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Subgroup/Office of Origin: National Service

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Subseries:

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PETER D. HART

Repair
Rebuild
Believe

Spine Program

Values

Waste speech

Jagges & mid'l exercise

Daytime & service #
on schedule

Tutoring at W.H.

Every W.H. social event

BC reaches out -- not
simply out.

① Speeches

② Policy data

③ Coordinating task forces

Volunteer

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Kene

Go into polling /
focus group folder.

OK

The George H. Gallup International Institute

47 Hulfish Street • P.O. Box 140 • Princeton, New Jersey 08542 • 609-921-6200

Watson S. Sims
General Executive

June 28, 1993

Fax 202 456 6420

Susan Stroud
Office of National Service
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Stroud:

Capsuling Gallup Poll on National Service (Unless noted, the survey was conducted among adults age 18+)

December 1971: "Would you favor or oppose requiring all young men to give one year of service to the nation -- either in the military forces or in non-military work such as VISTA or the Peace Corps?"

Outcome: Favor 68%	Oppose 25%	No Opinion 7%
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October 1973: Same question as December 1971.

Outcome: Favor 64%	Oppose 29%	No opinion 7%
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Outcome: Good idea 85%	Poor idea 10%	No opinion 5%
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Outcome: Favor 71% Oppose 24% No opinion 5%

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Outcome: Favor 54% Oppose 40% No opinion 6%

In September, 1992, The Gallup Youth Survey (Not the Gallup Poll) asked 1,000 teenagers age 13 through 17:

"Would you favor or oppose requiring all young men to give one year of service to the nation, either in the military services or in non-military work here or abroad, such as work in hospitals or with elderly people?"

Outcome: Favor 52% Oppose 47%

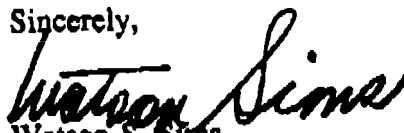
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That brings matters up to the series of focus groups conducted by our Institute in 1993. Reports on these projects were sent to Eli Segal over the weekend and should arrive no later than Tuesday, June 29.

We will be glad for your comment.

Sincerely,


Watson S. Sims
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TEEN-AGERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS NATIONAL SERVICE

A Report on Focus Group Discussion Sessions
and a Preliminary Survey Among Teen-Agers

Conducted by
The George H. Gallup International Institute

Funded in part by a grant from the
Robert R. McCormick Foundations

The George H. Gallup International Institute
47 Hulfish Street, P. O. Box 140
Princeton, New Jersey 08542

April 1993

BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

Background

This is a report on discussion sessions among three groups of teen-agers, supported by a survey among 125 teens. This work developed in part from the interests of a number of individuals and groups.

As part of the Cantigny Conference Series, the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation planned the April 1993 Conference to center on Voluntary National Service.

At the same time, The George H. Gallup International Institute, a non-profit research and education organization had been exploring the concept of national service and voluntarism among adults and among young people through national surveys over the past few years, and was preparing to launch a major national research program to explore the concept in depth.

These interests merged. Early in 1993, the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation invited the Institute chairman, George H. Gallup, Jr. to join others at the April Conference to share his insights about national service. Mr. Gallup, in turn, requested that the Foundation support quick turnaround research, not only so that Conference participants could have the benefit of the most recent thinking of young people but to help the Institute prepare for full-scale national surveys.

This is a report on that quick turnaround research.

Objectives and Scope

Numerous nationwide Gallup surveys have shown considerable support among young people for the concept of national service. But it now becomes necessary to dig deeply into the "why" behind these statistics and to explore the reasons young people give for favoring or opposing such a program and their participation in it. The findings are not only important information to bring to the April Conference but would provide a more realistic basis for debate and discussion than might otherwise be possible.

The research program includes two segments: the first, funded by the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundations, is comprised of three focus groups conducted in March 1993 -- one with non-whites; one with young people from blue-collar homes; and one with upscale youth. The first two were held among young people in the Greater Philadelphia area. The third was held among suburban teen-agers in Montgomery County New Jersey.

The second, donated by the George H. Gallup International Institute is a survey conducted in March 1993 among 125 young people to capture their current understanding of and attitudes towards national service.

The research focused on six themes:

1. Awareness of the national service concept and the current debate
2. General reactions to the concept - perceived benefits and drawbacks
3. Reaction to alternatives: kinds of programs, location of service, length of service, when to serve.
4. Voluntary versus mandatory service
5. Stipends, tuition and other incentives
6. Interest in serving

Methodology

The groups of young people participating in the discussion sessions were all high school seniors. The eleven participants in the first group were African American. All were from Philadelphia and were a mix of public and parochial school male and female students. Their parents were a mix of middle class, blue collar and service occupations (teacher, programmer, telephone operator, factory worker, unemployed, truck driver, homemaker, auto mechanic, clerical worker, ship fitter, housekeeper)

The second group, also from the Greater Philadelphia area were a mix of public and parochial school male and female students, but all ten were white and all of their parents had blue collar occupations (gas worker, fireman, boilermaker, bus driver, mailman, maintenance man, electrician, warehouseman, carpenter, cafeteria worker.)

The third group was from an upscale New Jersey suburb, Montgomery. All were white and college-bound.

Each participant received an incentive of \$35 in cash.

Copies of the verbatim transcriptions of the group discussions are available in a separate volume.

The telephone survey of 125 teenagers was conducted in March as part of the Institute's ongoing Gallup Youth Survey, which interviews nationally representative samples of young people between the ages of 12 and 17.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FINDINGS

Awareness of and Overall Reactions to the Concept

1. Only the suburban young people had heard of the national service concept or were aware of the current debate. (The group sessions were held on the day President Clinton announced the program on the Rutgers campus and on the day following the announcement.)

This is consistent with the March survey of 125 teen-agers, where only 24% said they had heard or read about Bill Clinton's proposals for national service programs for young people.

2. The upscale group more readily grasped the potential of national service. Most had heard of the Clinton plan but nevertheless raised many of the same question as did the urban groups.
3. There are sharp differences in response among the three groups, although there are certain commonalities. This suggests the need to tailor approaches to specific audiences.
4. The presentation of the concept needs to be in terms of one's own experience and perspective, understandably limited in view of their young age. Survey respondents (particularly the inner city groups) give responses out of the perspective of the gritty substance of their everyday lives.
5. These young people do not seem particularly adventurous in spirit when asked about national service, yet they do have dreams. This could be a basis for building enthusiasm for a program. For example, many hope to have prestigious occupations. Yet when asked how they wished to be remembered, many of their answers reflect their hope to be remembered as persons who were caring and compassionate and helped other people.
6. National service, particularly with the inner city groups, is not an "easy sell." Young people need to feel they have ownership. The view was expressed, however, that the concept could begin to take off if schools and fellow students discussed the concept and if, eventually, an ad campaign were developed.
7. It would appear, however, that selling the concept of national service will have to be slowly and carefully done with different appeals to different groups. There will have to be a great deal of testing of the waters.

In the March survey, 25% say they think it is a good idea, 61% say it is a good idea but they need to know more about it, 11% say it may be OK but not for them, and only 3% say they do not like it at all or do not understand it.

Perceived Benefits and Drawbacks

8. At the same time, there is a solid basis for building enthusiasm for national service because of what would appear to be an ingrained spirit of volunteerism: some experience of the rewards from being involved in volunteer activities; a keen awareness of pressing problems (all three groups expressed more of an interest in serving in their local communities than in serving elsewhere); and the desire to be known as compassionate and caring people.
9. The idea of giving something back to society, of sacrifice for the common good, etc. does not resonate with some youth among the inner-city groups, who feel that society owes them. In these cases, a pleas for help with immediate societal needs would go over better than a general need to serve the nation.
10. A number of positive attributes were cited by these possible recruits for national service: reorientation of career choices; the experience would be a good reference for getting a job; would help build self-esteem; reduce unemployment; would give more people an opportunity to get an education; would build maturity and character.
11. The inner city African American group members also cite as additional positive results from a national service program the stimulation of the economy by giving people training; providing an opportunity to go abroad; and, for younger students such as middle schoolers the incentive to stay in school to be eligible to participate upon graduation.
12. At the same time, the urban minority and blue collar groups seem less inclined than do the upscale group to see national service as an exciting opportunity or to see it as having broad societal benefits.
13. With all groups, a non-military service option appears to be more appealing than a military option.

Reactions to Alternatives

14. There is a great deal of confusion over how the plan would work, reflecting, of course, the fact that the specifics of Clinton's plan are not very clear at this point. Many questions were asked by these young people: How would the government pay for the program? Who would be eligible? When would one serve? Where? For how long? At what age? Would such a program put other people out of work? How much would one earn?
15. In each of the three teen-age groups,, most of the young people had difficulty connecting with the concept of national service; however, they responded positively to concrete suggestions about ways in which they might contribute -- e.g. tutoring, environmental work, etc. Their idealism was tapped by specifics more than by the overall idea of contributing to their country.

16. Once they realized through talking about specific types of service what they might be doing, they had a clear preference for working in their own communities, not working in some abstract location. This might have been to "give back to their communities" as one or two young people said, but it might also have been that at this age, 17 or 18, young people think more in concrete than in abstract terms. They can imagine themselves cleaning up their communities but not some abstract environmentally polluted location.
17. None of these young people was much interested in the program as a way of bringing together young people from all walks of life. They were not ready to leave home yet.
18. Youth, however, do not have much trouble naming fields in which they feel they can help. Many name helping children (coaching, teaching them to read and the like).
19. Virtually no one has difficulty naming a problem that could be served by a program of national service.

In the March survey, the program that received the highest proportion of "very interested" ratings was "keeping kids out of gangs or off drugs."

The program with the next highest proportion of that rating was "working in the schools to teach young children reading or math."

"Doing environmental work, controlling pollution and recycling waste" was cited as "very interested" by 41%.

Only 30% were very interested in working in medical clinics to give small children the shots they need, and only 26% in helping police forces on the beat.

20. The wide range of responses to the question of the best times to serve suggests the need for several options for recruits. Some think summers would be best, when some youth are idle. Others like the idea of weekends, while they are attending school. Still others like to spend a couple of hours a day. Some would like to serve between high school and college or during college, so they might be re-focused in their majors or in their life goals. Others prefer college first so as to have the proper training for participating in the national service program.

Voluntary versus mandatory service

21. Most do not like the idea of the program being mandatory, even when presented with the idea that this might be the only way to enlist youth who would be helped most by the program. Some young people noted, however, that once one is involved in a mandatory program, it can become a rewarding experience (as apparently has been the experience

of youth enrolled in mandatory youth service program in some of the parochial schools.) The prevailing opinion, however, was that one should have free choice, and that participants would resent serving if required to do so, and therefore would not perform well.

22. One young man also noted that he felt that as a volunteer he would more likely be given the program of his choice, while serving in a mandatory program he would be viewed more as a faceless cog.

Stipends, tuition and other incentives

23. The idea of national service providing the funds needed to get through college has varying appeal. The college-bound among these young people were quick to point out that the plan could not possibly cover even most of a four-year tuition; it might only cover a part of one year, and then what?

In the March survey, teen-agers rejected the suggestion that government-backed student loans for college should be given only to those who have done national service, with 65% saying they disagreed.

24. The idea of financing continuing education rather than college per se was appealing to the inner city minority and the urban blue collar youth who are more likely to be thinking of financing a trade school or community college program that costs a few thousand and prepares them for jobs. Interestingly, the idea that the program might provide an incentive for younger students to stay in school came not from the college bound group from one of the minority students who was not college bound.

A majority (61%) of the 125 young people surveyed in March said that they very much or somewhat agreed that people should receive more pay or credit for military than for non-military service. This is down from the 71% of teen-agers who felt that way in 1989.

6. Interest in serving

When asked how much they would like to be among those chosen to participate in the first year of national service, the responses of the 125 teen-agers surveyed in March was quite positive:

Very much	39%
Somewhat	36
Not too much	17
Not at all	8

Karw
Goes into the Peter
Huet File.
E.L.

June 10, 1993

MEMORANDUM

TO: Stan Greenberg, Mandy Grunwald, Rahm Emanuel, ✓ Eli Segal

FR: Carter Wilkie

RE: Americans in their 20s as potential defectors

Last night, Neil Howe and Bill Strauss, the authors of 13th Generation, gave a good warning about why Americans in their 20s are more likely to align themselves with Perot than with President Clinton in the future:

- 1) They blame "boomer" self-indulgence for leaving them a mess to clean up (both fiscal and social), and they resent the boomers' alleged "idealism" when measured against this record.
- 2) They want to clean up this mess, but they have low expectations of government; they are more likely than boomers to seek change through individual effort or community-based solutions.
- 3) They are no-nonsense, action oriented; they want results, not rhetoric.
- 4) They are skeptical of grand efforts and sweeping promises that could fail to meet expectations; they prefer action that produces real results and inspires confidence, one small step at a time.
- 5) They will look for a tough, no-nonsense, disciplined leader who takes our nation's problems seriously, who speaks about them candidly and addresses them realistically. Eisenhower, not Reagan, would be closest to their ideal.

The authors said this group would be the largest bloc of voters by 1998, eclipsing the importance of all other age groups combined. If you want a transcript of the discussion, the authors were on "McLaughlin," CNBC, Wednesday June 9, at 9pm.

file:13gen.cw

MEMORANDUM

28 June 1993

To: EJS
From: Susan *Amman*
Re: Gallup and Yankelovich

Keren
Goes in to my
Hart/Polls/focus
group file.

EQ

This morning I called both Watson Sims at the Gallup poll and left a message for Dan Yankelovich to call me back in an attempt to get information about the polling data on national service that both organizations have tracked since the 60s.

In my conversation with Watson Sims I discovered that he has recently conducted some focus groups on national service for the Kellogg Foundation. He is sending information about those focus groups to you. We also have the summary of the poll he did earlier in the year for the McCormick Tribune Foundation. I asked him for a summary of the polling information since Gallup began keeping track. He said he would try to pull something together and send it. He is clearly very interested in the issue and would like to do more.

When Dan Yankelovich gets back to me, I'll see if it's possible for him to come into New York to meet.

With both of these organizations having long term interests in the issue, perhaps we should make an arrangement with one or both of them rather than begging Stan Greenberg for time and attention.

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April 1993

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Watson S. Sims
General Executive

June 28, 1993

Fax 202 456 6420

Susan Stroud
Office of National Service
Washington, D.C.

Dear Ms. Stroud:

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December 1971: "Would you favor or oppose requiring all young men to give one year of service to the nation -- either in the military forces or in non-military work such as VISTA or the Peace Corps?"

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Outcome:	Good idea 85%	Poor idea 10%	No opinion 5%
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"Would you favor or oppose such a program for young women?"

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That brings matters up to the series of focus groups conducted by our Institute in 1993. Reports on these projects were sent to Eli Segal over the weekend and should arrive no later than Tuesday, June 29.

We will be glad for your comment.

Sincerely,


Watson S. Sims
General Executive

Kenn

I'd like this C +
what I gave
Rick from SLW
Greenberg / Joe Goode
+ something I'll give you
from Peter Hunt into 1
Folder marked "Polling
Focus Groups" _____

National Service Focus Group Outline

I. Overview

A. Their lives

1. What are the most important activities in your life outside of work? What gives you particular pleasure?
2. Are you involved in any activities such as community activities, church work, youth teams, volunteer activities?
 - a. How much time do you spend?
 - b. Why do you do them?
 - c. How satisfying are they?
 - d. If there were no activities like this, what would you do instead?
 - e. What do you get from this activity--in what way do you benefit from this activity?

B. The Clinton Administration

1. What words would you use to describe the way things are going in America?
 - a. Why do you feel that way?
 - b. What makes you feel most upbeat about the country?
 - c. What is it that most concerns you?
2. What words would you use to describe each of the following individuals:
 - a. Bill Clinton
 - b. Al Gore
 - c. Hillary Clinton
 - d. Bob Dole
3. What are your impressions of the Clinton Administration--how is it doing?
4. What do you most admire about Bill Clinton as president? What stands out most in your mind or makes this presidency different from others?
5. What are your criticisms of the Administration? What are your major concerns? Are you concerned that Clinton may not live up to your expectations?

II. Today's Youth

A. Thinking about today's youth, (say, young people age 16 to 23 or so), how would you describe this generation? What words or phrases would you use to define them?

1. What qualities do you notice most about this generation?
2. How do they differ from their older brothers and sisters, and how are they different from those who were in college in the '80s?
3. What do you feel is the hardest thing about being young today? What pressures or problems do young people have today that other generations did not face?

B. Youth today compared to other generations

1. If you could take one quality from your generation and give it to today's younger people, because it seems to be missing in them, what quality would it be?
2. In what regards do we need to help young people in growing up, developing good values, and becoming responsible adults?
3. Compared to other generations, do you feel that this is a generation that takes risks or tries to avoid risks?

III. Government

A. Government successes

1. Name two or three new initiatives or things that government has undertaken that you feel are a success--Space Program, Head Start, Peace Corps, Pell Grants, etc.
 - a. Why was it a success?
2. Thinking about government initiatives that have worked in the past, why did they work? What made them successful? How did they differ from the programs that did not work?

3. Give me an example of a government initiative that did not work or was not successful.
 - a. Why did it not work? What made it unsuccessful?
4. If you were to draw up a set of lessons for any new government initiative, what rules would you suggest, and what pitfalls would you warn them about?

IV. National Service Corps

A. Knowledge of national service proposal

1. Leaving aside health care, the economy, or gays in the military, do you know of any new initiatives or proposals that the Clinton Administration has made either during the campaign or since Bill Clinton took office?
2. What have you heard about? What do you know about these proposals?
3. What is this proposal trying to accomplish?

B. Defining national service

1. President Clinton has announced that he will be developing a new approach called "national service." When you hear of this, what do you *feel* should be the purpose of national service ? What should it try to accomplish?
2. What do you think national service will be designed to do?
 - a. **RATING SHEET #1: WRITE DOWN** two things that you would expect that might be included in the President's national service plan.
3. What kinds of ideas and things do you think it will promote?

4. In what ways do you think it might be like other programs? And how would it be different from ideas and programs that other presidents have proposed?
 - a. What do you remember about programs like ACTION or VISTA? How would President Clinton's national service program be different?
5. Who do you think this program should be aimed at? Who would you target this at? What stipulations or requirements would you have?
6. Should it be designed for all youth or just minority and disadvantaged youth?

C. Reactions to national service idea

1. **HAND RESPONDENT DESCRIPTION OF PLAN.**
2. **GET RATINGS ON THE FOLLOWING THINGS (RATING SHEET #2):**
 - a. Overall reactions--1 to 10.
 - b. What are the things that stood out as positives?
 - c. What are the things that you were skeptical about?
3. If you could ask President Clinton anything about this program, what would you ask him?
4. Who do you think would sign up for such a program?
5. Is this something that should be done with public or private funds?
6. Should the objective be to provide full-time employment in public service jobs or should the objective be aimed at improving public-spirited volunteering among youth?

V. Elements of National Service

A. Elements of the program

1. Let me read you four elements of the program. For each one, please tell me how much it appeals to you on a ten-point scale:
 - a. Fight national problems like illiteracy, shortages in neighborhood health clinics, and environmental recycling plants.
 - b. Inspire all Americans to greater responsibility, patriotism, and community.
 - c. Allow young people to pay for college.
 - d. Give young people jobs helping their community.
2. **GET REACTIONS TO EACH ELEMENT:**
 - a. What do you like about this idea? In what way does it make sense to include this?
 - b. What are the shortcomings of this idea? What don't you like about this?
3. What would you change or revise about this program? What is it that impresses you or that turns you away from this idea?
4. Let us suppose that a young person came to you and asked if he or she should sign up for this program--what would you recommend to them? What advice would you have?
5. Should young people only earn minimum wage? Would it still be "service" for the community if they earned more than that? *Should* they earn more?
6. How much money should the volunteers get each year to pay back their college loans? (\$5,000? \$10,000?)
7. Should everyone who wants to serve be able to participate in national service, or is there a limit in your mind on what the total cost for this program should be?

8. What kinds of problems would you have the volunteers work on? Where should they turn their attention?
9. Should this program be geared most toward young people before, during, or after college?
10. How will our country be better if this idea is passed by the Congress? What real difference will it make?
11. Three years from now, how will you be able to determine whether this is a success? What will your criteria be?

B. Resolving the issues

1. Reactions to some criticisms of national service
 - a. Service shouldn't be tied only to college loan repayment or tuition vouchers; there are other benefits or rewards volunteers might prefer, such as credit toward purchase of a first home, vocational or technical training, etc.
 - b. This program could end up functioning simply as a way for low-income or disadvantaged youth to finance a college education, and young people who can afford college would not enter the program.
 - c. The entry of low-paid volunteers into service positions could displace current, higher-paid workers from their jobs.
 - d. A national service program run by the federal government would only create more bureaucracy and red tape, at a time when we need to be moving away from big government.
 - e. As it's described, national service really isn't a program for getting people involved in the community as "volunteers;" it's more like a different form of financial aid for disadvantaged youth.
 - f. There are already enough service projects being done by private nonprofit organizations and by local and state governments in many places in the country, and it isn't necessary to create another one at the federal level.
2. Let us suppose that President Clinton were in the room. What advice would you give him after hearing all of this discussion about national service?
3. Are there any questions you would like Bill Clinton to answer?

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1993

MEMORANDUM FOR STAN GREENBERG

FROM: Eli Segal

SUBJECT: National Service polling questions

I've made a list of the issues on which we are stumbling right now. I'll leave it to you to find ways to frame questions that get at them, though members of my staff are ready to help in any way. Needless to say, we can use data as soon as possible -- and well before our April 29 target for introducing legislation.

1. What message resonates most with people? We're debating whether to link the service legislation to the reform of the student loan system, which would allow everyone to get an income-contingent loan, and shift from guaranteed to direct student loans. We'll make our decision based on what really excites people about "national service" -- is it the college-for-service, the service alone, the education alone, or the community and patriotism? Possible messages:

A. Opportunity and responsibility. Giving something back to Americans who give something to their country. "A Civilian GI Bill." (Can we go anywhere with a military analogy -- "civilian service" as parallel to military service?)

B. Tapping the idealism of youth to fight America's problems. "The Domestic Peace Corps."

C. Fighting the problems of the country -- like illiteracy, disease, pollution and drug addiction. (Do people believe that "national service" can make a difference with such problems?)

D. Helping young people pay for college. (Opportunity without responsibility.)

E. Bringing Americans together -- creating a sense of patriotism and community by uniting to serve our country. Not just a program here, but an ethic of citizenship and service. Can a government program promote these?

F. Giving young people new experiences, meeting different people from all different backgrounds and learning about our country in all its diversity. A way of bridging racial and class differences through common work.

2. What are the images of service that people like -- and don't like -- both among our categories of service and within them? What are people more afraid of -- "make-work" or displacement? What images avoid both?

A. "Fighting crime" versus "protecting public safety"
- police officers
- "community service officers" -- doing work that needs to be done but isn't dangerous, like working with victims or organizing community patrols
- counseling kids to stay off drugs

B. "Education"
- teachers
- tutors and mentors, working with kids in trouble
- "teacher's aides"
- keeping schools open late so kids stay off the streets

C. "Human needs"
- Head Start assistant teachers
- helping immunize kids
- visiting older people who are living at home
- lead paint abatement, testing for radon, etc.

D. "Environmental cleanup"
- national parks protection (is the old CCC image of kids with shovels positive or negative?)
- recycling programs

3. Do middle-class white people imagine all this work being done in their neighborhoods, or among minority poor people? Should this program be pitched as an innovative, "people first" way of getting at America's most desperate problems -- or is it a way to keep middle class neighborhoods a little bit safer and kids a little smarter?

4. The national service program will enable 100,000 Americans to do national service for one year, at minimum wage, and to receive a significant amount of money to pay for college in return. What do folks see as the most significant dangers in a program like this?

A. The work won't be real.
B. The work will displace other workers.
C. Participants will rip off the government.
D. National service will be another big government bureaucracy.
E. Lots of people will want to participate but won't be able to; that's not fair. (Or: he's breaking his promise.)

F. Lots of people already work for a minimum wage without getting money for college; this program isn't fair to them and "pays people twice."

G. 100,000 people is a tiny number that won't do any good.

(Again, the sub-text issue is whether to link the 100,000 participant program to income-contingent loan repayment, which will be available to many more Americans.)

4. Income-contingent loan repayment. This will enable young people to pay their student loans back as a small percentage of their income over time, instead of having to pay it back quickly on graduation, regardless of income.

A. Is it a good idea?

B. Will people be less likely to default?

C. Will it encourage people to take lower paying but more important jobs, like teaching, because they'll be better able to pay off their loans?

5. Payment levels. The program will probably give young people \$5,000 after they've completed one year of service to pay for college. Is that:

A. Not really "service" anymore. (Too much.)

B. Not enough to pay for college. (Too little.) A broken promise with regard to the campaign.

Same questions with regard to wages. Is the minimum wage fair for a year of service? Too much or too little? Does "the poverty level" sound higher or lower, and fairer or less fair?

6. Names.

A. Money after service -- "scholarship" or "post-service benefit"?

B. Those who participate: "volunteers" or participants in "jobs"?

C. "Corporation for National Service" or "AmeriCorps"

7. Some may say that we shouldn't spend this money on service but put more money into grants instead. If asked whether that's a good idea, what defenses of service would appeal to people most?

A. Because it can make a difference fighting the country's problems; grants can't.

B. Because it will give our country a new spirit of community, citizenship and service; grants don't.

C. Because it gives something to those who give back -- which is a better ethic than the "something for nothing" of grants.

8. The national service program aims to reinvent government by catering to the needs of communities, not bureaucracies. Are

people excited by the idea of having more money at their disposal to meet community needs -- or does it sound like pork?

9. Is it important to recognize everyone who does service -- even those who aren't in the program? Do you like the idea of giving everyone who serves a certificate signed by the President -- or do you think it's a silly waste of money?

- What if we called the program to recognize everyone "AmeriCan," and the program for young people "AmeriCorps"?



EJ1-
have you seen This?
Susan

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TO: NATIONAL SERVICE CONFEREES AND OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES

FROM: RICHARD E. FRIEDMAN

DATE: 4 MAY 1993

On April 21-23, the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation convened a conference on voluntary national service at its Cantigny Conference Center outside Chicago. This major conference brought together nationally recognized experts from government, academia, and the business and philanthropic communities who discussed President Clinton's national service proposal and put forward ideas of their own.

Also at the meeting, George Gallup, Jr. announced preliminary findings from his survey of teenagers' attitudes toward national service, jointly funded by the George H. Gallup International Institute and the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation.

In addition to Gallup, participants included Peter Edelman, Counsellor to the Secretary of Health and Human Services and Adviser to the White House Office of National Service; Al From, President of the Democratic Leadership Council and Director of Domestic Policy Planning for the Clinton transition team; Representatives Dave McCurdy (D-Oklahoma) and Christopher Shays (R-Connecticut); Charles Moskos, of Northwestern University; Donald Eberly, Executive Director of the National Service Secretariat; and Paul McCloskey, Jr., of the U.S. Commission on National and Community Service.

A summary of suggestions made by conferees follows, along with highlights of the Gallup survey announced at the conference.

Thoughts on National Service:

1. Although results of the Gallup survey show a large majority of teenagers are interested in national service, there is still a great deal of uncertainty about the objectives and scope of Clinton's plan. If national service is to succeed, the American public's legitimate concerns about what it can be expected to accomplish for individuals and the nation must be addressed. An educational and marketing campaign is essential.

2. Bipartisan support is critical if national service legislation is to be passed and implemented successfully. The President should also reach out to the business and philanthropic communities, perhaps convening a White House conference.

focus groups needed

✓

✓ 3. "Real work in the real world" should be the hallmark of national service. Meaningful work rewards the volunteer with intangibles such as increased self-esteem, new skills, and personal satisfaction at the same time that it benefits the community in which the service is performed. Projects should be outcome-based and subject to rigorous evaluation.

✓ 4. Rather than creating a national service agency, the federal government could set up a government corporation (similar to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting) to allocate funds to service projects as well as to existing federal programs such as VISTA. This corporation could act as a facilitator and clearinghouse for connecting projects and volunteers. Partnerships among federal, state, and local programs should be encouraged and supported.

✓ 5. Part of the corporation's charter should be to encourage experimentation and to learn from failures as well as successes. The corporation would establish standards for service programs receiving federal funds and mandate data collection for use in program evaluation.

✓ 6. A wealth of knowledge and experience already exists within federal, state, and local service programs. One of the highest priorities of the new corporation should be to expand and upgrade the information networks along which this knowledge and expertise can be disseminated.

✓ 7. Full-time national service opportunities should be made available to young people before they attend college or enter vocational training. The service experience can shape young people's aspirations--broadening horizons, clarifying choices. There is no consensus on an optimal age for engaging in national service. However, though national service opportunities should be extended to all adults, young people are more likely to participate in and benefit from national service.

✓ 8. Inclusivity is essential; service programs should not be targeted to narrow constituencies. However, there is no set answer as to whether national service participants will remain in their own communities or be encouraged to serve outside in order to be exposed to people from diverse backgrounds.

✓ 9. Civilian and military service should not be merged under national service, though downsizing of the military may offer opportunities for former servicepersons to assist with a civilian service corps. Unneeded Department of Defense supplies and, possibly, bases could also be turned to civilian uses.

✓ 10. National registration for both men and women, similar to that now required of young men, could be instituted as a contact point for young people to learn about national service opportunities. In this approach, though registration would be mandatory, service would not. In spite of this, a number of conferees felt a mandatory registry might be contrary to the voluntary spirit of national service. All agreed that no national registry, optional or mandatory, should be established until the pool of service opportunities is expanded considerably.

TEEN-AGERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS NATIONAL SERVICE

A Report on Focus Group Discussion Sessions
and a Preliminary Survey Among Teen-Agers

Conducted by
The George H. Gallup International Institute

Funded in part by a grant from the
Robert R. McCormick Foundations

The George H. Gallup International Institute
47 Hulfish Street, P. O. Box 140
Princeton, New Jersey 08542

April 1993

BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

Background

This is a report on discussion sessions among three groups of teen-agers, supported by a survey among 125 teens. This work developed in part from the interests of a number of individuals and groups.

As part of the Cantigny Conference Series, the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation planned the April 1993 Conference to center on Voluntary National Service.

At the same time, The George H. Gallup International Institute, a non-profit research and education organization had been exploring the concept of national service and voluntarism among adults and among young people through national surveys over the past few years, and was preparing to launch a major national research program to explore the concept in depth.

These interests merged. Early in 1993, the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation invited the Institute chairman, George H. Gallup, Jr. to join others at the April Conference to share his insights about national service. Mr. Gallup, in turn, requested that the Foundation support quick turnaround research, not only so that Conference participants could have the benefit of the most recent thinking of young people but to help the Institute prepare for full-scale national surveys.

This is a report on that quick turnaround research.

Objectives and Scope

Numerous nationwide Gallup surveys have shown considerable support among young people for the concept of national service. But it now becomes necessary to dig deeply into the "why" behind these statistics and to explore the reasons young people give for favoring or opposing such a program and their participation in it. The findings are not only important information to bring to the April Conference but would provide a more realistic basis for debate and discussion than might otherwise be possible.

The research program includes two segments: the first, funded by the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundations, is comprised of three focus groups conducted in March 1993 -- one with non-whites; one with young people from blue-collar homes; and one with upscale youth. The first two were held among young people in the Greater Philadelphia area. The third was held among suburban teen-agers in Montgomery County New Jersey.

The second, donated by the George H. Gallup International Institute is a survey conducted in March 1993 among 125 young people to capture their current understanding of and attitudes towards national service.

The research focused on six themes:

1. Awareness of the national service concept and the current debate
2. General reactions to the concept - perceived benefits and drawbacks
3. Reaction to alternatives: kinds of programs, location of service, length of service, when to serve.
4. Voluntary versus mandatory service
5. Stipends, tuition and other incentives
6. Interest in serving

Methodology

The groups of young people participating in the discussion sessions were all high school seniors. The eleven participants in the first group were African American. All were from Philadelphia and were a mix of public and parochial school male and female students. Their parents were a mix of middle class, blue collar and service occupations (teacher, programmer, telephone operator, factory worker, unemployed, truck driver, homemaker, auto mechanic, clerical worker, ship fitter, housekeeper)

The second group, also from the Greater Philadelphia area were a mix of public and parochial school male and female students, but all ten were white and all of their parents had blue collar occupations (gas worker, fireman, boilermaker, bus driver, mailman, maintenance man, electrician, warehouseman, carpenter, cafeteria worker.)

The third group was from an upscale New Jersey suburb, Montgomery. All were white and college-bound.

Each participant received an incentive of \$35 in cash.

Copies of the verbatim transcriptions of the group discussions are available in a separate volume.

The telephone survey of 125 teenagers was conducted in March as part of the Institute's ongoing Gallup Youth Survey, which interviews nationally representative samples of young people between the ages of 12 and 17.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FINDINGS

Awareness of and Overall Reactions to the Concept

1. Only the suburban young people had heard of the national service concept or were aware of the current debate. (The group sessions were held on the day President Clinton announced the program on the Rutgers campus and on the day following the announcement.)

This is consistent with the March survey of 125 teen-agers, where only 24% said they had heard or read about Bill Clinton's proposals for national service programs for young people.

2. The upscale group more readily grasped the potential of national service. Most had heard of the Clinton plan but nevertheless raised many of the same question as did the urban groups.
3. There are sharp differences in response among the three groups, although there are certain commonalities. This suggests the need to tailor approaches to specific audiences.
4. The presentation of the concept needs to be in terms of one's own experience and perspective, understandably limited in view of their young age. Survey respondents (particularly the inner city groups) give responses out of the perspective of the gritty substance of their everyday lives.
5. These young people do not seem particularly adventurous in spirit when asked about national service, yet they do have dreams. This could be a basis for building enthusiasm for a program. For example, many hope to have prestigious occupations. Yet when asked how they wished to be remembered, many of their answers reflect their hope to be remembered as persons who were caring and compassionate and helped other people.
6. National service, particularly with the inner city groups, is not an "easy sell." Young people need to feel they have ownership. The view was expressed, however, that the concept could begin to take off if schools and fellow students discussed the concept and if, eventually, an ad campaign were developed.
7. It would appear, however, that selling the concept of national service will have to be slowly and carefully done with different appeals to different groups. There will have to be a great deal of testing of the waters.

In the March survey, 25% say they think it is a good idea, 61% say it is a good idea but they need to know more about it, 11% say it may be OK but not for them, and only 3% say they do not like it at all or do not understand it.

Perceived Benefits and Drawbacks

8. At the same time, there is a solid basis for building enthusiasm for national service because of what would appear to be an ingrained spirit of volunteerism: some experience of the rewards from being involved in volunteer activities; a keen awareness of pressing problems (all three groups expressed more of an interest in serving in their local communities than in serving elsewhere); and the desire to be known as compassionate and caring people.
9. The idea of giving something back to society, of sacrifice for the common good, etc. does not resonate with some youth among the inner-city groups, who feel that society owes them. In these cases, a pleas for help with immediate societal needs would go over better than a general need to serve the nation.
10. A number of positive attributes were cited by these possible recruits for national service: reorientation of career choices; the experience would be a good reference for getting a job; would help build self-esteem; reduce unemployment; would give more people an opportunity to get an education; would build maturity and character.
11. The inner city African American group members also cite as additional positive results from a national service program the stimulation of the economy by giving people training; providing an opportunity to go abroad; and, for younger students such as middle schoolers the incentive to stay in school to be eligible to participate upon graduation.
12. At the same time, the urban minority and blue collar groups seem less inclined than do the upscale group to see national service as an exciting opportunity or to see it as having broad societal benefits.
13. With all groups, a non-military service option appears to be more appealing than a military option.

Reactions to Alternatives

14. There is a great deal of confusion over how the plan would work, reflecting, of course, the fact that the specifics of Clinton's plan are not very clear at this point. Many questions were asked by these young people: How would the government pay for the program? Who would be eligible? When would one serve? Where? For how long? At what age? Would such a program put other people out of work? How much would one earn?
15. In each of the three teen-age groups,, most of the young people had difficulty connecting with the concept of national service; however, they responded positively to concrete suggestions about ways in which they might contribute -- e.g. tutoring, environmental work, etc. Their idealism was tapped by specifics more than by the overall idea of contributing to their country.

16. Once they realized through talking about specific types of service what they might be doing, they had a clear preference for working in their own communities, not working in some abstract location. This might have been to "give back to their communities" as one or two young people said, but it might also have been that at this age, 17 or 18, young people think more in concrete than in abstract terms. They can imagine themselves cleaning up their communities but not some abstract environmentally polluted location.
17. None of these young people was much interested in the program as a way of bringing together young people from all walks of life. They were not ready to leave home yet.
18. Youth, however, do not have much trouble naming fields in which they feel they can be helpful. Many name helping children (coaching, teaching them to read and the like).
19. Virtually no one has difficulty naming a problem that could be served by a program of national service.

In the March survey, the program that received the highest proportion of "very interested" ratings was "keeping kids out of gangs or off drugs."

The program with the next highest proportion of that rating was "working in the schools to teach young children reading or math."

"Doing environmental work, controlling pollution and recycling waste" was cited as "very interested" by 41%.

Only 30% were very interested in working in medical clinics to give small children the shots they need, and only 26% in helping police forces on the beat.

20. The wide range of responses to the question of the best times to serve suggests the need for several options for recruits. Some think summers would be best, when some youth are idle. Others like the idea of weekends, while they are attending school. Still others like to spend a couple of hours a day. Some would like to serve between high school and college or during college, so they might be re-focused in their majors or in their life goals. Others prefer college first so as to have the proper training for participating in the national service program.

Voluntary versus mandatory service

21. Most do not like the idea of the program being mandatory, even when presented with the idea that this might be the only way to enlist youth who would be helped most by the program. Some young people noted, however, that once one is involved in a mandatory program, it can become a rewarding experience (as apparently has been the experience

of youth enrolled in mandatory youth service program in some of the parochial schools.) The prevailing opinion, however, was that one should have free choice, and that participants would resent serving if required to do so, and therefore would not perform well.

22. One young man also noted that he felt that as a volunteer he would more likely be given the program of his choice, while serving in a mandatory program he would be viewed more as a faceless cog.

Stipends, tuition and other incentives

23. The idea of national service providing the funds needed to get through college has varying appeal. The college-bound among these young people were quick to point out that the plan could not possibly cover even most of a four-year tuition; it might only cover a part of one year, and then what?

In the March survey, teen-agers rejected the suggestion that government-backed student loans for college should be given only to those who have done national service, with 65% saying they disagreed.

24. The idea of financing continuing education rather than college per se was appealing to the inner city minority and the urban blue collar youth who are more likely to be thinking of financing a trade school or community college program that costs a few thousand and prepares them for jobs. Interestingly, the idea that the program might provide an incentive for younger students to stay in school came not from the college bound group from one of the minority students who was not college bound.

A majority (61%) of the 125 young people surveyed in March said that they very much or somewhat agreed that people should receive more pay or credit for military than for non-military service. This is down from the 71% of teen-agers who felt that way in 1989.

6. Interest in serving

When asked how much they would like to be among those chosen to participate in the first year of national service, the responses of the 125 teen-agers surveyed in March was quite positive:

Very much	39%
Somewhat	36
Not too much	17
Not at all	8

Memorandum

To: Eli Segal, Rick Allen, Diana Aldridge, Robert Gordon
From: Kate Frucher and Ethan Zindler
Re: Gallup Poll on Youth Opinions on National Service
Date: May 12

Please take a look at the attached, particularly pages 3 - 5. For the most part, it reinforces assumptions we've had about young peoples' attitudes toward National Service since late January. Here are a few of the main points:

- * A very small percentage of young people have heard of national service. An even smaller percentage understand the proposal's main components. (While this poll is a bit outdated, we don't think that the numbers have risen too significantly since the young people were surveyed).
- * Different socio-economic groups of young people have different levels of understanding and interest in the program. If possible, it will be most effective to tailor messages to different audiences.
- * The idea of "serving your country" does not resonate well, particularly with inner-city youth. The idea that they can help solve immediate, concrete problems in their communities is much more appealing. (The all-important youth empowerment message).
- * National service has potential appeal to young peoples' self interest: it could give more people the opportunity to get a college education; it could be a good reference for getting a job or getting into college; it could mean cash a good job for a year or two.
- * Young people need to feel that they have ownership over the program. They have to believe that it emanates from them, from the grassroots up, rather than from the Washington establishment.

These findings highlight the need to launch a national campaign which gives tremendous visibility to the issue and to young peoples' role in passing the program and making it a success. We will write a report outlining how to do this over the next few days.

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April 1993

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Numerous nationwide Gallup surveys have shown considerable support among young people for the concept of national service. But it now becomes necessary to dig deeply into the "why" behind these statistics and to explore the reasons young people give for favoring or opposing such a program and their participation in it. The findings are not only important information to bring to the April Conference but would provide a more realistic basis for debate and discussion than might otherwise be possible.

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1. Awareness of the national service concept and the current debate
2. General reactions to the concept - perceived benefits and drawbacks
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5. Stipends, tuition and other incentives
6. Interest in serving

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The second group, also from the Greater Philadelphia area were a mix of public and parochial school male and female students, but all ten were white and all of their parents had blue collar occupations (gas worker, fireman, boilermaker, bus driver, mailman, maintenance man, electrician, warehouseman, carpenter, cafeteria worker.)

The third group was from an upscale New Jersey suburb, Montgomery. All were white and college-bound.

Each participant received an incentive of \$35 in cash.

Copies of the verbatim transcriptions of the group discussions are available in a separate volume.

The telephone survey of 125 teenagers was conducted in March as part of the Institute's ongoing Gallup Youth Survey, which interviews nationally representative samples of young people between the ages of 12 and 17.

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE FINDINGS

Awareness of and Overall Reactions to the Concept

1. Only the suburban young people had heard of the national service concept or were aware of the current debate. (The group sessions were held on the day President Clinton announced the program on the Rutgers campus and on the day following the announcement.)

X This is consistent with the March survey of 125 teen-agers, where only 24% said they had heard or read about Bill Clinton's proposals for national service programs for young people.

2. The upscale group more readily grasped the potential of national service. Most had heard of the Clinton plan but nevertheless raised many of the same question as did the urban groups.
3. There are sharp differences in response among the three groups, although there are certain commonalities. This suggests the need to tailor approaches to specific audiences.
4. The presentation of the concept needs to be in terms of one's own experience and perspective, understandably limited in view of their young age. Survey respondents (particularly the inner city groups) give responses out of the perspective of the gritty substance of their everyday lives.
5. These young people do not seem particularly adventurous in spirit when asked about national service, yet they do have dreams. This could be a basis for building enthusiasm for a program. For example, many hope to have prestigious occupations. Yet when asked how they wished to be remembered, many of their answers reflect their hope to be remembered as persons who were caring and compassionate and helped other people.
6. National service, particularly with the inner city groups, is not an "easy sell." Young people need to feel they have ownership. The view was expressed, however, that the concept could begin to take off if schools and fellow students discussed the concept and if, eventually, an ad campaign were developed.
7. It would appear, however, that selling the concept of national service will have to be slowly and carefully done with different appeals to different groups. There will have to be a great deal of testing of the waters.

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Perceived Benefits and Drawbacks

8. At the same time, there is a solid basis for building enthusiasm for national service because of what would appear to be an ingrained spirit of volunteerism: some experience of the rewards from being involved in volunteer activities; a keen awareness of pressing problems (all three groups expressed more of an interest in serving in their local communities than in serving elsewhere); and the desire to be known as compassionate and caring people.
9. ~~The idea of giving something back to society, of sacrifice for the common good, etc. does not resonate with some youth among the inner-city groups, who feel that society owes them. In these cases, a plea for help with immediate societal needs would go over better than a general need to serve the nation.~~
10. A number of positive attributes were cited by these possible recruits for national service: reorientation of career choices; the experience would be a good reference for getting a job; would help build self-esteem; reduce unemployment; would give more people an opportunity to get an education; would build maturity and character.
11. The inner city African American group members also cite as additional positive results from a national service program the stimulation of the economy by giving people training; providing an opportunity to go abroad; and, for younger students such as middle schoolers the incentive to stay in school to be eligible to participate upon graduation.
12. At the same time, the urban minority and blue collar groups seem less inclined than do the upscale group to see national service as an exciting opportunity or to see it as having broad societal benefits.
13. With all groups, a non-military service option appears to be more appealing than a military option.

Reactions to Alternatives

14. There is a great deal of confusion over how the plan would work, reflecting, of course, the fact that the specifics of Clinton's plan are not very clear at this point. Many questions were asked by these young people: How would the government pay for the program? Who would be eligible? When would one serve? Where? For how long? At what age? Would such a program put other people out of work? How much would one earn?
15. In each of the three teen-age groups, most of the young people had difficulty connecting with the concept of national service; however, they responded positively to concrete suggestions about ways in which they might contribute -- e.g. tutoring, environmental work, etc. Their idealism was tapped by specifics more than by the overall idea of contributing to their country.

16. Once they realized through talking about specific types of service what they might be doing, they had a clear preference for working in their own communities, not working in some abstract location. This might have been to "give back to their communities" as one or two young people said, but it might also have been that at this age, 17 or 18, young people think more in concrete than in abstract terms. They can imagine themselves cleaning up their communities but not some abstract environmentally polluted location.
17. None of these young people was much interested in the program as a way of bringing together young people from all walks of life. They were not ready to leave home yet.
18. Youth, however, do not have much trouble naming fields in which they feel they can be helpful. Many name helping children (coaching, teaching them to read and the like).
(Many change to Summer type)
19. Virtually no one has difficulty naming a problem that could be served by a program of national service.

In the March survey, the program that received the highest proportion of "very interested" ratings was "keeping kids out of gangs or off drugs."

The program with the next highest proportion of that rating was "working in the schools to teach young children reading or math."

"Doing environmental work, controlling pollution and recycling waste" was cited as "very interested" by 41%.

Only 30% were very interested in working in medical clinics to give small children the shots they need, and only 26% in helping police forces on the beat.

20. The wide range of responses to the question of the best times to serve suggests the need for several options for recruits. Some think summers would be best, when some youth are idle. Others like the idea of weekends, while they are attending school. Still others like to spend a couple of hours a day. Some would like to serve between high school and college or during college, so they might be re-focused in their majors or in their life goals. Others prefer college first so as to have the proper training for participating in the national service program.

Voluntary versus mandatory service

21. Most do not like the idea of the program being mandatory, even when presented with the idea that this might be the only way to enlist youth who would be helped most by the program. Some young people noted, however, that once one is involved in a mandatory program, it can become a rewarding experience (as apparently has been the experience



111 WEST JACKSON BOULEVARD • 20TH FLOOR • CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60604 • (312) 431-5027 • FAX: (312) 431-5028

Eli -
Fyi
interesting Gallup
poll info - need
for marketing &
focus groups.
Sum

TO: NATIONAL SERVICE CONFEREES AND OTHER INTERESTED
PARTIES

FROM: RICHARD E. FRIEDMAN

DATE: 4 MAY 1993

On April 21-23, the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation convened a conference on voluntary national service at its Cantigny Conference Center outside Chicago. This major conference brought together nationally recognized experts from government, academia, and the business and philanthropic communities who discussed President Clinton's national service proposal and put forward ideas of their own.

Also at the meeting, George Gallup, Jr. announced preliminary findings from his survey of teenagers' attitudes toward national service, jointly funded by the George H. Gallup International Institute and the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation.

In addition to Gallup, participants included Peter Edelman, Counsellor to the Secretary of Health and Human Services and Adviser to the White House Office of National Service; Al From, President of the Democratic Leadership Council and Director of Domestic Policy Planning for the Clinton transition team; Representatives Dave McCurdy (D-Oklahoma) and Christopher Shays (R-Connecticut); Charles Moskos, of Northwestern University; Donald Eberly, Executive Director of the National Service Secretariat; and Paul McCloskey, Jr., of the U.S. Commission on National and Community Service.

A summary of suggestions made by conferees follows, along with highlights of the Gallup survey announced at the conference.

Thoughts on National Service:

1. Although results of the Gallup survey show a large majority of teenagers are interested in national service, there is still a great deal of uncertainty about the objectives and scope of Clinton's plan. If national service is to succeed, the American public's legitimate concerns about what it can be expected to accomplish for individuals and the nation must be addressed. An educational and marketing campaign is essential.

2. Bipartisan support is critical if national service legislation is to be passed and implemented successfully. The President should also reach out to the business and philanthropic communities, perhaps convening a White House conference.

✓ 3. "Real work in the real world" should be the hallmark of national service. Meaningful work rewards the volunteer with intangibles such as increased self-esteem, new skills, and personal satisfaction at the same time that it benefits the community in which the service is performed. Projects should be outcome-based and subject to rigorous evaluation.

✓ 4. Rather than creating a national service agency, the federal government could set up a government corporation (similar to the Corporation for Public Broadcasting) to allocate funds to service projects as well as to existing federal programs such as VISTA. This corporation could act as a facilitator and clearinghouse for connecting projects and volunteers. Partnerships among federal, state, and local programs should be encouraged and supported.

✓ 5. Part of the corporation's charter should be to encourage experimentation and to learn from failures as well as successes. The corporation would establish standards for service programs receiving federal funds and mandate data collection for use in program evaluation.

✓ 6. A wealth of knowledge and experience already exists within federal, state, and local service programs. One of the highest priorities of the new corporation should be to expand and upgrade the information networks along which this knowledge and expertise can be disseminated.

✓ 7. Full-time national service opportunities should be made available to young people before they attend college or enter vocational training. The service experience can shape young people's aspirations--broadening horizons, clarifying choices. There is no consensus on an optimal age for engaging in national service. However, though national service opportunities should be extended to all adults, young people are more likely to participate in and benefit from national service.

✓ 8. Inclusivity is essential; service programs should not be targeted to narrow constituencies. However, there is no set answer as to whether national service participants will remain in their own communities or be encouraged to serve outside in order to be exposed to people from diverse backgrounds.

✓ 9. Civilian and military service should not be merged under national service, though downsizing of the military may offer opportunities for former servicepersons to assist with a civilian service corps. Unneeded Department of Defense supplies and, possibly, bases could also be turned to civilian uses.

✓ 10. National registration for both men and women, similar to that now required of young men, could be instituted as a contact point for young people to learn about national service opportunities. In this approach, though registration would be mandatory, service would not. In spite of this, a number of conferees felt a mandatory registry might be contrary to the voluntary spirit of national service. All agreed that no national registry, optional or mandatory, should be established until the pool of service opportunities is expanded considerably.

TEEN-AGERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS NATIONAL SERVICE

A Report on Focus Group Discussion Sessions
and a Preliminary Survey Among Teen-Agers

Conducted by
The George H. Gallup International Institute

Funded in part by a grant from the
Robert R. McCormick Foundations

The George H. Gallup International Institute
47 Hulfish Street, P. O. Box 140
Princeton, New Jersey 08542

April 1993

BACKGROUND AND OBJECTIVES

Background

This is a report on discussion sessions among three groups of teen-agers, supported by a survey among 125 teens. This work developed in part from the interests of a number of individuals and groups.

As part of the Cantigny Conference Series, the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation planned the April 1993 Conference to center on Voluntary National Service.

At the same time, The George H. Gallup International Institute, a non-profit research and education organization had been exploring the concept of national service and voluntarism among adults and among young people through national surveys over the past few years, and was preparing to launch a major national research program to explore the concept in depth.

These interests merged. Early in 1993, the Robert R. McCormick Tribune Foundation invited the Institute chairman, George H. Gallup, Jr. to join others at the April Conference to share his insights about national service. Mr. Gallup, in turn, requested that the Foundation support quick turnaround research, not only so that Conference participants could have the benefit of the most recent thinking of young people but to help the Institute prepare for full-scale national surveys.

This is a report on that quick turnaround research.

Objectives and Scope

Numerous nationwide Gallup surveys have shown considerable support among young people for the concept of national service. But it now becomes necessary to dig deeply into the "why" behind these statistics and to explore the reasons young people give for favoring or opposing such a program and their participation in it. The findings are not only important information to bring to the April Conference but would provide a more realistic basis for debate and discussion than might otherwise be possible.

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Methodology

The groups of young people participating in the discussion sessions were all high school seniors. The eleven participants in the first group were African American. All were from Philadelphia and were a mix of public and parochial school male and female students. Their parents were a mix of middle class, blue collar and service occupations (teacher, programmer, telephone operator, factory worker, unemployed, truck driver, homemaker, auto mechanic, clerical worker, ship fitter, housekeeper)

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5. These young people do not seem particularly adventurous in spirit when asked about national service, yet they do have dreams. This could be a basis for building enthusiasm for a program. For example, many hope to have prestigious occupations. Yet when asked how they wished to be remembered, many of their answers reflect their hope to be remembered as persons who were caring and compassionate and helped other people.

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Voluntary versus mandatory service

21. Most do not like the idea of the program being mandatory, even when presented with the idea that this might be the only way to enlist youth who would be helped most by the program. Some young people noted, however, that once one is involved in a mandatory program, it can become a rewarding experience (as apparently has been the experience

of youth enrolled in mandatory youth service program in some of the parochial schools.) The prevailing opinion, however, was that one should have free choice, and that participants would resent serving if required to do so, and therefore would not perform well.

22. One young man also noted that he felt that as a volunteer he would more likely be given the program of his choice, while serving in a mandatory program he would be viewed more as a faceless cog.

Stipends, tuition and other incentives

23. The idea of national service providing the funds needed to get through college has varying appeal. The college-bound among these young people were quick to point out that the plan could not possibly cover even most of a four-year tuition; it might only cover a part of one year, and then what?

In the March survey, teen-agers rejected the suggestion that government-backed student loans for college should be given only to those who have done national service, with 65% saying they disagreed.

24. The idea of financing continuing education rather than college per se was appealing to the inner city minority and the urban blue collar youth who are more likely to be thinking of financing a trade school or community college program that costs a few thousand and prepares them for jobs. Interestingly, the idea that the program might provide an incentive for younger students to stay in school came not from the college bound group from one of the minority students who was not college bound.

A majority (61%) of the 125 young people surveyed in March said that they very much or somewhat agreed that people should receive more pay or credit for military than for non-military service. This is down from the 71% of teen-agers who felt that way in 1989.

6. Interest in serving

When asked how much they would like to be among those chosen to participate in the first year of national service, the responses of the 125 teen-agers surveyed in March was quite positive:

Very much	39%
Somewhat	36
Not too much	17
Not at all	8

TO: Eli Segal
FROM: Judy Harrington
DATE: May 20, 1993
RE: **Attracting quality recruits**

Follow on to Jack Lew's question as posed:
How do we attract 25,000 quality recruits to the new program?

1. The call. The message.
2. National recruitment and placement.

Looking back to how quickly I responded to the call to the Peace Corps and why, the above are ingredients I believe should be present.

1. "...what you can do for your country". There is not yet an equivalent call or message with new national service. "Fixing America's problems in the American way" is not it. Jingo experts need to capture the essence of this win-win program. It's too flat yet today. It doesn't lift me up.

2. It's appealing, sexy, adventuresome to go away from home and volunteer. It doesn't have to be Caracas or Nairobi. But the possibility should exist to go from Lincoln, NE to Los Angeles or Sitka or the Iron Range or Window Rock, AZ. While we get focused so much on "serving in the community....responding to community needs" etc., it's a recruitment turn-off if it's all local. Had the Governor of my state or President Kennedy said: "Stay home and volunteer for your local YWCA" I might not have served at all. Recruitment doesn't need to be all one way or another....but the potential to serve other than in familiar surroundings should exist.

We have a mobile society. I'm as much or more interested in becoming a better American than I am of becoming a better citizen of Lincoln, NE.

cc: Bob Currie
Gary Kowalczyk
Josie Heath

GREENBERG
RESEARCH
INC515 SECOND STREET NE
WASHINGTON DC 20002
TEL 202 547-5200
FAX 202 544-7020FAX TRANSMITTALFORMDATE: 4/16 NUMBER OF PAGES (excluding cover page): 3TO: NAME: Eli Segal

Phone Number: _____

FAX Number: 456-6420 (project #)FROM: NAME: Joe GoodeGreenberg Research Fax # (202) 544-7020NOTES

Copy of memo - transcripts & questionnaires
are approx 40 pages (from primary & general election).
Did you want all of that?

Please call (202) 547-5200 if you do not receive entire transmission or have any problems with receiving this transmittal.

This message is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed and may contain information that is privileged, confidential and exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mike
Thanks!

El.

CONFIDENTIAL DRAFT

CONFIDENTIAL DRAFT

**NATIONAL SERVICE
TALKING POINTS**

- The American people elected Bill Clinton because they wanted one thing. Change.

- No more every man for himself, while our country comes apart at the seams.
- No more inaction, while our economy slides and educational opportunities slip away.
- And no more something for nothing, while the people who build up our country fall further down.

- Change also means rejecting old-style big bureaucracy. We can't buy our way into community or out of trouble. Change means reinventing government to unleash our people's potential.

- National service is the best kind of change. It will bring American education back to principles all Americans share.

- It will create community -- bringing us together to fight our common problems.
- It will expand opportunity -- throwing open the doors of college for hard-working Americans.
- And it will demand responsibility -- telling everyone, whoever they are, that when their country gives them something they've got to give something back.

- The President's national service legislation has the two complementary parts that he promised during the campaign.

- A new Civilian GI Bill and domestic Peace Corps, offering those who serve their country here at home scholarships for college in return.
- An overhaul of the student loan system, making it easier to borrow -- but tougher to default.

- National service will restore community. Together, we'll take on the problems that are stealing our country's future.

- We'll ask everyone who goes to college to serve our country. Many people will be able to do it through a scholarship program, but millions more will get new freedom to serve through a new way of paying back loans. By paying off a small percentage of your income over time, you'll be able to take jobs that pay less but do more for your community, without losing control of your finances.
- In national service, young people will keep schools open late, to keep kids off the street. They'll immunize children and educate parents about health care. They'll work with police officers to root out drug dealers. And they'll fight pollution to protect our children's future.
- National service will work neighborhood by neighborhood, block by block, empowering people -- especially young people -- to help themselves.

DETERMINED TO BE AN
ADMINISTRATIVE MARKING
INITIALS: VB DATE: 4/1/10

- Opportunity. We're going to make it easier for everyone to get the money to pay for college or job training.
 - We'll make it simpler to get a loan -- cutting out the profiteering middlemen and their complicated procedures. With the money we save, we'll lower interest rates for students.
 - We'll give more students the chance to take out loans, by making it easier to pay them off -- as a small percentage of their income over time. There will be 25-year loans for those who want them, just like 25-year mortgages.
- Responsibility. We'll offer our young people more, but only if they're willing to give something back in return. You'll have to pay your education loans back, with either money or service.
 - If you pay the money back like an ordinary loan, we'll make it a lot tougher to default. If we have to, we'll put you on a repayment schedule that forces you to pay -- so you can't beat the bill.
 - Those who join the national service program will be able to pay for college by serving our country for a year or two, doing work our country needs, and getting a scholarship in return.
- It's not just citizens who'll have to be more responsible; it's government, too. National service will reinvent government.
 - We'll set up a Corporation for national service, and we'll run it like a venture capital firm, not a big bureaucracy.
 - We'll fold together government programs that currently duplicate each other -- cutting waste and increasing efficiency.
 - We'll create public/private partnerships, so government follows the lead of businesses and communities -- instead of swamping them.
 - We'll establish national standards and national priorities -- whether in immunizing children or keeping streets safe. And we won't tell people how to meet these goals -- but we'll make sure they do.
- The service initiative is for Americans of all ages and circumstances. Whether you're a 17-year-old who wants to pay for job training, or a 67-year-old who wants to continue your education, you'll have a chance at a scholarship for service. There are no age limits; you can serve before, during, or after schooling; and accredited training programs, community colleges, four year universities and graduate schools are all eligible.
- National service is for all Americans. Through initiatives to improve service programs for kids and adults, it's calling everyone to join in the national renewal. And we all have jobs to do. "Everyone can be great," as Martin Luther King said, "because everyone can serve."

National Service Already Attracts Volunteers, Even Before the Debate in Congress Has Begun

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — "If you build it, he will come," a mysterious voice told Kevin Costner about the baseball diamond in "Field of Dreams." President Clinton hasn't even built his National Service program yet, and they are already coming in droves.

National Service is Mr. Clinton's dream of putting young Americans to work tackling the nation's pressing social problems in return for college tuition benefits. Already, Eli Segal, the man in charge of making the dream a reality, is being besieged with letters from young people volunteering to join a preliminary National Service pilot program this summer. More than 4,000 applications have poured in so far for a program that will have only about 1,000 jobs to offer — and that's if congressional Democrats and Republicans end their squabbling and pass the Clinton economic stimulus package that contains money to pay for it.

Bill in Congress Soon

In many ways, the real debate over such knotty questions as how much the program should tilt toward middle-class youths and how much toward the disadvantaged is yet to begin. Within the next month or so, Mr. Segal says, he hopes to send Congress a bill formally creating the full-blown National Service program, which will aim to put 100,000 young Americans to work in hundreds of projects around the country at a total cost of \$6 billion by 1997, sowing the seeds for greater spending later.

The administration's short-term goals, he says, are to get the legislation passed by the end of this year and then have 25,000 young Americans at work as teachers, police officers, and health and environmental workers by the end of next year.

The long-term goal is to have an impact on young Americans as profound as that felt by the G.I. Bill half a century ago. "If done properly, this is one of the more nonpartisan initiatives of the Clinton administration," says Mr. Segal, a successful business entrepreneur who became a top Clinton campaign aide last year. "If we do this right, we can wash out all of the problems."

Skeptics Cite Costliness

Skeptics say the program will be too small to have the sweeping effect on society that Mr. Clinton desires — and would be too costly if it were made large enough to have such an impact. "It's hard to imagine this program having anything close to the kind of national impact they

talk about," says Doug Bandow, an analyst at the Cato Institute, a conservative Washington think tank. Even among proponents, there are nagging worries that the program may crush grass-roots volunteer programs, or that the jobs it provides could either steal work from adult workers or become make-work jobs.

The idea of a National Service program has been gaining steam, particularly among moderate and conservative Democrats, for several years. The idea is both to solve nettlesome social problems and instill a sense of civic responsibility in young Americans by putting them to work in community service projects for one or two years at a time. By the time Mr. Clinton latched onto the idea as a presidential candidate, Congress already had started the ball rolling by funding a few pilot projects.

In his campaign, Mr. Clinton talked of a far more ambitious program in which any college student would be able to borrow money from a new National Service Trust Fund, and then pay it back through service work. The problem with that formulation, in the eyes of many National Service advocates, was that it seemed a recipe simply for helping middle-class kids already enrolled in college find a way to pay off their school loans.

Need to Lure Poor Youth

The early champions of National Service prefer an approach that more closely resembled the G.I. Bill formula, in which young people would do community service first, and then get their college tuition benefits afterward. That way, these advocates hope, the program would lure more lower-class and minority youngsters, who otherwise wouldn't find their way into college in the first place. They argue that helping steer those youngsters into jobs and college is especially important with the shrinkage of the military, a traditional avenue for social advancement.

"We want it to be more than a loan-forgiveness program," says Al From, who's president of the moderate Democratic Leadership Council and was director of domestic policy for the Clinton presidential transition. "We want it to be potentially an upward-mobility track for the disadvantaged as the military is downsized."

In post-election discussions with advisers, Mr. Segal says, the president "became aware of a feeling that this should be made available to a much larger universe of people." So Mr. Clinton shifted his vision. Now, Mr. Segal says, the administration's plan will offer slots to those who are "pre-college, non-college, during-col-

lege and post-college." The young participants will get a small salary and also earn education benefits that can be applied to either college or job-training programs.

The administration is working behind the scenes to settle other potentially emotional debates about the program. Some of those who already run grass-roots volunteer programs worry that the new national program will swallow them up, rather than simply feed them young workers. "Is this effort going to build on the strengths and models that already are out there in the field, as opposed to just running roughshod over them with a lot of government-centered efforts?" asks Roger Landrum, president of Youth Service America, a nonprofit organization that promotes community service projects.

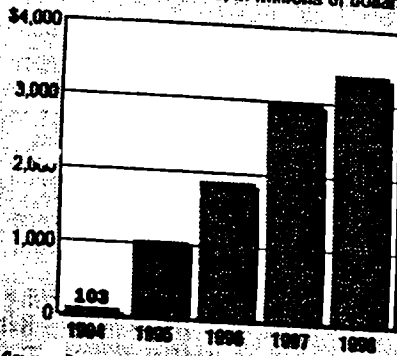
Working Behind the Scenes

Predictably, Mr. Segal is trying to assure people that he isn't building a big new bureaucracy. Mr. Clinton, he says, will use the presidential "bully pulpit" to pick the kinds of jobs he thinks National Service workers should tackle; helping run clinics that immunize young children is likely to be one early priority.

But he insists the White House will mostly look for promising programs that already are under way in cities and towns across the U.S., and funnel federally financed young workers toward them. For instance, he says his office has received proposals from 435 different communities around the country seeking to put to work young volunteers in the coming summer pilot project. Mainly, he says, those are projects that already are up and running but eager for help from federally financed young workers to expand. "I look

National Service Program

Budget proposal outlays for President Clinton's National Service initiative, in millions of dollars



Source: The White House

at this as an investment banking house," Mr. Segal says. "This is not a federal program for the most part."

Unions fret that the program will send low-paid workers into the field to steal jobs from their members. Mr. Segal has met union leaders to assure them that National Service workers will be doing jobs that aren't being done by anybody right now. And some in the military worry that a National Service program will hurt them by drawing away potential military enlistees. Cleverly, the White House is helping win over the military by making it part of the new program. Mr. Segal says military officers, drawing on their long experience in organizing legions of young volunteers, will help conduct training sessions for workers this summer.

For now, though, such political worries seem far removed from the young people who are lining up for National Service—and baring their idealism in the process. "I readily accept your call to action, your call to serve my nation through national service," reads one letter Mr. Clinton just received from a Kentucky college student. "This summer, I want to MAKE A DIFFERENCE."

Main Points

1. People have experienced the good feelings that come from doing volunteer work and community service, and they are motivated by a genuine desire to help.

"It makes me feel good." "I owe a debt to the community."

2. They see the younger generation as self-centered and spoiled, but determined and career-oriented.

"The *you owe me* generation."

3. Participants never once in the two-hour discussion translate their own sense of the importance of community service to the President's proposed national service program. They make no connection between how young people and the country would benefit from a national youth service corps.

4. Instead, they view the plan solely as a college loan program and fail to make any connection at all with the ideas of service in exchange for help with education.

5. For these people, "national service" does not mean at all what the President means by it. The term does not connect. Participants thought it referred to health care reform and economic issues, etc.

6. Participants perceive the program as a plan to "pay people twice"--once for college and again for their work.

"The government is paying twice for something that it shouldn't." "I guess when I hear that we're going to pay somebody for going to college, and then we're going to pay their salary, I'd like to get in on it."

7. At this point, they don't see the appropriateness of the federal government trying to instill a sense of volunteerism--because they see no real connection between the plan (which seems to them mostly like a "handout" program) and how it could benefit the nation as a whole.

8. The Peace Corps was a successful government initiative because "it improved the image of the country" and it fulfilled its stated mission. This program clearly conveyed the notion of "service"--the emphasis was on how Peace Corps workers were helping others, not on how they were benefiting.

Polling

9. Participants are so far away from the "service" component that all they focus on is: how can the government pay for this program? and won't lots of young people default on their "loans" just like in the past?
10. They doubt that "volunteerism" can be imposed externally; they think it is a motivation that has to come from within or has to be taught by the family.