentalism. Yet as discussed in that section of the literature review, the subtle similarities compared to the profound differences between practicing environmentalism and engaging in environmental conservation field work must not be confused. One does not imply the other. Indeed, it is often discussed by seasoned natural resource professionals that youthfulness and the young-adult cohort often exhibits an enthusiastic yet naïve and uninformed distinction between a love of nature and the sweat, blisters and back aches encountered in resource conservation labor.

In figure 5a, we see that one-in-three survey-takers had “*No Involvement*” in environmental issues and concerns prior to joining the CCC. Yet with the tallied

numerical and percentage values' shown in graphs 5b and 5c, it becomes apparent the influence the program had on nearly all participants' growth regarding environmental concerns and sensitivities. That 247-out-of-356 (69%) participants acknowledged that the CCC was "very influential" in raising their awareness of environmental issues and concerns, and that 201-out-of-356 (56%) "strongly agreed" that they had "contributed to improving California's environment" is a testament to this unique job characteristic of PSCW employment. Scrutinized through the most critical lens, such results are impressive.

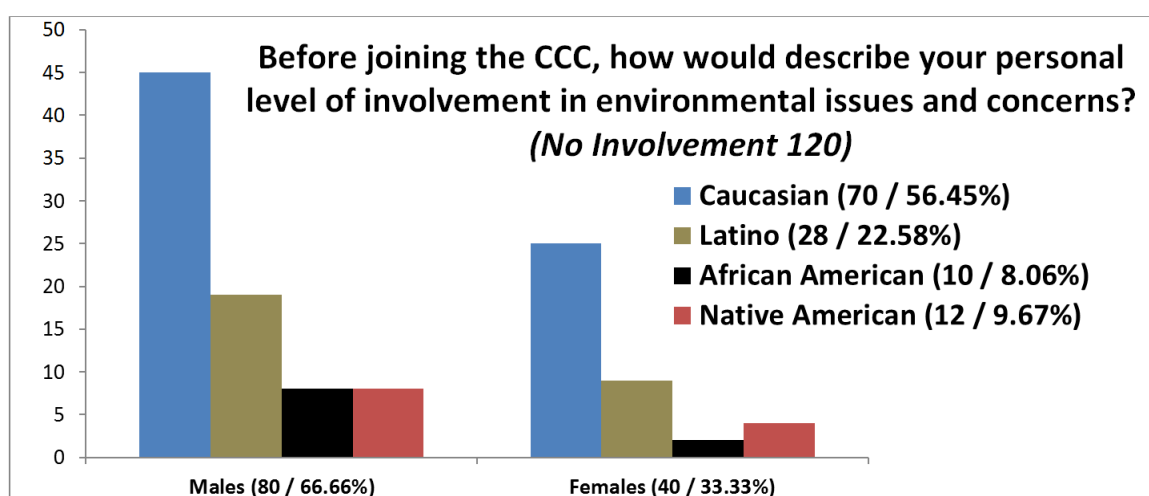


Figure 5a. Before Joining the CCC, How Would You Describe Your Personal Level of Involvement with Environmental Issues and Concerns?

"Living on the Avenue of the Giants, in Humboldt County, surrounded by immense Coastal Redwoods in some of the most beautiful country in the State of California, and working in a job designed to protect, preserve and restore these amazing areas and resources was the opportunity of a lifetime."

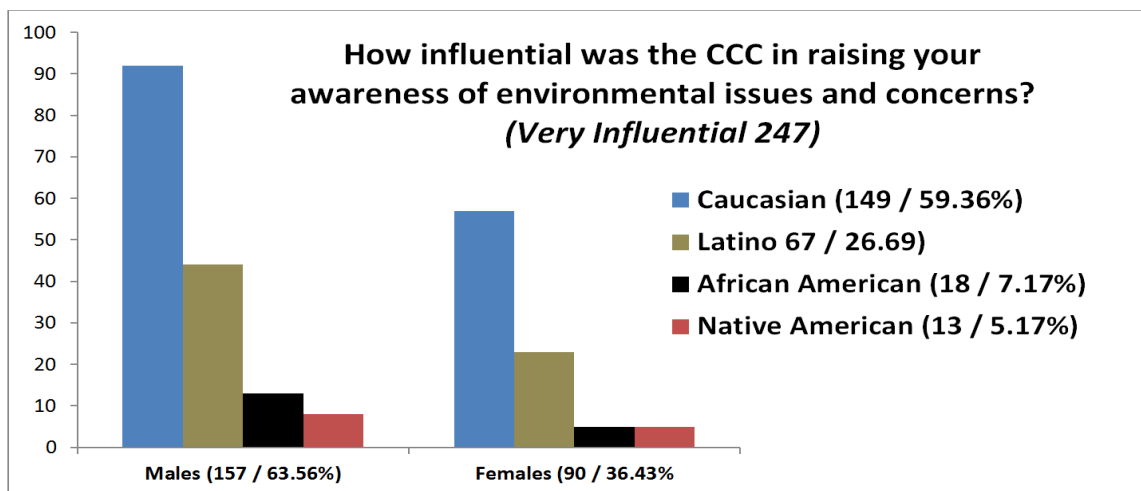


Figure 5b. How Influential Was the CCC in Raising Your Awareness of Environmental Issues and Concerns?

“I loved my time as a corps member and I am proud to say I had been involved with the planting of thousands trees in California.”

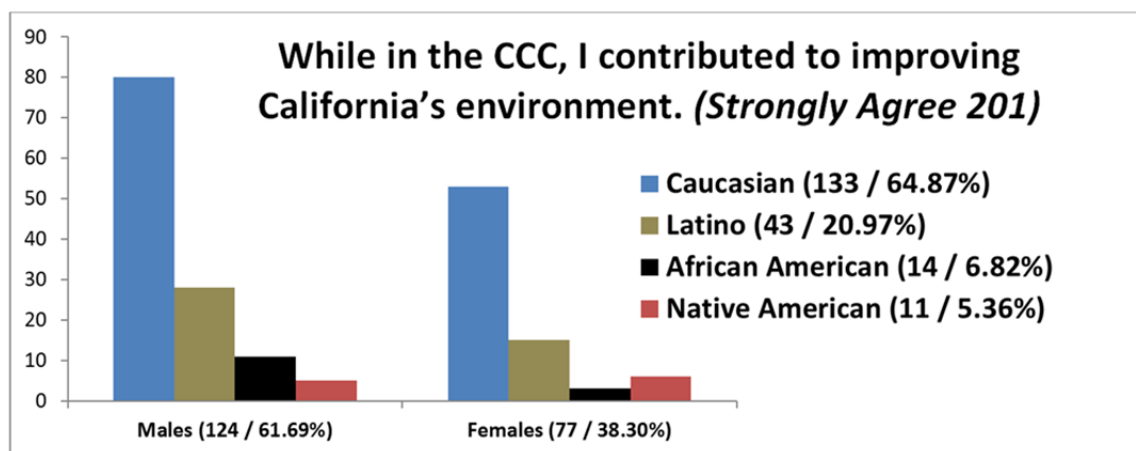


Figure 5c. While in the CCC, I Contributed to Improving California’s Environment

Most importantly, the results in figure 5d lend the longitudinal dimension to the environmental question that also was applied to the subsections of employment and education. Nearly 53% of former corps members continue to participate in at least a level of “moderate involvement” regarding environmental issues and activism. In addition, and

as per the *Constantcontact.com* graphs in appendix A, the percentage of those active at the “Full-Time Involvement” level are nearly three-times those who indicated “No Involvement.”

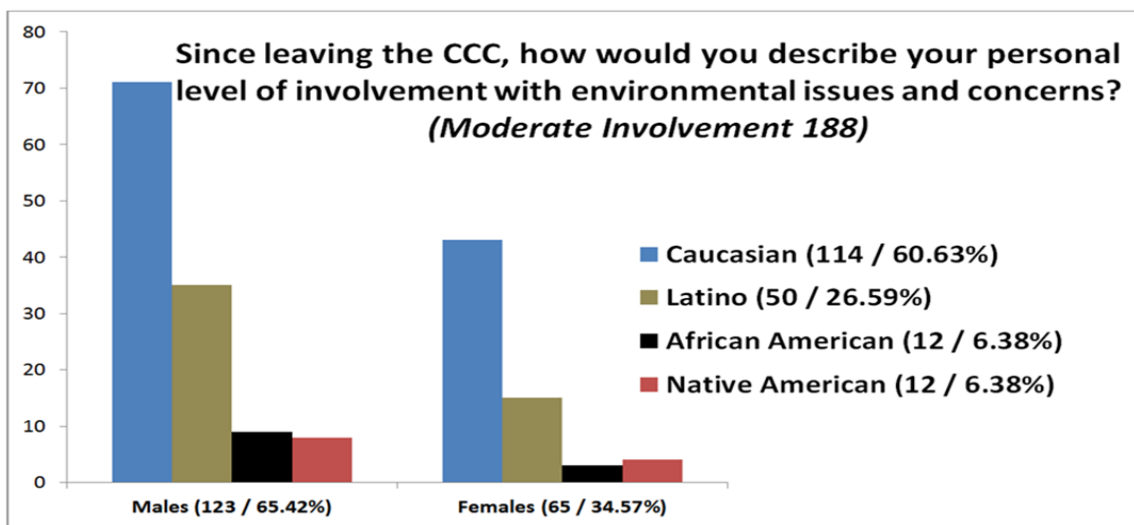


Figure 5d. Since Leaving the CCC, How Would You Describe Your Personal Level of Involvement with Environmental Issues and Concerns?

“The biggest impact was knowing that there were other people out there that were as concerned about our planet and our people as much as I was. This can be a harsh world, and often over the years, when I felt like no one cared so why should I, I would remember my crew..... ALL good people, wherever they are.”

“I loved my experiences at the CCC. I learned that I liked working out doors and with others. I got to do a great many things that I would not have been able to do with out the CCC. I really enjoyed learning about conservation and the environment.”

(Subsection V) Community Involvement: Finding Value in Place and Self

With the exception of living arrangements, little has changed in the individual corps member’s day-to-day experience over the years since my initial involvement in 1980. For most 18-year-olds, leaving the familiarity of the childhood home and its

surroundings for destinations unknown is an emotional exercise filled with equal measures of excitement and trepidation. For the Forgotten Half, the experience offers no less promise or anxiety.

“The corps was, for me, a much need[ed] experience in growing into myself as a person and learning how to deal with what life throws at you.”

As discussed earlier, even though the familial and social circles of the Forgotten Half are often a succession of undermining the individual’s self-confidence involving substance abuse or worse, as with humans in general, there is comfort in au fait. Nevertheless, it is with separation from home and family that the young adult can begin to consider the value, or lack thereof, of her or his childhood surroundings.

“The CCC gave me a safe place to work, live and learn about life. THANK YOU!”

“I had an addiction to crystal meth when I joined. I knew I had to make a change in my life, and thankfully the CCC was there to help me. If it wasn’t for the CCC, I don’t know where I would be now. Thank you for the hard work, low pay, and miserable conditions. IT MADE ME INTO THE MAN I AM TODAY.”

Before the program’s economic complications related to operational costs forced cuts in housing, all of the agency’s original centers lodged corps members in comparatively remote locations. Such an opportunity historically was part and parcel of the CCC experience. With few exceptions, these camps were former inmate compounds, fire-fighting crew barracks or like residential accommodations in decidedly secluded settings. This situation enabled all corps members a chance to make a clean break from

the negative social aspects afflicting their former home and personal life. With this in mind, I consider the analyses of the community involvement aspect of the results below.

I begin with the notable exception of the comparison between the first set of graphs in the Environmental and Community categories (Figures 5a above and 6a below). That survey takers were less involved in community activism compared to environmentalism suggests that prior to their employment in the CCC, these young adults found it easier to assess and gauge the level of their participation in “saving the environment” compared to community involvement. This may be indicative of a predisposed penchant for the “outdoors” as per the discussion of “self-selection” in the environmental subsection.

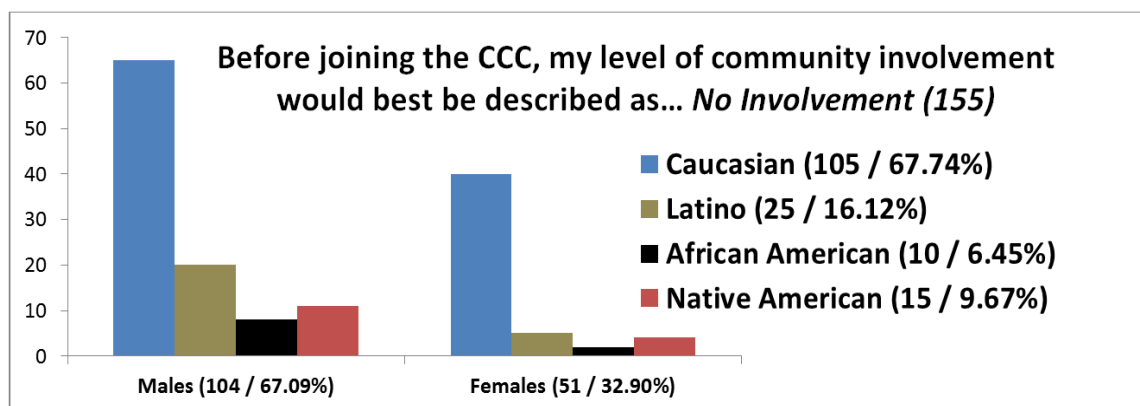


Figure 6a. Before Joining the CCC, My Level of Community Involvement Would Best Be Described as...No Involvement.

However, since once again the majority of survey-takers fall into the 45-to-60 years old or older age cohort—and deducing through simple mathematics that they had joined the program in its infancy (i.e. from 1976 into the early-1980s)—one has to consider the influence the American environmental movement in the 1970s had on these

individuals. As well, and as related in the literature review, Americans have long practiced an individualistic mentality that has rarely aligned with larger community concerns. More plainly, that 124 of 417 (environment 29.7%) versus 170 of 417 (community 40.7%) respondents in the *Constantcontact.com* graphs relate “*No Involvement*” in these respective categories is a significant difference between the two.

Conversely, although the questions are arranged in a slightly different wording, the influence the program had in raising the individual’s awareness of these two conditions is almost identical at 247 (environment figure 5b) and 273 (community figure 6b) respondents, respectively. Granted the available response selections falling into the two lines of questioning (*Very Influential* vs. *Yes*) are different. Yet it is the context of the questions and their relative percentages (69% vs. 76%, respectively) that create their overall similarity.

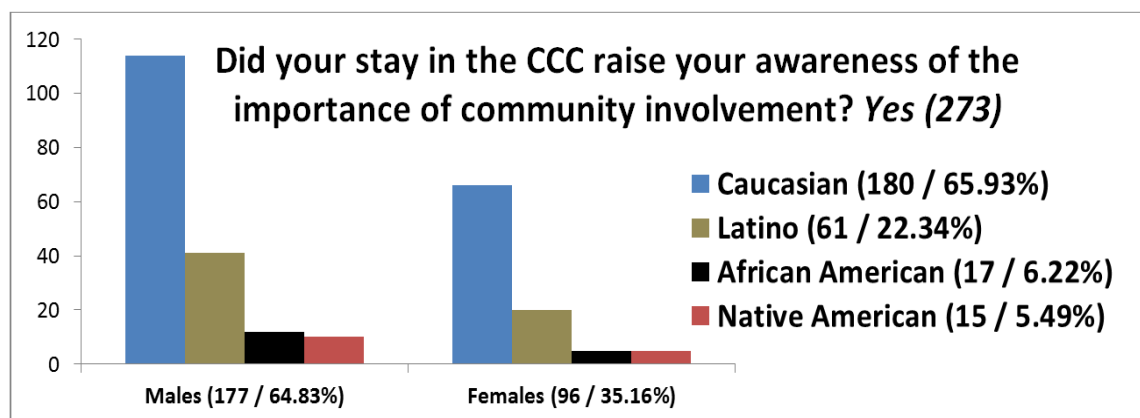


Figure 6b. Did Your Stay in the CCC Raise Your Awareness of the Importance of Community Involvement?

Next, that one’s tenure in the CCC influenced his or her “current involvement in community service” is only of value while simultaneously considering “to what degree,”

as per graphs 6c (64%) and 6d (35%) respectively, below. Even then, the overwhelming response selected in figure 6d of “A significant amount,” is irrelevant until aggregated with the question of whether or not the individual has been involved in their community since leaving the program (figure 6e). As seen in figure 6e, 255 of 356 or 71% of participants continued their community involvement activity post-tenure; yet another numerically significant amount in the overall investigation.

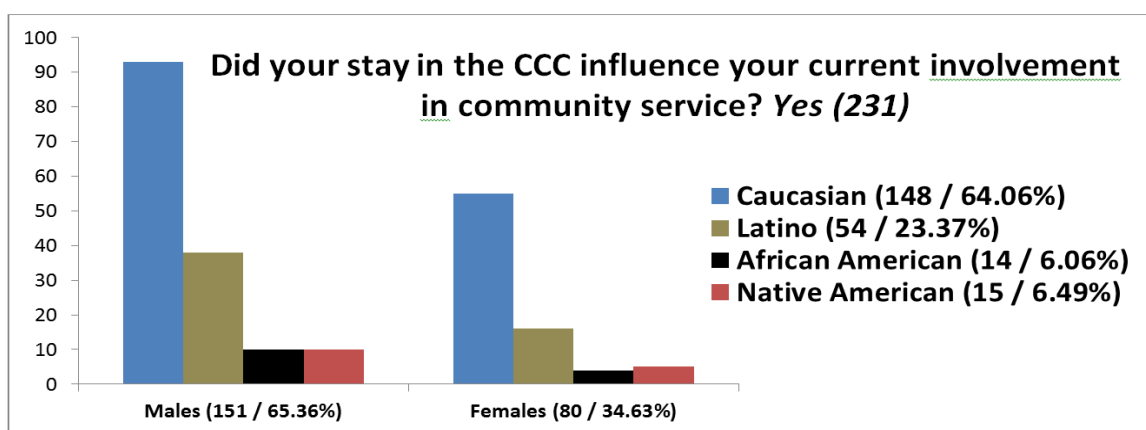


Figure 6c. Did Your Stay in the CCC Influence Your Current Involvement in Community Service?

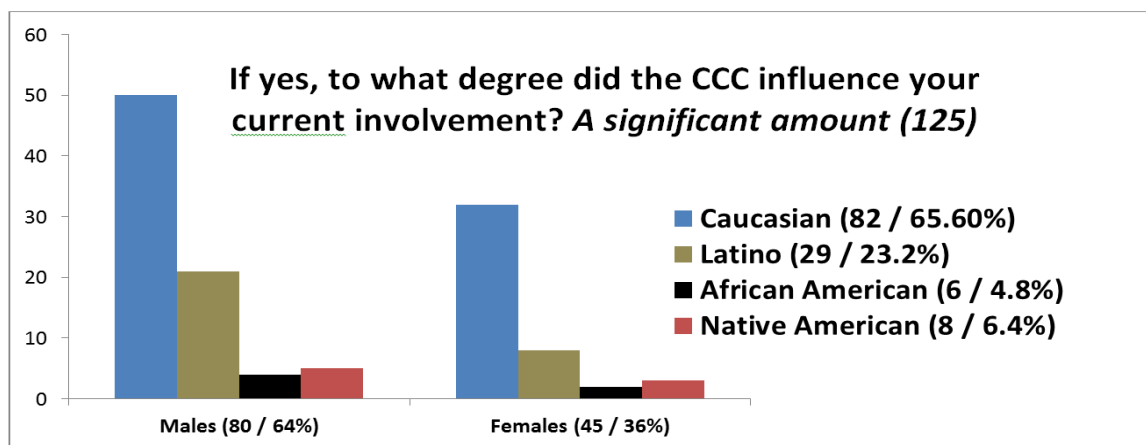


Figure 6d. If Yes, to What Degree Did the CCC Influence Your Current Involvement? A Significant Amount.

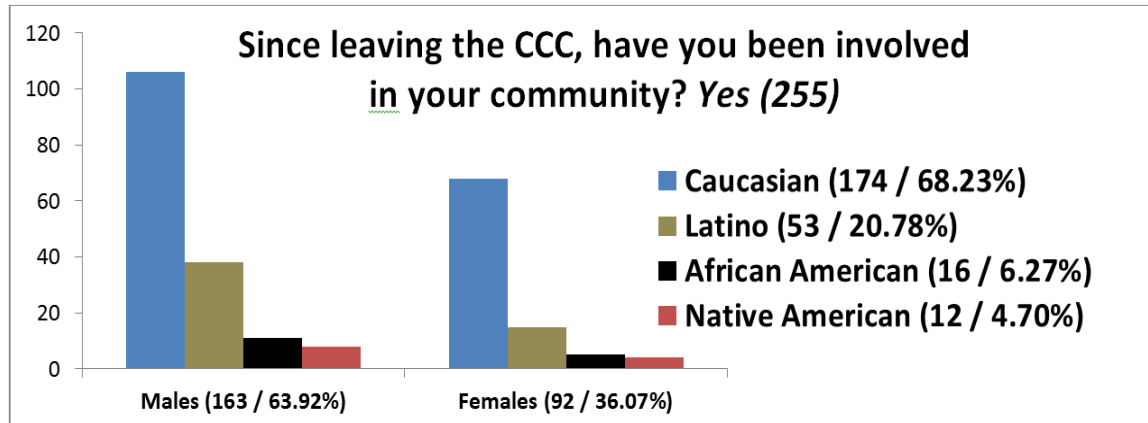


Figure 6e. Since Leaving the CCC, Have You Been Involved in Your Community?

In response to Abt Incorporated’s 1996 survey findings discussed earlier that, “The concept of community impacts is a broad one, and not easily measured in a limited study...” I offer the following personal insight regarding the CCC and PSCW in general. From CCC center to center, it is the norm to find the corps member population of mixed gender and ethnicities working and recreating together during their tenure. Furthermore, upon arrival at any one particular center, newly arrived corps members, or “newbies” as they are labeled, are sequestered from the existing crew members for a one-to-two-week program orientation and training session. This structure allows individuals a time to become familiar with camp operations and program expectations. But more importantly, that each individual is essentially beginning a new chapter of life on a level playing field with her or his peers, bonds between individuals are initiated, and a positive community environment is reinforced. Each and every individual is accepted for who she or he is; not whom they may have been. As well, each corps member is supported and encouraged by

staff members to live up to camp and crew standards and to excel and perform to one's best ability.

Furthermore and beyond these expectations, all corps members are encouraged to engage in a prescribed number of community service hours to earn scholarship awards. For those among the ranks of the Forgotten Half, growth in self-respect and for one's community is as unavoidable as it is unequivocal. Out of this florescence of the individual, social and professional networks are created and strengthened, and their value increases as the individual pursues greater responsibilities and rewards beyond their tenure.

"I would say the people I met in the CCC had the greatest impact on my life. I learned a great deal about my own life while serving in the CCC. There are so many people I would love to thank. I went in so timid and shy but through the many opportunities given to me, I overcame much of that."

"My time with the CCC was invaluable. The team building, leadership, and work ethics instilled in me have made me a better person."

(Section VI) Considering Program Impact post-Tenure:
Former Corps members Speak for Themselves

Less than one-and-a-half percent (1.4%) of survey takers expressed the sentiment that the CCC experience had *"little to no impact"* on the type of person they have become. Conversely, 70% answered that the Cs had either, *"Quite a bit"* or *"A great deal"* of influence shaping their formative adulthood and affecting the outcome of the person they are today. From these, the results of the numerically significant *age/gender/*

ethnicity sample I generated show that 196 of 356 (55%) survey takers claimed the program had “a great deal” of impact.

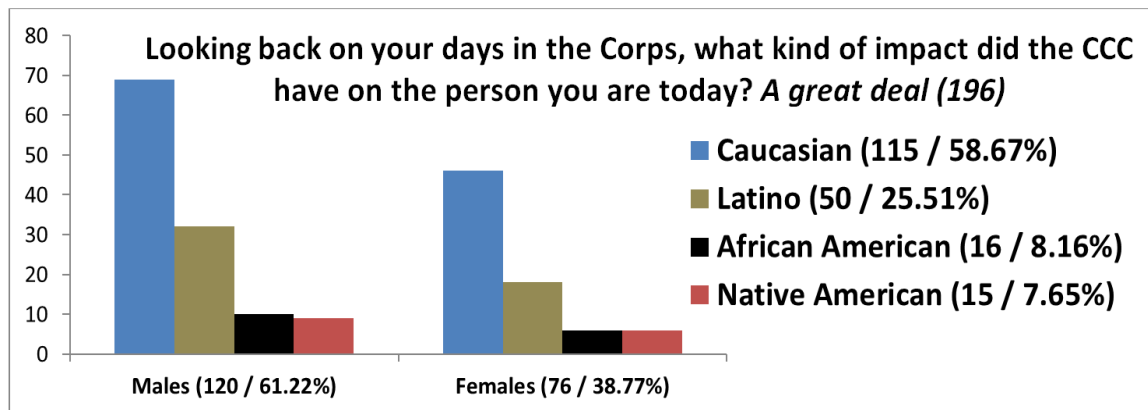


Figure 7a. Looking Back on Your Days in the Corps, What Kind of Impact Did the CCC Have on the Person You Are Today?

“I’m grateful for the dedication of the staff I worked for. The CCC gave me direction & means to go a better way. I messed up a lot, but I believe the discipline, positive reinforcement and compassion I received from the staff and others strengthened and guided me to do better.”

Were there no former corps members cum survey takers giving less than favorable reviews of their CCC experience? Well, of course those falling into the one-and-a-half percent at the opening of this section’s review recorded such misgivings about the program’s impacts...

“There was no “worse” experience than to be led or supervised by people my own age; not sleeping in dirt or on concrete; not blisters or stale bread; not wool blankets and smelly boots. Also, that being certified as qualified does not competency make. Lastly, a small measure of propaganda sticks with me. It leaves me, “uneasy” with it.”

That there are so few, negative responses does not make such personal reflections unworthy of value. I admit, as a self-defined, “successful graduate” of the program, I am at odds with such perceptions. Yet as an individual, I respect these

less-than-glowing reflections of the program, and as a social scientist, I respectfully acknowledge their opinions.

In the end, the CCC's work place and living demands—and PSCW in general—are not for everyone. The outliers within the ranks contribute a needed perspective to the population qualifying the young adult transition as a nuanced, varied and individual experience. Nevertheless, the values shown in the preceding histograms combined with the numerous statements by former corps members added throughout the Results and Analysis chapter cannot be discounted.

“It was among the best decisions I ever made. It started me down a path of life and work experiences I might otherwise never have had. I am so thankful for the experience and the people I met. Also glad to see it is still going. I always give a thumbs up whenever I see a crew van rolling down the road. I even have an old CCC sticker on my car!”

“The Corps gave me the opportunity to reach my full potential mentally and physically. I learned just how hard I could work and how important teamwork is. The staff and the strict basic guidelines the Corps had at that time saved my life. It gave me the structure needed to create the self-discipline I needed to be successful.”

“The impact on my life was more than just work, environment, conservation, ethics. I learned about life in general, relationships, friendships, life skills not learned in any school class room. Thank you very much.”

“I loved it. I think it was the most important & auspicious time for my young life. I came away from the whole experience with more confidence & asurety of my place in the world. I am so grateful the opportunity was there for me.”

Summary

The growth of young adult attitudes toward *employment, education, environmental sensitivity, and community involvement*, is well underway as the individual

enters the nexus of this phase of life. I argue the notion that PSCW is any less valuable to society and the individual compared to any and all other forms of employment is counterfeit if not patently false.

Besides the basic reason of being “*in need of a job*” for the young adults population, “*interest in outdoor work*” has been discussed at length. Nevertheless, few young adults have a clue as how to gain entrance into a full-time, paid position with the many state and federal agencies that are responsible for management, protection and interpretation of the balance of our country’s natural resources. These jobs are often coveted by college-educated, young adults that desire opportunities to work with both their hands and the land. The reality, drawn specifically from personal experience, is that even veteran professionals of outdoor work have difficulty obtaining permanent, full-time employment within these agencies without further academic augmentation of their skill set.

To be sure, getting through the entrance requirements for a comparatively secure outdoor resource career is likened to running a pre-employment gauntlet. As a former fire fighter-cum trail builder-cum park ranger, I know this from experience. CCC graduates, regardless their socioeconomic background, are on the fast-track for these positions, especially if the individual works seasonally within the desired field post-program while attending college studies partly financed through the program’s scholarship rewards. But what of the individual who wants only to work in the field temporarily, intent to move on

to more traditional employment within an urban setting after satisfying youthful verve and geographic exploration?

To their credit, the CCC teaches young-adult employees the rudiments of work habits for which the majority of employers are seeking (Pautler 1994). Furthermore, those individuals who are fortunate enough to work at one of the CCC's residential living centers learn that much more how to co-exist with both their peer group and their seniors. Such developmental sensitivities to the other and related soft-skills building opportunities are as infrequently available for experienced professionals as they are for these youthful and unproven employees. But as data collection and analysis determining the influence and long-term outcomes of such situational living—as that which I have endeavored to portray above—make apparent, the value of public service conservation work qualifies these programs as an effective element toward solutions for the ongoing social problems of young adult employment.

“Most personally fulfilling job I've ever had at a time when I needed it the most.”

CONCLUSION

We now know that the quality of the initial job experience is not only foundational, it is long-lasting to the point of permanence—for good or ill. If earning a paycheck is “job one” in laissez faire capitalism, why is engaging in meaningful work such as that found in PSCW regularly underappreciated by that same culture? Part of my effort in the preceding pages has been to dispute the contention by critics concerning the self-selection of these individuals as a group, and the loss of revenue due to the need to publicly finance such programs. In other words, one is not justified in asking, If this work (i.e. PSCW) is intentionally sought out by a numerically significant percentage of the population in their age cohort and of their own volition, why should society foot the bill? Such commentary is little more than rhetorical posturing, and here is why.

Up to this point it is argued that above all else, first-job seekers are out of work and in dire need of paid employment. Though for young adults this condition is complicated by wide-ranging motivations, the most cliché is that from one’s parents admonishing, “It’s decision time... Either go to college, or find a job.” Many parents in fact express, “Do both.” This is not a scientifically researched determination per se on my part, but one I have regularly heard in conversation with subordinates, friends and colleagues. Furthermore, for those from impoverished and/or poorly-educated households, awareness of options is compounded by lack of guidance.

Psychologists uniformly agree that young adults desire independence, a sense of accomplishment and autonomy beyond parental support, a stake in their community,

respect among their peers, allowance for self-expression, and recognition of their individuality. Combined with and exercised through the growing experience, these measures attained through employment and community support enable young adults to forge ahead through the struggles encountered while crossing the transformational bridge from adolescence to adulthood.

With a measurable percentage of young adults purposely looking for entrances into careers in the natural resources professions, taking employment in entry-level, PSCW is one of the few, full-time employment options available to them (Pautler 1994). Yet, during periods of political conservatism, fiscal accountability to the electorate is often demonstrated by legislators imposing draconian spending cuts in socially-progressive, government agencies such as the CCC. The irony is that young-adult employment programs such as those advocated by the Corps Network *are not* recognized for their fundamental strengths and primary contribution to society: employing individuals that otherwise become a burden to that same society when left to drift aimlessly in and out of less purposive work through cycles of chronic un- and under employment (Barling and Kelloway 1999). Moreover, in spite of a lengthy record as a cost-effective, public agency from one fiscal year to the next, programs such as the CCC are constantly embattled by persistent funding shortfalls in their status as a non-essential, taxpayer-funded agencies. Such situational barriers to young adult employment serve only to further aggravate the Forgotten Half's frustrations. Yet, thanks to the historic, unreserved success of the Civilian Conservation Corps, the cynics' debates are no longer

valid. For proof defending my conclusions, the preceding data contribute the longitudinal dimension to the extant research and show that the youthful worker can indeed build a foundation upon which he or she advances toward fuller adult participation in society through PSCW.

Lastly, one thing social scientists consistently agree upon is that the paradigms defining environment and community are always changing. Interestingly, two factors that also consistently influence those changes are work and learning. In the meantime philosophers, pundits and politicians pay lip service to the value and importance of today's young adults; how society must increase opportunities for this population or suffer the consequences. But what real change is occurring for them: *increasing* disillusion with their place in community, *increasing* rent on their natural resource base, *increasing* fees for post-secondary tuition, and *decreasing* opportunities to earn a living wage through meaningful employment.

Organizations like the California Conservation Corps—by way of supportive mentoring and physical labor in the outdoor setting—provide the young adult population an opportunity to succeed in their fight against the odds. For them, the combination of challenge, success and failure through physical labor in the natural environment and self-discovery in the human environment insists as much as the results inspire. Perhaps it is easily overlooked and underappreciated, because public service conservation work is such an obvious fit for young adults and contemporary society. In order to accommodate the growing ranks of the unemployed, young adult age cohort to transition through the

current minefield they encounter in the “life course trajectory,” productive social tools such as those found in public service conservation work must become a staple, employment offering. Unfortunately, it may take the progress realized only through the efforts of the young adult population and the Forgotten Half themselves’ to move us towards such a given.

“I look back on it as the starting point to the rest of my life.”

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APPENDIX A
Constantcontact.com SURVEY QUESTIONS AND RESULTS

CCC Demographics1. How old were you when you joined the CCC?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Under 18			17	4.0 %
18			141	33.8 %
19			74	17.7 %
20			66	15.8 %
21			34	8.1 %
22			26	6.2 %
23			16	3.8 %
24			5	1.1 %
25			1	<1 %
No Response(s)			37	8.8 %
Totals			417	100%

2. How long were you a corpsmember?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Less than a year			75	17.9 %
More than one year but less than two years			182	43.6 %
Two years or more			121	29.0 %
No Response(s)			39	9.3 %
Totals			417	100%

3. When did you leave the CCC?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Six months ago or less			4	<1 %
Six months to a year ago			10	2.3 %
One year to five years ago			17	4.0 %
More than five but less than 15 years ago			75	17.9 %
More than 15 but less than 25 years ago			114	27.3 %
Twenty-five years ago or more			155	37.1 %
No Response(s)			42	10.0 %
Totals			417	100%

4. What age range are you in now?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
18 to 21			5	1.1 %
22 to 25			13	3.1 %
25 to 34			66	15.8 %
35 to 44			117	28.0 %
45 to 60			177	42.4 %
No Response(s)			39	9.3 %
Totals			417	100%

5. Are you currently employed?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Yes			295	70.7 %
No			83	19.9 %
No Response(s)			39	9.3 %
Totals			417	100%








6. What is your gender?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Male			233	55.8 %
Female			143	34.2 %
No Response(s)			41	9.8 %
Totals			417	100%









7. What is your ethnic background? Choose all that apply.

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Caucasian/White			237	63.0 %
African American			28	7.4 %
Latino			87	23.1 %
Native American			26	6.9 %
Asian American			2	<1 %
Pacific Islander			5	1.3 %
Decline to State			10	2.6 %
Other			18	4.7 %
Totals			376	100%

Employment and Career1. What was your main reason for joining the CCC? Choose one of the following:

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Was unemployed and needed a job			60	14.3 %
Was interested in outdoor work			132	31.6 %
Saw it as a "spring board" to a better job/career			39	9.3 %
Wanted to improve my present life situation			88	21.1 %
Wanted to improve my education (HS diploma, GED, etc.)			10	2.3 %
Other			33	7.9 %
No Response(s)			55	13.1 %
Totals			417	100%

3. What kind of employer have you worked for the longest since leaving the CCC? Please select one of the following:

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Self-Employed			31	7.4 %
Private Company			147	35.2 %
City/County Government			50	11.9 %
State Government			51	12.2 %
Federal Government			42	10.0 %
Apprenticeship/Union			10	2.3 %
Nonprofit Organization			25	5.9 %
No Response(s)			61	14.6 %
Totals			417	100%

4. Since leaving the CCC, which career areas below have you spent more time working in? (Check up to three.)

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Agriculture, forestry, fishing, hunting (landscaping, park ranger, environmental work), mining, utilities (PG&E, electric, water, or gas utilities)			98	27.2 %
Construction (apprenticeships, labor)			57	15.8 %
Manufacturing			33	9.1 %
Wholesale trade (selling to stores/distributors)			6	1.6 %
Retail Trade (stores)			36	10.0 %
Transportation (driving, Caltrans)			41	11.3 %
Warehousing			28	7.7 %
Information (computer-related)			20	5.5 %
Finance/banking/insurance			14	3.8 %
Real estate/rental & leasing			6	1.6 %
Education			30	8.3 %
Health care and social assistance			40	11.1 %
Arts, entertainment, recreation			20	5.5 %
Hotel and food services			26	7.2 %
Protective services (fire, police, security)			45	12.5 %
Other			96	26.6 %
Totals			360	100%

5. The CCC helped me choose a career by ...

1 = Yes, a lot, 2 = Yes, a little, 3 = No

Answer	1	2	3	Number of Response(s)	Rating Score*
Helping me be more realistic about job choices				346	1.7
Improving my ability to find a job				346	1.6
Making me more aware of various careers/opportunities				350	1.5
Influencing which career I chose				342	1.8
Improving my ability to interview for a job				340	1.8

*The Rating Score is the weighted average calculated by dividing the sum of all weighted ratings by the number of total responses.

Education1a. Did you advance your education level while in the CCC?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Yes			161	38.6 %
No			189	45.3 %
No Response(s)			67	16.0 %
Totals			417	100%

Education1b. If yes, what level of education did you reach in the CCC? Please select one answer.

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Made progress toward a GED or high school diploma			15	3.5 %
Completed GED			28	6.7 %
Completed high school diploma			22	5.2 %
Earned college credits			93	22.3 %
Earned associate certificate			2	<1 %
Earned associate degree			6	1.4 %
Earned bachelor's degree			1	<1 %
Earned master's degree			1	<1 %
Some graduate study			1	<1 %
Other			18	4.3 %
No Response(s)			230	55.1 %
Totals			417	100%

2a. Has your level of education increased since leaving the CCC?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Yes			258	74.1 %
No			95	27.2 %
Totals			348	100%

2b. If yes, please indicate highest level reached since leaving the CCC.

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Made progress toward a GED or high school diploma			3	<1 %
Completed GED			6	1.4 %
Completed high school diploma			11	2.6 %
Eamed college credits			102	24.4 %
Eamed associate certificate			21	5.0 %
Eamed associate degree			39	9.3 %
Eamed bachelor's degree			32	7.6 %
Eamed master's degree			7	1.6 %
Some graduate study			10	2.3 %
Eamed Ph.D			2	<1 %
Other			39	9.3 %
No Response(s)			145	34.7 %
Totals			417	100%

3. What influence did the CCC have in helping you further your educational goals?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Major influence			131	31.4 %
Minor influence			120	28.7 %
No influence			78	18.7 %
Not sure			20	4.7 %
No Response(s)			68	16.3 %
Totals			417	100%

4. Have you enrolled in a college or university since leaving the CCC?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Yes			215	51.5 %
No			134	32.1 %
No Response(s)			68	16.3 %
Totals			417	100%

5. If yes, name of college or university program.

207 Response(s)

6. Have you enrolled in a vocational school or training program since leaving the CCC?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Yes			100	23.9 %
No			241	57.7 %
No Response(s)			76	18.2 %
Totals			417	100%

7. If yes, name of vocational school or training program.

97 Response(s)

1 = Yes, 2 = No, 3 = Don't Know

Answer	1	2	3	Number of Response(s)	Rating Score*
8a. While in the CCC, did you qualify for a CCC scholarship?				343	2.1
8b. If yes, have you used it?				155	1.8

*The Rating Score is the weighted average calculated by dividing the sum of all weighted ratings by the number of total responses.

8c. If yes, where did you use it?

49 Response(s)

1 = Yes, 2 = No, 3 = Don't know

Answer	1	2	3	Number of Response(s)	Rating Score*
9a. In the CCC, did you qualify for an AmeriCorps education award?				334	2.3
9b. If yes, have you used it?				130	2.1

*The Rating Score is the weighted average calculated by dividing the sum of all weighted ratings by the number of total responses.

9c. If yes, where did you use the AmeriCorps award?

22 Response(s)

Environmental Involvement1. Before joining the CCC, how would you describe your personal level of involvement in environmental issues and concerns?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Full-time involvement			17	4.0 %
Moderate involvement			80	19.1 %
Minor involvement			120	28.7 %
No involvement			124	29.7 %
No Response(s)			76	18.2 %
Totals			417	100%

2. How influential was the CCC in raising your awareness of environmental issues and concerns?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Somewhat			72	17.2 %
Very influential			251	60.1 %
Not at all			10	2.3 %
Not sure			6	1.4 %
No Response(s)			78	18.7 %
Totals			417	100%

3. While in the CCC, I contributed to improving California's environment.

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Agree			109	26.1 %
Strongly agree			205	49.1 %
Neither agree or disagree			19	4.5 %
Disagree			4	<1 %
Strongly disagree			2	<1 %
No Response(s)			78	18.7 %
Totals			417	100%

4. Since leaving the CCC, how would you describe your personal level of involvement with environmental issues and concerns?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Full-time involvement			65	15.5 %
Moderate involvement			182	43.6 %
Minor involvement			69	16.5 %
No involvement			24	5.7 %
No Response(s)			77	18.4 %
Totals			417	100%

5. How have you been involved in environmental/conservation activities since leaving the CCC? Check all that apply.

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Active in providing funding or volunteering in one or more environmental groups			67	19.8 %
Employed by an environmental group			41	12.1 %
Administrator/leader of an environmental group			11	3.2 %
Practice conservation on my own without involvement in environmental group			252	74.7 %
No involvement			48	14.2 %
Totals			337	100%


6. Regarding the question above, in what ways do you practice environmentalism on your own? Check all that apply.

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Own and drive a fuel-efficient vehicle			76	23.3 %
Carpool whenever possible			113	34.6 %
Use public transportation whenever possible			87	26.6 %
Commute or travel by alternative transportation whenever possible			74	22.6 %
Always turn off lights and appliances when not using them			283	86.8 %
Focus on energy efficiency, low resource use requirements for home landscaping			197	60.4 %
Actively manage my home for energy efficiency, low resource use requirements			208	63.8 %
Actively manage my office/workplace for energy efficiency, low resource use			105	32.2 %
Consciously engage in energy-efficient or low-impact recreational activities			134	41.1 %
Regularly encourage others to consider environmental impact re lifestyle choices			152	46.6 %
Buy green products			179	54.9 %
Other			45	13.8 %
Totals			326	100%


Community Involvement1. Before joining the CCC, my level of community involvement would best be described as:

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Full-time involvement			8	1.9 %
Moderate involvement			61	14.6 %
Minor involvement			99	23.7 %
No involvement			170	40.7 %
No Response(s)			79	18.9 %
Totals			417	100%


2. Did your stay in the CCC raise your awareness of the importance of community involvement?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Yes			274	65.7 %
No			63	15.1 %
No Response(s)			80	19.1 %
Totals			417	100%


3a. Did your stay in the CCC influence your current involvement in community service?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Yes			229	54.9 %
No			105	25.1 %
No Response(s)			83	19.9 %
Totals			417	100%

3b. If yes, to what degree did the CCC influence your current involvement?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
The CCC is entirely responsible for my current community service and involvement.			34	8.1 %
A significant amount			118	28.2 %
A minor amount			71	17.0 %
Not currently involved in community service			19	4.5 %
Not at all			15	3.5 %
Don't know			15	3.5 %
No Response(s)			145	34.7 %
Totals			417	100%

4a. Since leaving the CCC, have you been involved in your community?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Yes			256	61.3 %
No			80	19.1 %
No Response(s)			81	19.4 %
Totals			417	100%

4b. If yes, how have you been involved in your community since leaving the CCC? Choose any and all that apply.

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
I have not been involved.			21	7.3 %
I vote regularly.			228	79.4 %
Candidate for public office			7	2.4 %
Elected official of a public office			6	2.0 %
Member or participant in a community action group			66	22.9 %
Coach or coaching staff member of community sports activity			67	23.3 %
Volunteer at a community youth, young adult or senior activities program			102	35.5 %
Member or leader of a community civic organization			35	12.1 %
Donor or patron of a community arts project or program			41	14.2 %
Other			62	21.6 %
Totals			287	100%

My Work Skills¹. The CCC improved my work skills and attitude in the following areas:

1 = Not at all, 2 = A little, 3 = Somewhat, 4 = Quite a bit, 5 = A great deal

Answer	1	2	3	4	5	Number of Response(s)	Rating Score*
Work ethic						332	4.3
Punctuality and attendance						331	4.2
Working hard every day						330	4.4
Teamwork						332	4.4
Following directions						329	4.3
Leadership						331	4.3
Conflict resolution						328	4.1
Effective communication skills						330	4.1
Other, please specify below						87	4.0

*The Rating Score is the weighted average calculated by dividing the sum of all weighted ratings by the number of total responses.

2. The CCC improved my technical skills and attitude in the following areas . . .

1 = Not at all, 2 = A little, 3 = Somewhat, 4 = Quite a bit, 5 = A great deal

Answer	1	2	3	4	5	Number of Response(s)	Rating Score*
Power tool use						330	4.2
Trail building						332	4.4
Construction						330	3.8
Specialized equipment use						328	4.0
Landscaping skills						328	3.9
Emergency response						325	4.2
Energy retrofiting						313	2.7
Other, please specify below						69	3.9

*The Rating Score is the weighted average calculated by dividing the sum of all weighted ratings by the number of total responses.

My CCC Experience1. Looking back on your days in the Corps, what kind of impact did the CCC have on the person you are today?

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
A great deal			194	46.5 %
Quite a bit			98	23.5 %
Some			35	8.3 %
Very little			2	<1 %
None at all			4	<1 %
No Response(s)			84	20.1 %
Totals			417	100%

2. If a good friend were interested in joining the CCC, I would . . .

Answer	0%	100%	Number of Response(s)	Response Ratio
Tell them to join			307	92.7 %
Tell them not to join			9	2.7 %
Not sure			17	5.1 %
Totals			331	100%

3. Please add any other comments about the CCC's impact on your life:

152 Response(s)